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PREFACE.

Volume XXXIX covers the published parts of the *Journal* for the years 1956 (Part 153), 1957 (Part 154), and 1958 (Parts 155 and 156). Owing to the length of these parts and the consequent difficulty of fitting four such parts in the existing binding cases it has been decided to complete the volume with three instead of the usual four. The last part has, however, been considered as consisting of two—hence its numbering 155 and 156 in order to conform with the long established practice of four parts to a volume.

This is the first complete volume edited by the present editor. May I extend my thanks to the Council, to members of the Society and to the various contributors for their tolerance, encouragement and help?

The index of both this volume and that of the previous one have been compiled by Mr. James Biggins, Head of the Reference Department of York Public Library. To him all readers of the *Journal* are deeply indebted for the meticulous care with which he has undertaken this task.

PETER WENHAM, *Hon Editor.*

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THE

Yorkshire Archæological Journal

NEOLITHIC 'B' POTTERY FROM EAST YORKSHIRE.

By T. G. Manby.

In her survey of the Neolithic Pottery found in Yorkshire Miss N. Newbigin records only six finds of possible Neolithic 'B' Pottery from East Yorkshire.[1] That was in 1937; since then this type of pottery has only been found on four more sites east of the Vale of York. In 1938 a single rim sherd was found at Ampleforth;[2] in 1950 Mr. J. W. Moore excavated an occupation site at Beacon Hill, Flamborough and found Neolithic 'B' pottery stratified with Neolithic 'A' below a layer containing corded 'B' Beaker ware.[3] In 1953 Messrs C. and E. Grantham of Driffield excavated an occupation site at Driffield which produced Neolithic 'B' pottery and in 1955 they excavated another occupation site at Crayke Hill, Garton Slack near Driffield, which produced stratified Neolithic 'A' and 'B', Rinyo-Clactonian and 'A' Beaker pottery.[4]

However there are six finds of Neolithic 'B' sherds found before Miss Newbigin's survey, which have only been recently recognised, and it is the intention of this paper to present them in a form which will make it possible to compare any future finds with them with ease.

In 1910 Dr. J. L. Kirk excavated a round barrow at Monklands, Thornton-le-Dale on the Tabular Hills on the northern side of the Vale of Pickering.[5] The middle of the mound had been disturbed by Kendall in the 19th century and in this disturbed part Kirk found a number of sherds mostly Neolithic 'B' but there was one sherd of a 'C' Beaker. In another part of the mound, in what appears to have been a secondary position, was an inhumation burial with an 'A' Beaker.[6] The sherds remained unrecognised in the Kirk Collection until they passed to the Yorkshire Museum in 1948. They consist of :—

[1] Newbigin, *The Neolithic Pottery of Yorkshire*, P.P.S. III, 1937, pp. 189-216.

[2] Willmot, *Neolithic 'B' Pottery from Yorkshire*, P.P.S. IV, 1938, p. 338.

[3] Publication pending. Finds in Scarborough Museum.

[4] To be published shortly.

[5] Kirk, *Opening of a Tumulus near Pickering. Report of the Yorks. Phil. Soc.* 1911, pp. 57-62.

[6] Yorks. Mus. No. 1002.47.

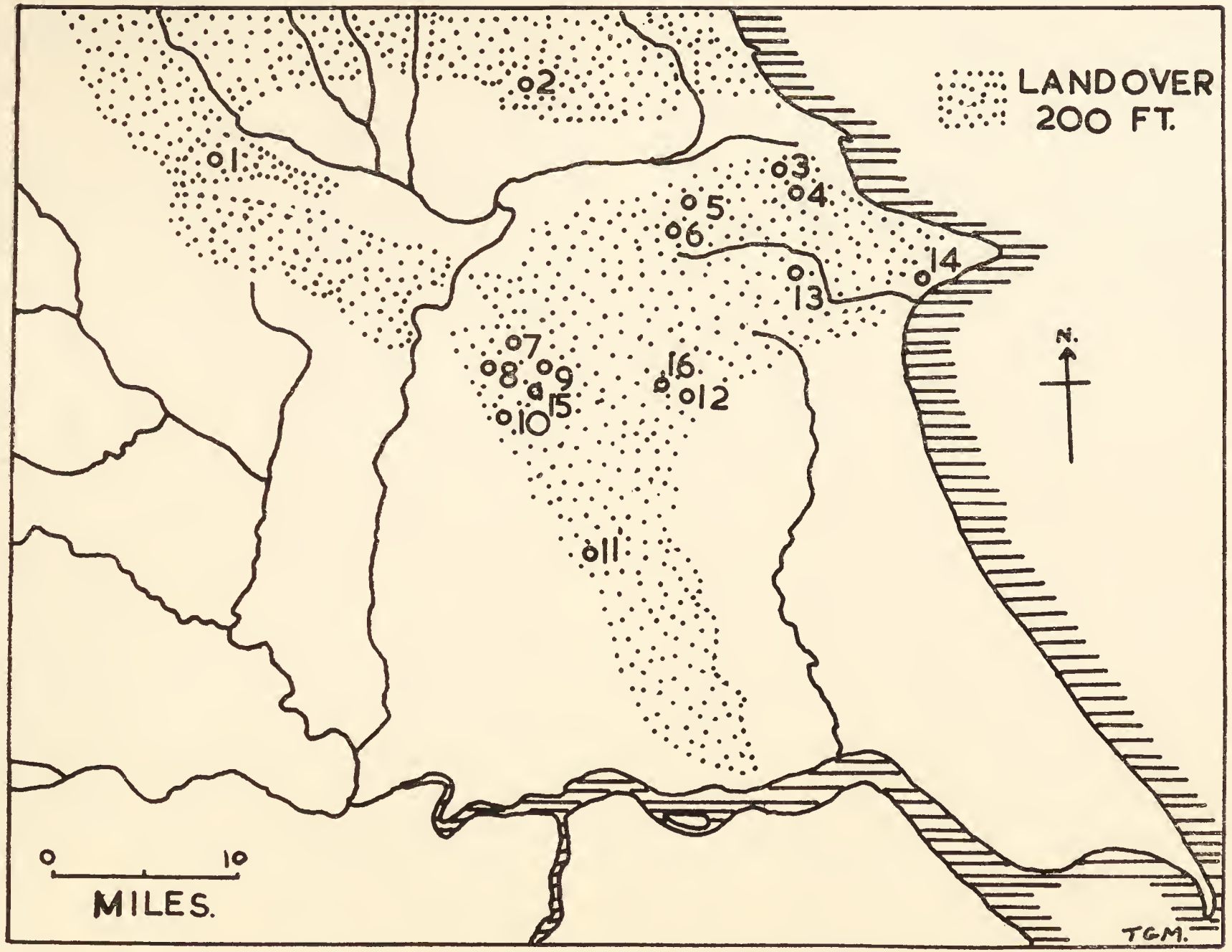


FIG. 1. Distribution of Neolithic 'B' Pottery in East Yorkshire.

1. Ampleforth.
2. Thornton le Dale.
3. Folkton, Elf Howe.
4. Folkton CCXLVII.
5. Ganton XXI.
6. Butterwick XXXIX.
7. Aldro 30.
8. Acklam 211.
9. Thixendale, Gill's Farm.
10. Garrowby 68.
11. Goodmanham CXI.
12. Driffield.
13. Thwing LX.
14. Flamborough.
15. Painesthorpe 98.
16. Garton Slack.

1. Fragments of a large bowl, rim diameter about 12 inches. The rim is slightly thickened and rounded on the outside and faintly hollow inside, the neck is shallow but the shoulder is well marked. The ware is black with a brown surface and contains large pieces of grit which erupt through the surface in places. The decoration is of wrapped cord maggots in a herring bone patten. (fig. 2, 1).

2. A rim sherd thickened and rounded on the outside, shallow neck. A softish black ware with small grit. Wrapped cord maggots inside and outside the rim. (fig. 2, 2).

3. A rim sherd thickened on the outside. A softish black ware with small grit. Wrapped cord maggots on the outside of the rim. (fig. 2, 3).

4. A rim sherd thickened on the outside and cut off to give a sharp edge, top of the rim rounded. A soft blackish ware with small grits. Wrapped cord maggot inside and outside the rim. (fig. 2, 4).

5. A rim sherd, everted with internal bevel. Soft brown surface black core, small grit. Decorated on the bevel with diagonal cord lines. (fig. 2, 5).

6. A rim sherd, rounded slightly hollow inside. Softish grey-black ware. Wrapped cord maggots inside and out. (fig. 2, 6).

7. A shoulder fragment. Hard black ware with small grit. Wrapped cord maggot on the outside. (fig. 2, 7).

8. A body sherd. Hard black ware with small grits. Wrapped cord maggots in a herring bone patten. (fig. 2, 8).
Yorkshire Museum accession number 1948.4.6.

The next four finds to be described come from Wold barrows dug by Canon Greenwell in the last century and were only recently identified by the present writer when studying the Greenwell Collection in the British Museum.

Thwing Barrow LX[1] had a central grave containing an inhumation burial with jet ornaments of the 'A' Beaker Culture, and a disturbed burial with a cordoned 'A' Beaker. In another part of the mound was another inhumation burial with a plough-damaged "drinking cup". There is no mention in the account of any further pottery but in the Greenwell Collection are seven sherds labelled as from this barrow: excluding two nondescript sherds, the rest are Neolithic 'B' and comprise at least two vessels :—

1. A rim sherd, deep and thickened on the outside, flattish top. Dark grey ware but light brown on the inside, soft with some large pieces of grit. Wrapped cord maggot impressions on the inside, outside and top of the rim. (fig. 3, 1).

2. A shoulder fragment. Fabric similar to 1. Decoration on the neck only. (fig. 3, 2).

3. Fragment of a cavetto neck. Similar in fabric and decoration to 1. and 2. (fig. 3, 3).

4. Body fragment. Fabric similar to the above but brown. (fig. 3, 4).

5. A rim sherd thickened and rounded on the outside slightly hollow inside. Soft black ware with brown surfaces. Wrapped cord maggots inside and out. (fig. 3, 5).
British Museum accession number 79.12-9.658.

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[1] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, pp. 226-8.

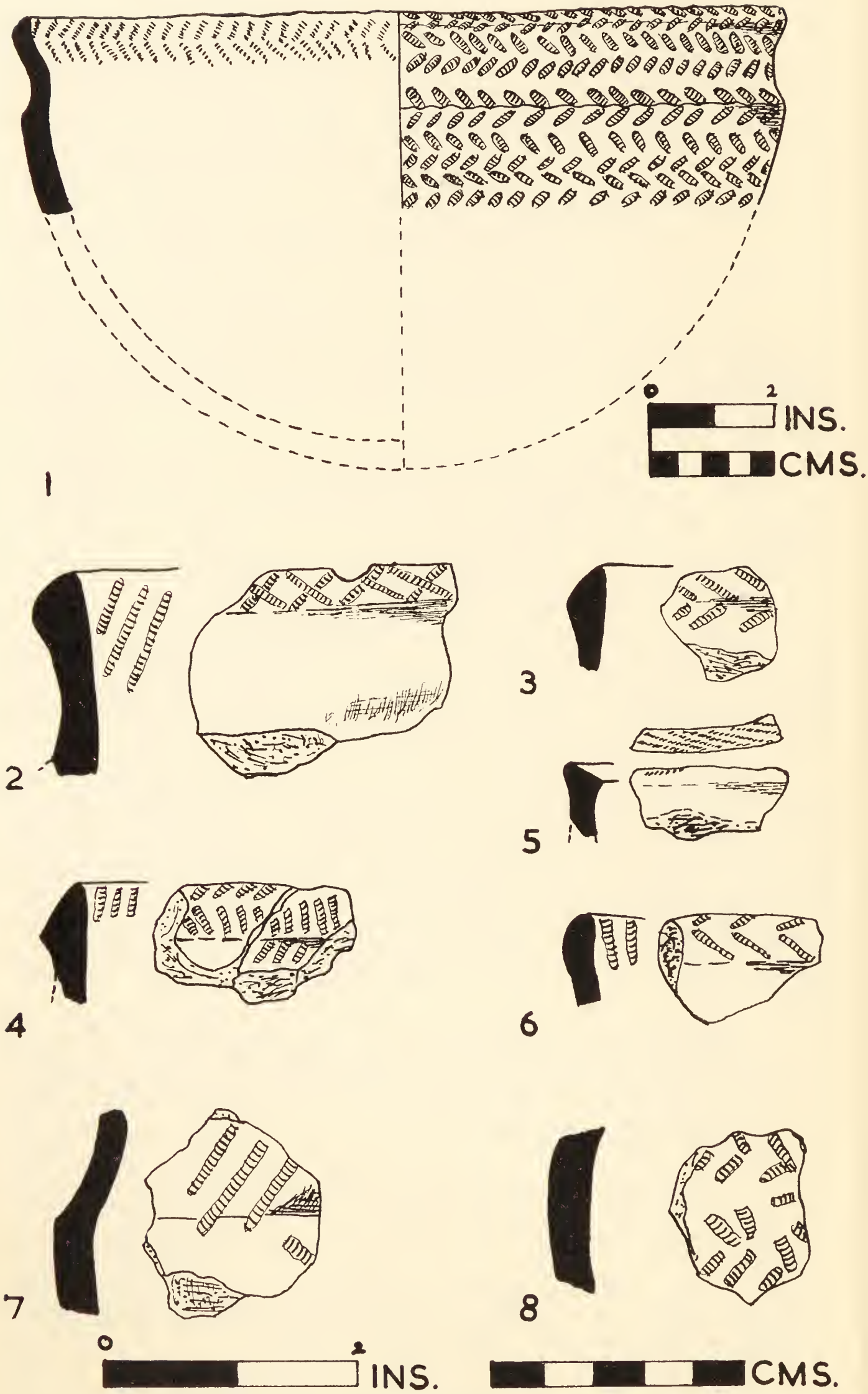


FIG. 2. Thornton le Dale.

Butterwick Barrow XXXIX[1] had a central chalk-cut grave containing an inhumation burial accompanied by a flat bronze celt, a bronze dagger, a bronze awl and stone and jet buttons. In the grave filling were three sherds, two of a cord decorated Food Vessel and one probably Neolithic 'B'.

This sherd (fig. 4, 1) is a body fragment of a hard reddish ware with a black core. Decorated with lines of bird bone impressions. Unlike the Food Vessel sherds the Neolithic 'B' sherd is very much weathered and the edges are smooth and rounded. Clearly this sherd had been on the surface some time before it was incorporated in the grave filling and is therefore derived and not contemporary with the burial.

British Museum accession number 79.12-9.373.

Folkton Barrow CCXLVII. Flotmanby Wold[2] had been previously disturbed at the centre when Greenwell dug it, he found a cinerary urn in a hollow 11 feet from the centre with no trace of a burial. In the mound material were flints, quartzite pounders and a single sherd.

A rim sherd (fig. 4, 2) coarse black with a light brown outer surface, contains much crushed flint grit. Indistinct cord decoration on the outside and top of the rim.
British Museum accession number 89.2-2.57.

Elf Howe, Flixton Wold, Folkton was partly removed last century in the course of agricultural operations but Greenwell records an account of the burials given to him by a farm foreman[3] The barrow covered several inhumations and one cremation burial without grave goods. Under the centre of the barrow was a grave 2 feet deep and on the bottom of it was a male skeleton with fragments of a thick walled pot near the skull. In the British Museum is a large fragment of this pot.

It is a shoulder fragment (fig. 3, 6) of a black ware with a reddish brown outer surface and with calcite and shell grit. Decoration consists of diagonal lines of thick cord impressions on the body.
British Museum accession number 79.12-9.1118.

Elf Howe is therefore the only known instance of the direct association of Neolithic 'B' pottery with a burial under a round barrow. Piggot in discussing the burials of this culture[4] considered that only one burial apart from those with jet belt sliders had any good claim to be a round barrow burial of the Neolithic 'B' culture. That was a burial from Barrow 26, Handley Down, Dorset.[5] In this case the pottery was not with the burial but in the mound over and in the ditch silting.

Mortimer's Barrow 68 on Garrowby Wold had a central deposit of cremated bones. Amongst the mound material were pieces of burnt wood, eight splinters of flint and a single sherd.[6]

[1] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, pp. 186-9.
[2] Greenwell, *Further Barrow Researches etc. Arch.*, vol. 52, pp. 16-7.
[3] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, pp. 271-2.
[4] Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*, pp. 306-7.
[5] Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranbourne Chase*, lv, p. 140.
[6] Mortimer, *Forty Years*, p. 143.

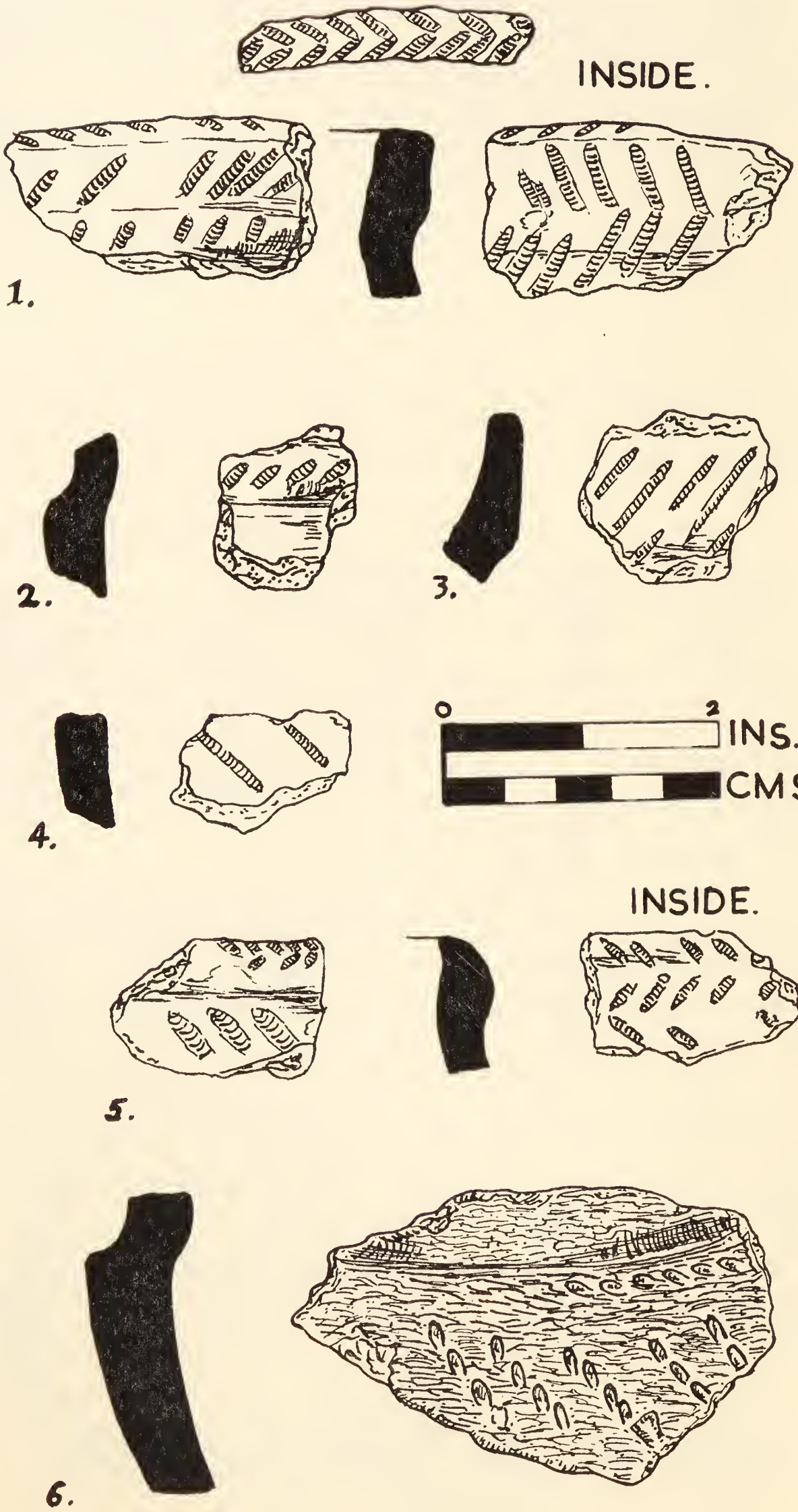


FIG. 3. 1-5. Thwing LX; 6. Elf Howe, Folkton.

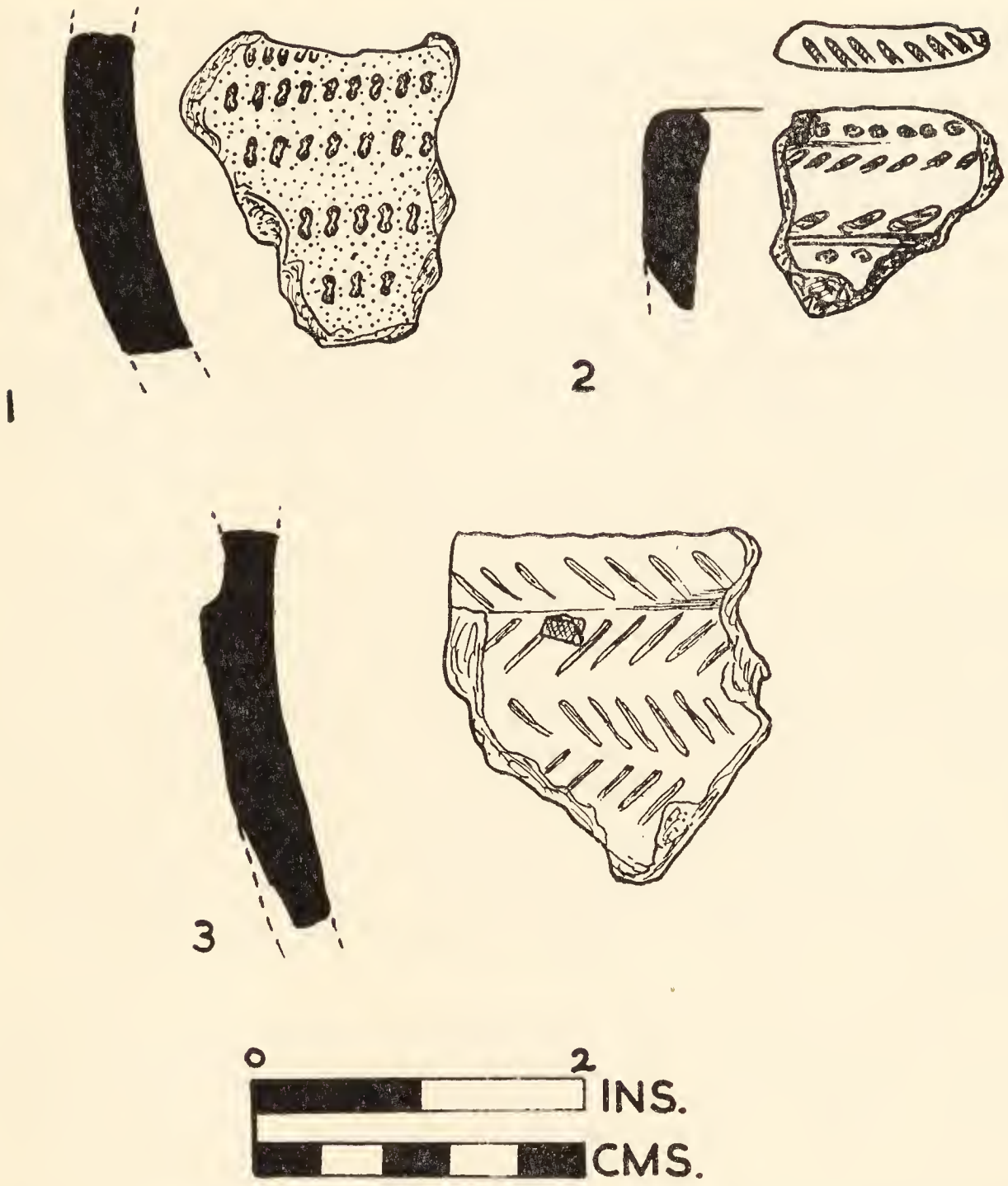


FIG. 4. 1. Butterwick XXXIX. 2. Folkton CCXLVII. 3. Garrowby 68.

This sherd was not mentioned by Newbigin and must not be confused with the single sherd of Neolithic 'B' pottery from Painsthorpe, Barrow 98, which was erroneously published by her as from Garrowby, Barrow C98.[1] The sherd from Garrowby now undernotice came from a very thin vessel.

Shoulder sherd, soft, coarse laminated, orange surface, brown core, large flint grits protruding through the surface. Incised herring-bone executed with a blunt point. (fig. 4, 3).
Mortimer Museum, Hull CX.

Of the six finds of Neolithic 'B' pottery published by Newbigin from East Yorkshire[2] the sherds from Aldro 30, Acklam 211, and Ganton XXI, do not resemble any of the above finds. Three of the four rim sherds from Goodmanham CXI are too small for the present writer to accept them as Neolithic 'B' without

[1] Newbigin, *op. cit.*, p. 215, fig. 6, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 199-202 and 215-6.

reservations, as sherds of a very similar Food Vessel come from this barrow. The rim sherd from Gill's Farm, Thixendale[1] does compare with rim No. 1 from Thwing. Newbigin considered that as all the Neolithic 'B' pottery known to her came from barrows with Food Vessel burials (except the Aldro rim) that the Neolithic 'B' Culture in Yorkshire was not earlier than the Food Vessel Culture. However we now know on the evidence of the Flamborough Head site that the Neolithic 'B' was contemporary in part at least with the Neolithic 'A' and pre 'B' Beaker. This brings the dating of the Neolithic 'B' in East Yorkshire into line with the rest of the country as discussed by Piggot.[2] To discuss the relationship of the Neolithic 'B' in East Yorkshire with that of West Yorkshire is not worthwhile until the finds from all the West Yorkshire sites are published in detail.

When we look at the distribution of finds attributable to this culture in East Yorkshire we find it is much the same as the distribution of the finds of the Neolithic 'A' but not so dense. The pottery (fig. 1.), single piece flint sickles,[3] and the jet belt sliders are concentrated on the Wolds, with outlayers on the Limestone ranges of the Hambleton and Tabular Hills. In other parts of England this culture has a riverine distribution against the upland distribution of the Neolithic 'A'. One would therefore expect the low areas of Holderness and the Vales of York and Pickering to have produced more material. The dearth in these areas is most likely due to lack of archaeological work in the past.

The writer is indebted for assistance to Mr. J. W. Brailsford of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum, and to Mr. G. F. Willmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, York. Acknowledgements are also made to the latter for permission to publish the sherds from Thornton-le-Dale, and to Mr. J. B. Fay, Director of the Mortimer Museum, Hull, for permission to publish the sherd from Garrowby 68.

[1] Newbigin, *op. cit.*, p. 216, fig. 6, 1.
[2] Piggott, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-6.
[3] Clark, *Curved Flint Sickles of Britain*, P.P.S.E.A. VII, 1932, pp. 73-4. No's. 31-40 & 42.

BARNBY HOWES
BARNBY, EAST CLEVELAND, YORKSHIRE.

By Paul Ashbee and A. M. ApSimon.

The excavations described in this paper were initiated by the Ministry of Works, in view of the impending destruction of the Barnby Howes in the course of building operations. Work began on 19th March, 1951, and continued for five weeks under the supervision of the writers.[1] Permission to excavate was kindly given by the Marquess of Normanby and every facility was afforded by his agent, Mr. E. W. J. Malcolm.[2]

Barnby Howes were situated in the parish of Barnby some five miles north-west of Whitby. They stood on a northerly spur of the Cleveland Hills, the actual site being a knoll rising to just above 600 feet (Fig. 1). This knoll overlooked other barrows of the Goldsborough group, (see Appendix IV), and was visible from the north-west and south-east for about 14 miles. On the 6 ins. and 25 ins. Ordnance Survey maps[3] these Howes are shown as the *site of a beacon*, but we found no evidence to support this.

In this district the Cleveland Hills are formed by sandstones and ironstones of the Greater and Inferior Oolite Series, capped by boulder clay. This contains much rock debris and erratics suitable for cairn or kerb building. Due to the boulder clay capping, the landscape is hummocky, these hummocks providing sites for several barrows. The landscape is at present almost devoid of trees, which now only flourish in the sheltered stream valleys and marshy bottoms.

Condition before Excavation.

Before excavation, the Howes appeared as low mounds about 2 ft. 6 ins. high, whose limits were difficult to determine owing to farmyard and recent building debris. Both Howes were

[1] Mr. N. Mitchelson co-directed actual operations on the site while Mr. J. J. Butler assisted throughout. Both have been, to their regret, unable to participate in preparation of the report owing to distance or absence from the country.

[2] During the course of the excavations, Mr. G. C. Dunning, Inspector of Ancient Monuments visited the site; we proffer our thanks for aid and suggestions then, and later. Messrs. Black and Ferrar of York M.O.W. ministered to the material needs of the operation. Thanks must be returned to Dr. I. W. Cornwall of the London University Institute of Archaeology for his work on the soil problems, Dr. Hans Helbaek for his comments on the grain of barley, and Dr. E. Knox of Edinburgh University for the identification of microscopic and macroscopic plant remains in the turves of the Western Barrow. Mr. W. H. Lamplough was a pillar of strength with trowel and camera at all times.

[3] 6 ins. O.S. sheet Yorks. (N. Riding), XIX, S.E.; 25 ins. O.S. sheet XIX, 16; Nat. Grid. ref. 830138.

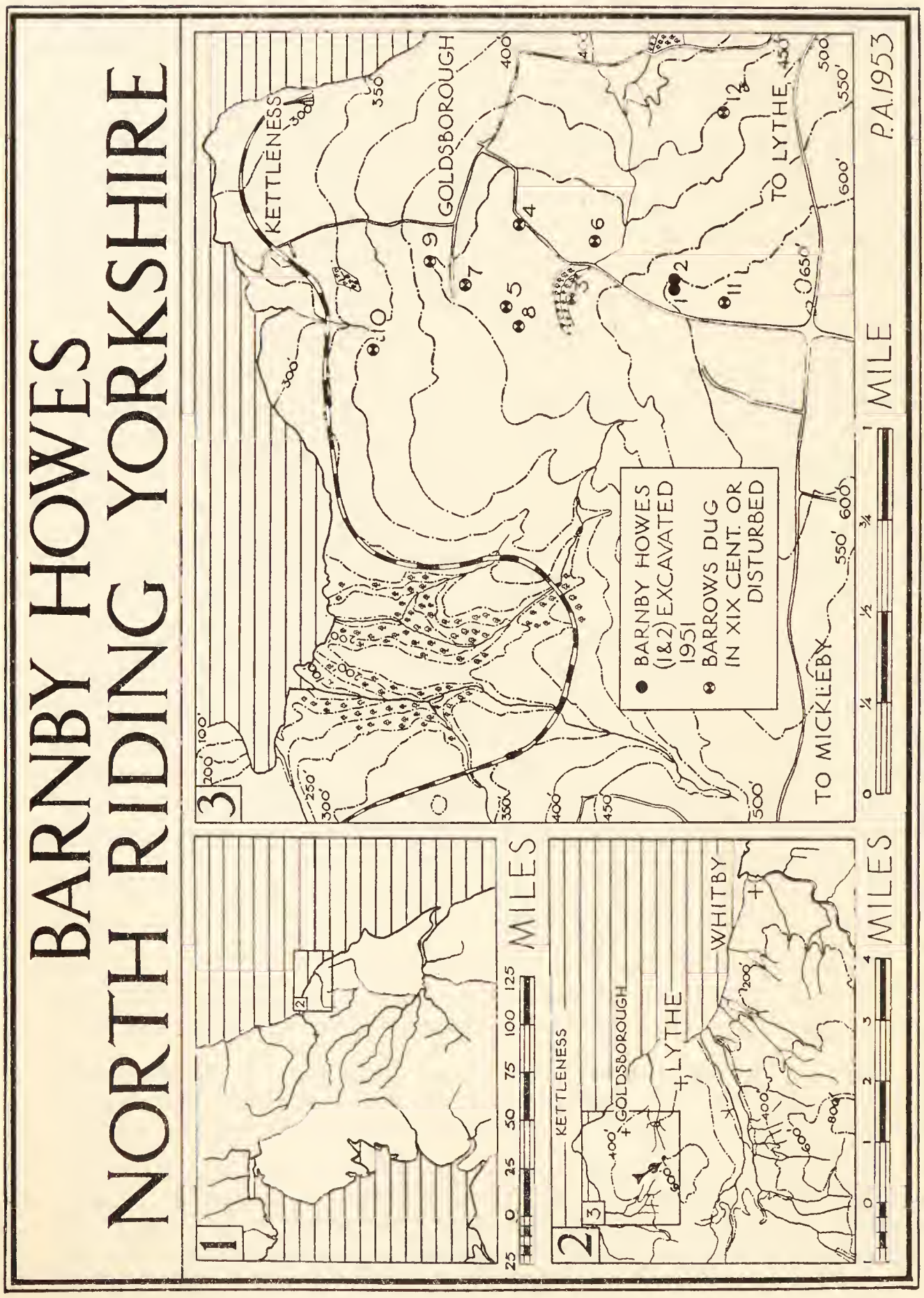


FIG. 1.

(Based on the Ordnance Survey Map by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

affected by ridge and furrow ploughing running from north-east to south-west right across the barrows, while a hedge and spinney lay immediately to the south of the Western Howe.

Clearance of the site and the preparation of a contour plan (Fig. 2), revealed that the Howes were larger than at first appeared, the remains of the Western Howe being some 75 ft. in diameter and those of the Eastern some 60 ft. Slight signs of fairly recent disturbance were noted at the centre of each barrow. A note among the manuscripts of the late F. W. Elgee appears to throw some light upon this.[1]

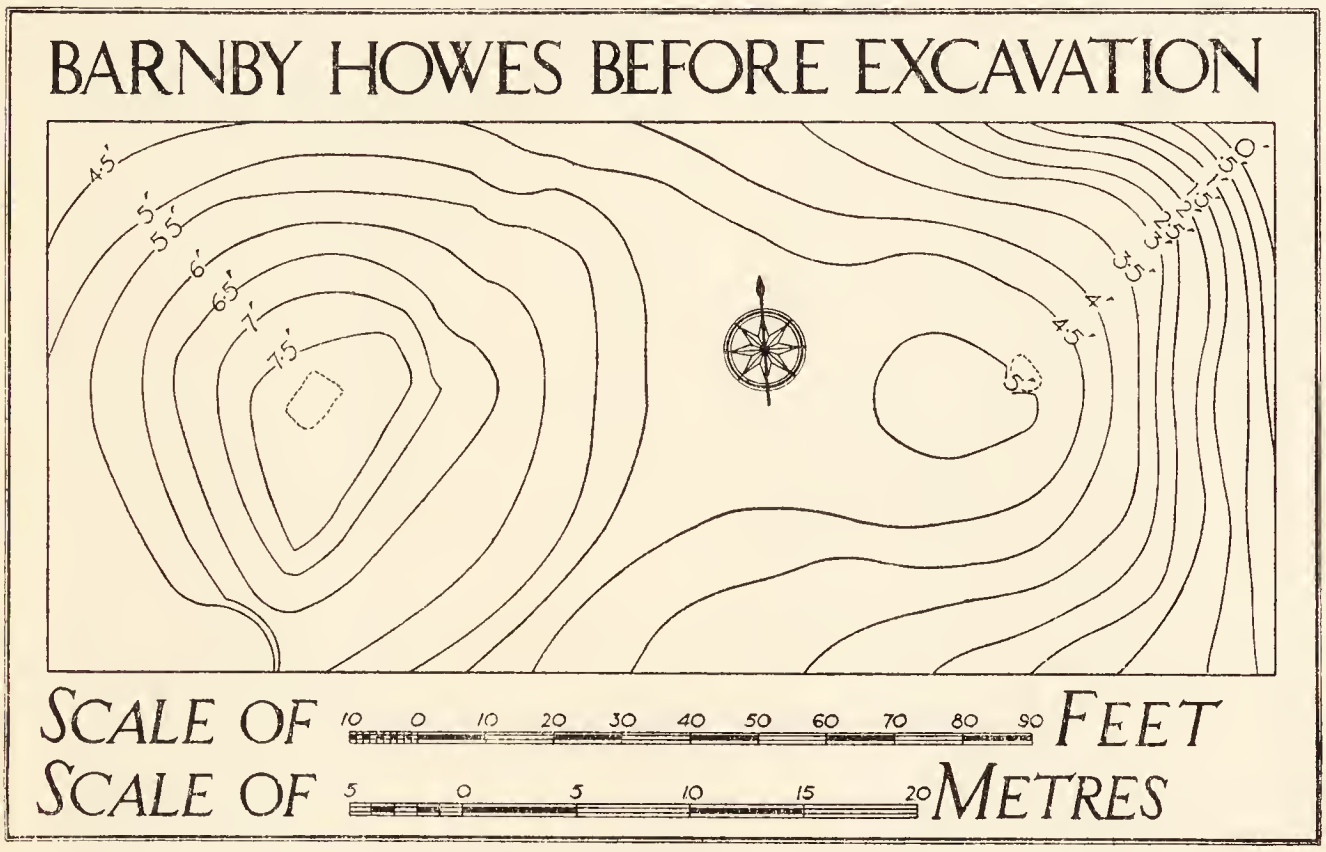


FIG. 2.
(Oft. contour is 607.89 ft. above O.D.).

Method of Excavation.

Both barrows were excavated by the quadrant method, though the spreading of the barrows by ploughing necessitated some extension of our cuttings. In the case of the Eastern barrow, our choice of centre was correct; however, owing to the effects of ploughing and the presence of the hedgerow, we placed the centre of the Western Howe 10 ft. too far to the north.

The Western Howe.

This barrow seems originally to have consisted of a mound of turf encircled by a stone wall (Fig. 3). The barrow had been disturbed on at least two occasions, once by a large pit at the true centre of the barrow and on another occasion by a double pit dug beneath the point selected by us for our zero peg. We

[1] This note records merely "Goldsborough Barnby Howe, at centre, grave beginning 1 ft. below surface, 5 ft. x 2 ft. x 3 ft. deep. Filled in with stones mainly large sandstones—undisturbed—no remains—unburnt burial? Examined by W. Hornsby, 8th October, 1917".

found no primary burial, but in the superficial layers of the barrow remains were found, which might be attributed either to a plough-disturbed secondary, or to the robbed primary burial. The barrow had been badly disturbed by ploughing, which greatly complicated the interpretation of the structures. In the narrative which follows, the various features are described, as far as possible, in a logical order rather than in the order in which we met them.

The Buried Soil and the Burnt Area.

The pre-barrow surface was represented by a layer of dark grey soil. This contrasted sharply with the varied colours of the turf mound, whose lowest turves could be stripped freely from the pre-barrow surface. It faded out to the north of the centre over an area approximately 15 ft. in diameter, within which the buried soil was light and powdery and the boulder-clay subsoil was a rusty red. A post or stake-hole just to the west ended in an oblique point and had much minute charcoal in its grainy infilling. The whole of this area (Fig. 3) was scattered with fragments of charcoal, much of it from small branches and twigs, this charcoal being present both on and in the buried soil. It was among this material that a grain of barley (Appendix III) was found. The appearance of this area suggested that a fierce fire had burnt there.

From around the margins of this burnt area, several superimposed dome-like laminae of iron-pan rose from the boulder-clay and passed through the old turf line into the body of the turf mound. Near the centre of the burnt area further laminae appeared which plunged almost vertically into the boulder-clay. In places the pan was so concentrated as to resemble pieces of rusty iron. The pattern made by these iron-pan layers and the attendant discolouration of the soil closely simulated the outlines of a grave and this possibility was investigated, though with a negative result. It is to be presumed that these iron-pan phenomena are partly related to alterations in the old ground surface produced by a fire burning on it. (Appendix II). This surface was relatively impermeable at the time of excavation and the material of the turf mound was waterlogged.

The Kerb and the Effects of Ploughing.

The ridge and furrow ploughing already mentioned had badly damaged the kerb so that interpretation of its remains was not altogether straightforward (Pl. 1 and Fig. 3). Two interpretations are in fact possible. The first would be to regard the barrow as being a single period structure with a single kerb, subsequent weathering and ploughing having had the effect of adding a spurious fragmentary outer kerb, a revetting ramp of loam and a stone capping to part of the structure. This hypothesis has been preferred to the obvious alternative—a complex barrow with the subsidiary structures secondary to the inner kerb.

PLATE I.



Barrow I : the kerb, from the south-east.

Apart from obvious robbing in the south-western quadrant (Fig. 3) the condition of the kerb seemed to depend largely on the direction of ploughing as shown by the ridges and furrows and by plough-share scratches, as well as on the actual alternation of ridge and furrow.

In the north-west quadrant the direction of the furrows was tangential to the line of the kerb, consequently its inner face was largely intact, whereas the outer was almost completely destroyed. There was a considerable amount of scatter outside the line of the kerb, though for the same reason this did not extend for many feet outside. The line of the north baulk coincided with a *ridge* so that here the kerb was well preserved. At this point the use of clay bedding and small wedging stones among the footing stones of the kerb was observed. Further east in the north-east quadrant the outer face of the kerb showed a sudden break at a point corresponding to a furrow. From this point the kerb was deeply disturbed and by the time the eastern baulk was reached, its remaining stones were incorporated in disturbed brown stony loam. In this quadrant the scatter began at a distance of about 10 ft. outside the kerb, but gradually approached the remains of the true kerb near the eastern baulk. When first exposed the edge of this stone scatter resembled a kerb, though rather irregular in arrangement and plan. Excavation showed that none of its stones could be said to be in its original position, many being separated from the boulder-clay subsoil by a layer of brown stony loam, which ran up over the face of the kerb, and which elsewhere contained 19th century pottery and clay-pipe fragments. Within the line of this false kerb the slope of loam was covered with stones which were also scattered over the surface of the turf mound in part of the north-east and south-east quadrants.

The appearance of this area suggested that the plough had dislodged stones from the kerb, of which some were carried onto the crown of the barrow, while others rolled to the foot of a slope of weathering material outside the true kerb.

In the south-east quadrant the direction of ploughing was again roughly tangential to the run of the kerb. The foundation stones of the outer face of the kerb were all large flattish or squarish blocks carefully arranged in a manner suggesting headers and stretchers. They were mainly in place, the plough-share having been quickly lifted over them. One or two did seem to have started to topple outwards as though into a furrow, while outside the kerb lay a line of stones, none more than three to four feet away, which had clearly fallen from the kerb. This piece of kerb consisted of two near-chords whose ends were equidistant from the central pit.

Approximately at the centre of this stretch of kerb was a gap 2 ft. to 3 ft. across. The superior character of the kerb at this point, the presence of two pointed "jamb-stones" inwards of the gap and the fact that apparently undisturbed boulder-clay

rested at a higher level in the gap than under the kerb stones on either side led us to think that this gap might be an original feature. (Plate 2 and Fig. 3). However the kerb was too extensively damaged for any certainty, while this "entrance" can never have been more than a dummy once the turf mound was raised.

Within the outer face of the kerb in this sector the plough seemed nearly to have reached the pre-barrow surface, and the remaining stones of the kerb rested on brown stony loam. The edge of the turf mound had been damaged, being here sloping and irregular as opposed to the sharp vertical edge of undisturbed portions. Probably it originally lay from 1 ft. to 2 ft. further east on this side of the barrow.

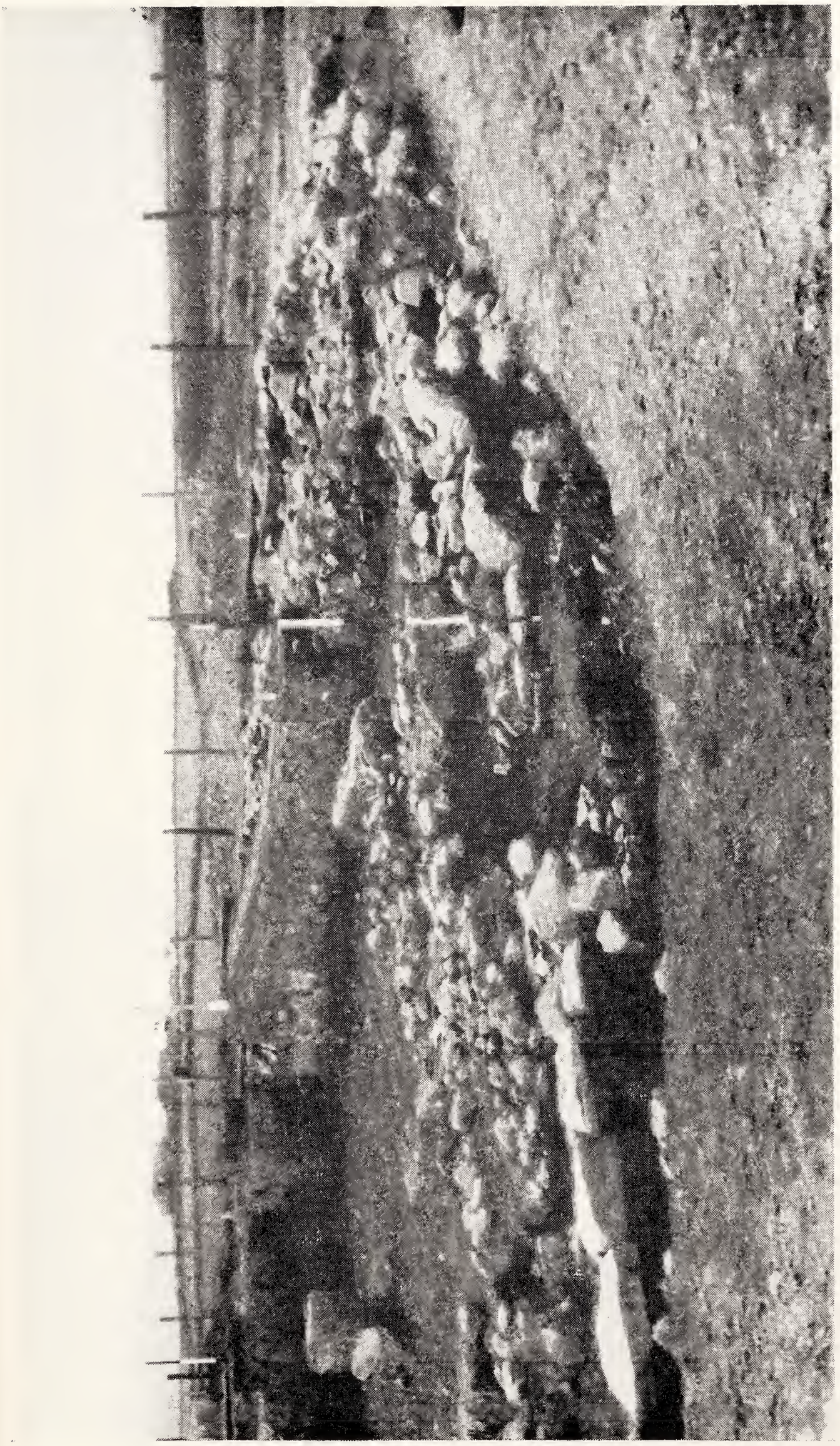
Near the south baulk, stones were found *in situ*, with the old turf line running under them and the edge of the turf mound overlapping them. A little further west, the kerb seemed to have been disturbed on the inner side quite deeply and irregularly and its connection with the turf mound partly broken. The edge of this presented a fairly even curve and was probably largely intact (see Fig. 3). Outside the kerb at this point but lying parallel to it and partly above it, was a relatively superficial lens-shaped conglomeration of smallish stones, perhaps the result of turning the plough on the headland. Immediately outside this, the picture was rather confused by the proximity of the hedge.

The remaining portion of the kerb, that in the south-western quadrant, was among the most strongly constructed, and required a pick to demolish it. The inner edge of this sector was intact and its junction with the turf mound was well demonstrated. The outer margin of the kerb was more irregular and had been affected by previous disturbance. To the west of this the kerb was completely destroyed, only a few scattered stones serving to link up with the north-western quadrant.

The small hearths found outside the line of the kerb on the east and north-east side of the barrow may reasonably be regarded as connected with its building, though it is just as likely that they were domestic in nature as that they had any part in burial ritual. These fires seem to have burned quite fiercely over a restricted area, scorching and partly baking the clay on which they rested. The amount of charcoal associated was not great. Quite probably it was soon blown away. Descriptions of these hearths (see Fig. 3) are tabulated below :—

H.I. A scatter of charcoal and scorched and reddened sandstone fragments on and slightly above the surface of the clay, which was scorched.

H.II. For a circular area about 1 ft. 6 ins. in diameter, and to a depth of about 1.5 ins. the surface of the clay was burned deep red and was hard and brick-like. Flecks of charcoal were scattered all over the



The faced kerb and gap on the north-western side.

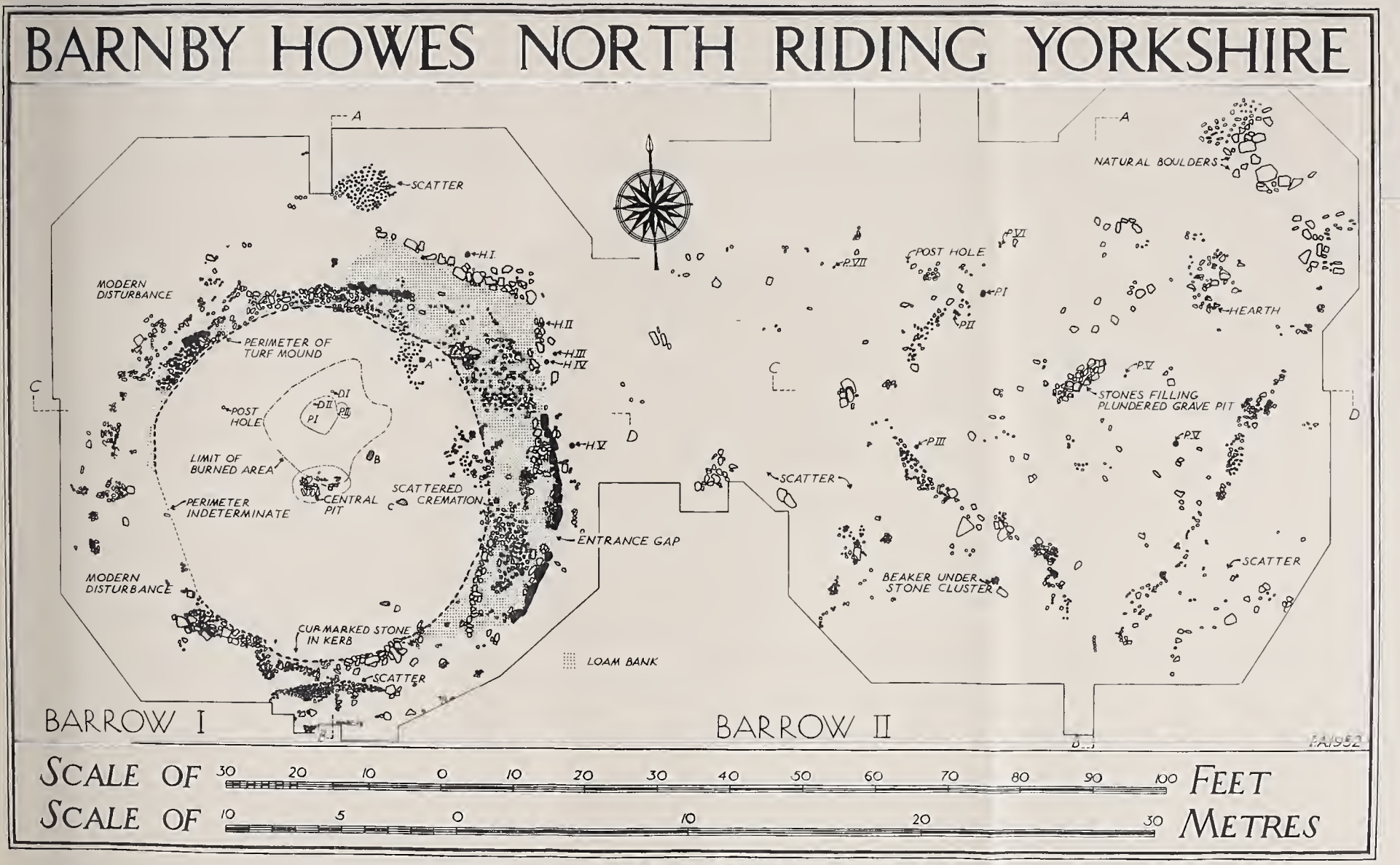


FIG. 3. Plan of Barrows.

surface of the clay in the vicinity. This burnt area extended beneath the stones of the false kerb at this point, which were quite unmarked by fire.

H.III. A burnt area of the natural clay about 1 ft. in diameter. Charcoal around and associated.

H.IV. Burnt clay area with a scatter of burned sandstone fragments and charcoal.

H.V. A circular hearth 1 ft. 6 ins. in diameter covered by about 3 ins. of charcoal. The clay was scorched and on it were fragments of sandstone burnt a bright red.

The Turf Mound.

This mound proved on exploration to be some 50 ft. in diameter, and, when built, had been retained all round by a stone kerb (Figs. 3 and 4). In the northern sector, where the kerb was least damaged the turf stack butted against the kerb, the junction, where undisturbed, being vertical.

The turves initially appeared as sooty streaks, varying in length between as much as 1 ft. 3 ins. and as little as 8 ins. Beneath each turf was a thin layer of lighter material and another of bright orange clay. Dr. A. Knox of Edinburgh examined material from the turf mound with a view to recovering plant remains and her report is appended below (Appendix I).

Although it is possible to restore the original perimeter of the turf stack with some measure of confidence the question of its original height and form is more difficult. In the north-west quadrant a short stretch of kerb which was intact was not more than 2 ft. wide at the base. This can hardly have supported a kerb of much greater height than that remaining at the time of excavation (i.e. 2 ft. to 3 ft.). Ploughing had certainly denuded the turf mound so that its original height is uncertain.

The discussion on the kerb has led us to believe that the construction of the main part of the kerb preceded that of the turf stack. The slight overhang of the inner face of the kerb in the northern sector suggests that the final courses may have been added when the turf mound was complete, and that some stones were in fact wedged into the junction between the stack and the kerb.

A number of flint artifacts, flakes, and jet fragments were found in this turf stack. They were all worn and broken and may have been on or in the turves collected to form the stack.

The Secondary Pits.

At the true centre of the barrow we found an oval secondary pit with its long axis set east to west (Fig. 4). This pit was dug through the turf mound and penetrated the pre-barrow surface for a few inches. It contained closely packed stones interspersed with mud and clay. The absence of a burial indicates that this

BARNBY HOWES 1951

SECTIONS

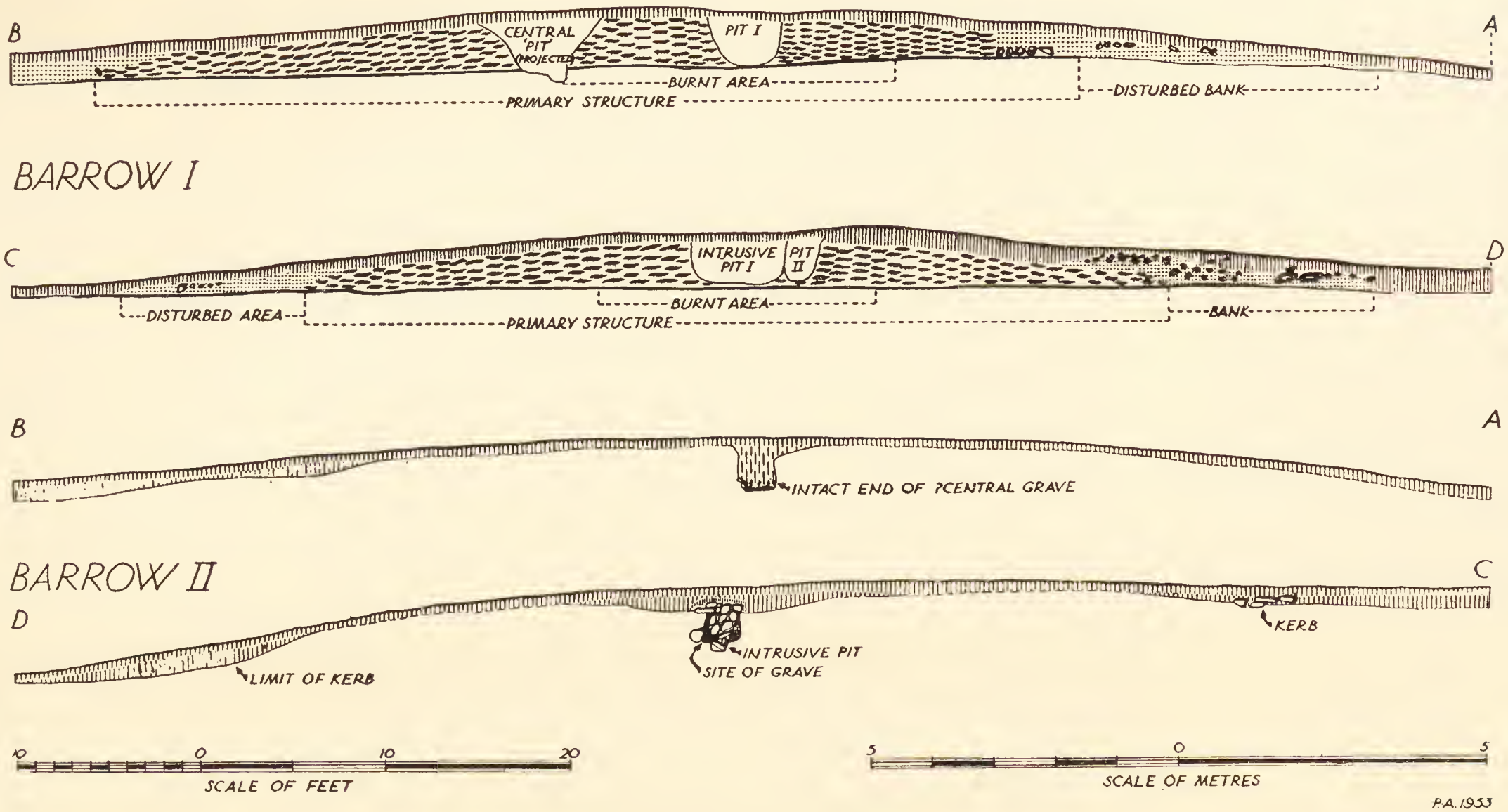


FIG. 4. Sections of Barrows.

was a spoiler's pit, whilst the central position, the almost imperceptible depression of the barrow profile, and the unbroken covering of turf, suggest that it was dug at an early date when the true centre of the barrow was still apparent. The absence of any primary burial may mean that the diggers of this pit found and removed the primary, which was, to judge from Dr. Cornwall's report, most probably a cremation. Minute scraps of pottery in the pit and the almost complete absence of calcined bone may indicate an in-urned cremation, if not merely one accompanied by pottery.

The nature of the fill suggests that stones ploughed out or visible on the surface and derived from the kerb were thrown into this hole, together with the remaining spoil, now weathered. This refill was loose enough to allow rainstorms to wash in and deposit patches of laminated clay and sand.

It is questionable whether the original burial was in a slight pit or it was deposited in an urn on the pre-barrow surface. It is suggested that a number of finds from the superficial layers of the barrow may have originally belonged to this burial. In the disturbed brown earth and stones in the south-eastern and north-eastern sectors were found numerous weathered fragments of calcined bone as well as a number of fragile and weathered potsherds whose fabric resembled the minute fragments from the grave. From the stone scatter over the turf mound in the north-east quadrant came a barbed and tanged flint arrowhead, whilst a fine plano-convex flint knife was found in disturbed material immediately overlying the kerb in the north baulk. It is suggested that in default of any other primary grave goods, these objects were probably originally associated with the primary burial and were thrown out onto the surface of the barrow with the spoil from the central pit. We cannot exclude, of course, the possibility that they may have belonged to a secondary interment destroyed by ploughing, or that the flints are purely casual finds. In this later event it would be at least odd that these are almost the only finished, and the best finished, implements from the barrow.

Pits P.I and P.II.

Two other recent pits had been dug at the centre as estimated by us in 1951. Pit P.I may well have been immediately refilled, as its limits were difficult to define and it was filled with material derived from the turf mound, broken up but not weathered. We also found clay-pipe fragments. The pit could well be an unrecorded excavation by Mr. Hornsby. Pit P.II adjoined P.I and was possibly the result of a re-excavation by a burrowing animal.

The Finds.

It may be remarked that a great deal of the material derived from the barrows was unstratified, that is, it was not in a deposit which was an original part of the monument. However, scrutiny of the cultivated land nearby and in the area showed that con-

centration of flint and artifacts is not great. Thus it seems likely that material in the plough soil above the barrow is actually derived from destruction of the barrows and has not been brought in manure or soil from elsewhere.

THE FLINT INDUSTRY.

All flint fragments, flakes, discarded cores, etc. and artifacts were collected during the course of excavations.

The most prolific source of raw material appears to have been beach pebbles, which were readily identifiable on account of their characteristic battering. Some forty fragments, large and small, represented this source. Much of the remainder of the material was weathered, thus the source was not identifiable. A few pieces and blades of a deep honey-coloured flint were noticed.

With regard to techniques, both flakes and blades appear to have been used to fulfil different needs. For scrapers, robust flakes, struck by a "Clactonian" technique, were used. For other purposes, blades struck from polyhedric cores were necessary. Heavy equipment was represented by a large pebble rubber of a familiar form, while a naturally split quartzite block with batter marks ante-dating the fracture may have supplemented this. Some 250 pieces of flint were examined, the majority being cast off scraps, cores, broken artifacts, etc. With a few exceptions all the artifacts were broken and discarded material. Many implements, flakes and fragments were fire crackled.

A series representing the raw materials and the characteristic forms of the industry is shown below. They were recovered from the Plough Soil, the Turf Mound, the Kerb and upon and in the Buried Soil beneath the barrow. The material from the Buried Soil (thirty pieces in all) was identical in character with that from the barrow mound.

Fig. 5.

(1) End of a beach pebble from which flakes had been removed.
(2) Discarded polyhedric core.
(3) Barbed and tanged arrowhead, both barbs broken.
(4) Concave end scraper on a blade.
(5) Double burin and concave end scraper.
(6) Round nosed scraper prepared upon a blade fragment.
(7) Round nosed scraper made upon a thick flake identifiable as struck from a beach pebble.
(8) Round nosed end scraper with a retouched supplementary edge. Fire reddened.
(9) Abraded pseudo-burin.
(10) Awl point, deep honey-coloured flint.
(11) Worn and broken?arrowhead. Approximates to petit tranchets of Clark Form G.
(12) Light honey-coloured petit tranchet arrowhead. Clark Form C.1.

FIG. 5. Stone Artifacts from Barrow I (½. No. 17-18, ¼).

(13) Plano-convex knife, edges slightly worn. Undamaged.
(14) Deep brown flint, petit tranchet derivative arrowhead of Clark Form E.
(15) Broken pointed end of a plano-convex knife.
(16) Tanged?Point.
(17) Pebble rubber.
(18) Split quartzite block.

Jet.

Some twenty-four pieces of jet were found in the same circumstances as the flints. Of these, seven pieces were of unfinished and possibly broken artifacts, the remaining being amorphous pieces, some of fair size. Occasional pieces of jet can be picked up on the surrounding fields where they may have been taken with seaweed manure. There are old jet workings noted upon the Ordnance Survey map at Kettleness a little more than a mile to the north of the site of the barrows. Possibly it was as common on the beach as it is today and this would be a likely, and nearby, source.

Fig. 6.

(1) Bored fragment of tabular jet. Possibly an unfinished pendant.
(2) Broken unfinished half of a spheroid bead with hour-glass perforation.
(3) Fragment of a ring, square section.
(4) Fragment of a ring, finished square section.
(5) Miniature adze-like object. Unfinished.
(6) Roughed-out bead, broken.
(7) Rectangular bead broken longitudinally showing hour-glass boring.
(8) Fragment of a ring, 'D' section.
(9) Disc bearing abrasion marks. Unfinished bead?

Pottery.

With one exception this consisted of a series of indeterminate sherds found throughout the barrow structure in the same circumstances as the flint and jet.

From the plough soil in the immediate vicinity of the scattered cremation (see plan) some twenty-two sherds of pottery of medium thickness with dark interior and relatively smooth face, were recovered. Although the edges of these sherds were abraded, they were by no means as abraded as others recovered from deep in the body of the barrow. It was possible to reassemble many of these sherds. It would seem likely that they are the remains of a vessel associated with a scattered cremation. Only body sherds of this vessel survived, no rim sherds being found. The texture of this ware is fine although it contains a few grits and some organic matter. These sherds suggest a vessel of fair diameter, possibly of the urn class.

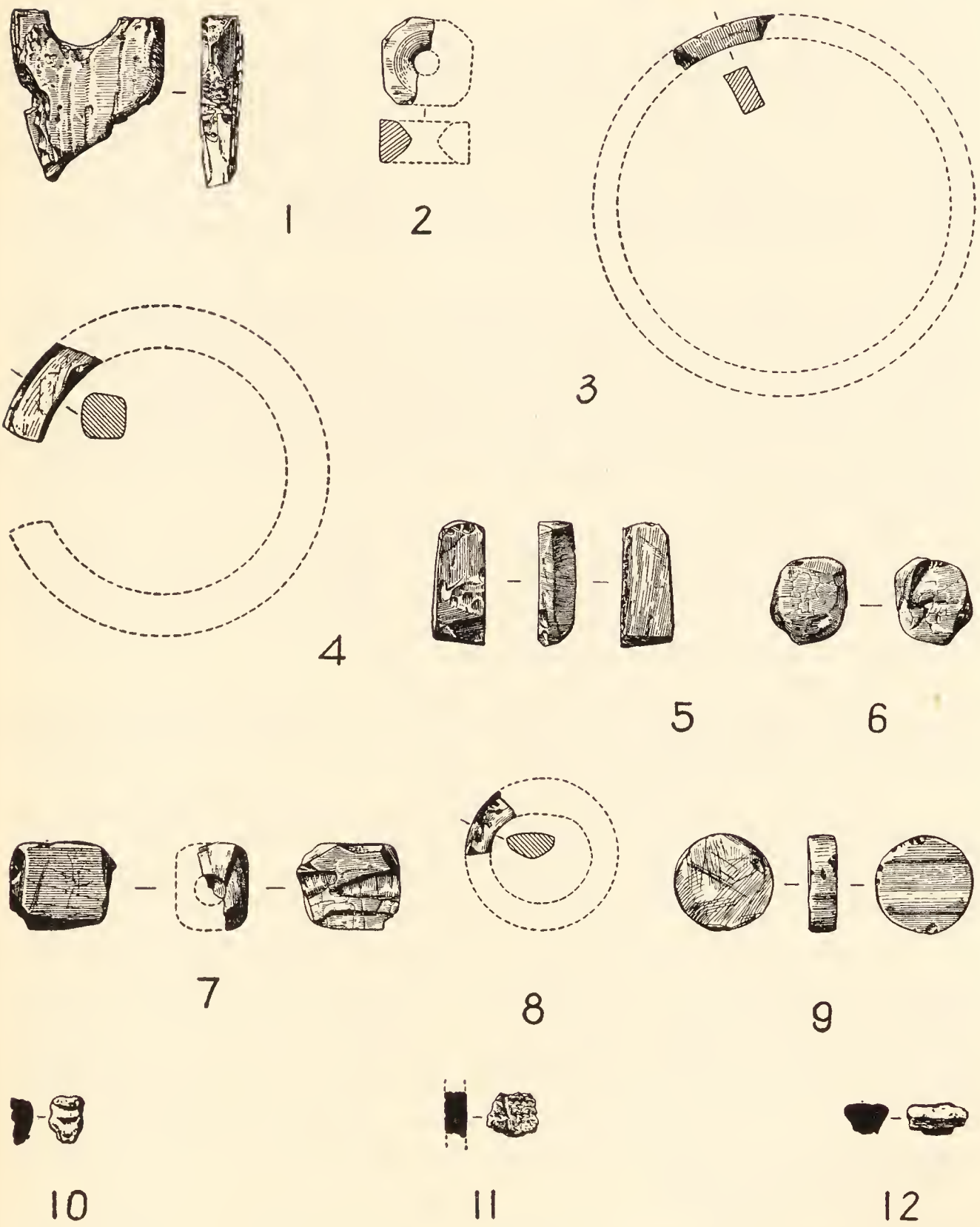


FIG. 6. Jet Artifacts and Potsherds from Barrow I. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

The remainder of the sherds are heavily abraded and, from the general character of the often large grits in them, may well be local wares. The majority are characterless but a cord ornamented, a finger-nail ornamented, and a rim sherd are illustrated below (Fig. 6). Thicknesses of the sherds represented ranged from .8 ins. to .25 ins.

Fig. 6.

(10) Light-faced sherd, finger-nail decoration on possibly the interior.
(11) Cord ornamented sherd.
(12) Abraded rim fragment.

Conclusions.

As was seen above, the remains of the Western Howe (Plate 1) permit of two interpretations. On the one hand it is possible that a complex structure, such as that at Quernhowe[1] may have existed, on the other the barrow could have been a simple kerb-retained mound. It is considered that the ruinous state of the barrow did not allow a definite conclusion to be drawn.

Turf mounds are not unknown in Yorkshire, although many of the "Howes" on the High Moors, at least, seem to have been stone cairns. At Loose Howe[2] it appears that alternate layers of white sand and turves were beneath a stone casing. Two of the three Howes on Egton High Moor,[3] six miles to the east of Loose Howe, were of the same composition, the stone casing being missing.

Cup marks (Fig. 3), often associated with food vessel interments[4], have not infrequently been found upon the stones of barrow kerbs in the area, though usually of a more definite character than the one possible example.

The burnt area beneath the barrow may well be traces of a pyre,[5] on the other hand clearance of woodland or scrub would be a good reason for pre-barrow fires.

While it would be rash to hazard dating and affinities from the tattered remains left to the investigators, they do not, taking into account the relics recovered, seem to be at variance with the general character of others in the group and district.

It can be seen clearly from the map (Fig. 1) that the Barnby Howes as a pair of barrows stand apart from the single scattered mounds of the group. Large and complex barrows, side by side with smaller and simpler structures, are not unknown, e.g. Charmy Down.[6] One cannot avoid suspecting here some social significance such as the close relationship of the deceased. This could also be the case for many of the Wessex double and triple barrows recorded by Grinsell.[7]

The Eastern Barrow.

The Excavation.

The removal of turf and top soil from all quadrants exposed the surface of the yellow boulder-clay. Before excavation it was difficult to de-limit the "mound", set as it was on the eastern extremity of the clay spur or esker. Trenches soon showed that this was the natural boulder-clay and not a heaped up mound. Upon the western side the slope to the centre was very slight, upon the eastern side it was more marked. Indeed

[1] *Ant. J.*, xxxi, 1-24.
[2] *Ibid.*, xv, 87.
[3] Greenwell, B. B., 335.
[4] *Y.A.J.*, xviv (1917), 267.
[5] *P.P.S.*, vii, 92.
[6] *Ant. J.*, xxx, 34-36.
[7] *Ibid.*, vii, 80, fig. 2.

upon this eastern side it would seem possible, although it cannot be proved, that there was some artificial scarping of the clay to give prominence to the mound when seen from the east.

The Barrow Structure.

The kerb had been badly scattered. However, it seems probably that part of it was in situ, particularly upon the south-eastern side where it flanked the clay mound. To the north-east were massive tubular boulders which appeared to be a feature of the natural boulder-clay, partially embedded in clay and sterile gravelly material. That they had never been disturbed seemed due to their proximity to the Barrow and the fact that they do complete a pattern with the remainder of the kerb. The kerb (all scatter has been plotted, so, in spite of plough disturbance, the agglomerations of boulders, some of fair size, should represent a kerb of sorts), was approximately square in plan and was composed of stones, of which all, with two exceptions, could have been carried by an active male. Some of these exhibited signs of burning, burned and unburned stones being intermixed.

While the turf and plough soil abounded with recent material, i.e. clay pipe, china, broken tiles, etc., nothing recent was found among the stones of the kerb. It was covered by brown soil which was indistinguishable from plough soil.

It seems possible that there may have been artificial scarping to increase the resemblance to a barrow, as the lines of stones that have been dignified with the designation "kerb" outlined a marked steepening of the natural clay.

Dr. Cornwall's report (see Appendix II) confirms our observation that at the time of excavation the mound of the East Barrow was a purely natural one. We cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that a small barrow may have been completely removed by ploughing.

Within the area enclosed by the kerb we refound pockets of discoloured soil and charcoal (I to VII). They lay in cavities in the boulder-clay from 4 ins. to 12 ins. in diameter and up to 5 ins. deep. One (P.V.) contained indeterminable potsherds amongst the charcoal, while from another (P.II) sherds of "Neolithic" pottery were recovered.

Near the centre point of a cluster of these pockets a post-hole containing carbonised wood or "charcoal" was encountered. It was 4 ins. in diameter and the same in depth ending in a blunt point. There were no packing stones. Its date and association with the barrow are indeterminable. In and about the stones of the kerb several small abraded potsherds were encountered. Not far distant half of a beaker was found beneath small scattered stones. Around this find spot, one or two small sherds, all belonging to this same beaker, suggest the destruction and scattering of a deposit by the plough.

The Grave.

At the time of excavation we were not aware of Hornsby's depredations. There were no obvious surface indications of serious disturbance and the boulder-clay mound was thought to be a clay barrow similar to another of the group. It was also realised that a pit dug in boulder-clay and quickly refilled might be very difficult to recognise except under weather conditions more favourable than prevailed during our excavations.

Thus, beneath what was thought at the time to be undisturbed barrow clay-mound, a water and rock filled pit was encountered. The water was baled out and the rocks, which were jammed into it in the utmost confusion, were removed, revealing a pit with a curious "step" at one end upon which was what appeared to be a block of wood. After some days exposure in a drying wind, the grave was fit for examination. This showed that at the ends of the pit intact sections of the grave and its filling survived (Fig. 7). Thus it is possible to show (Fig. 7 and Plate 4) that it was rectangular in outline and slightly convex at the bottom. Upon the bottom a plank of wood had been laid.

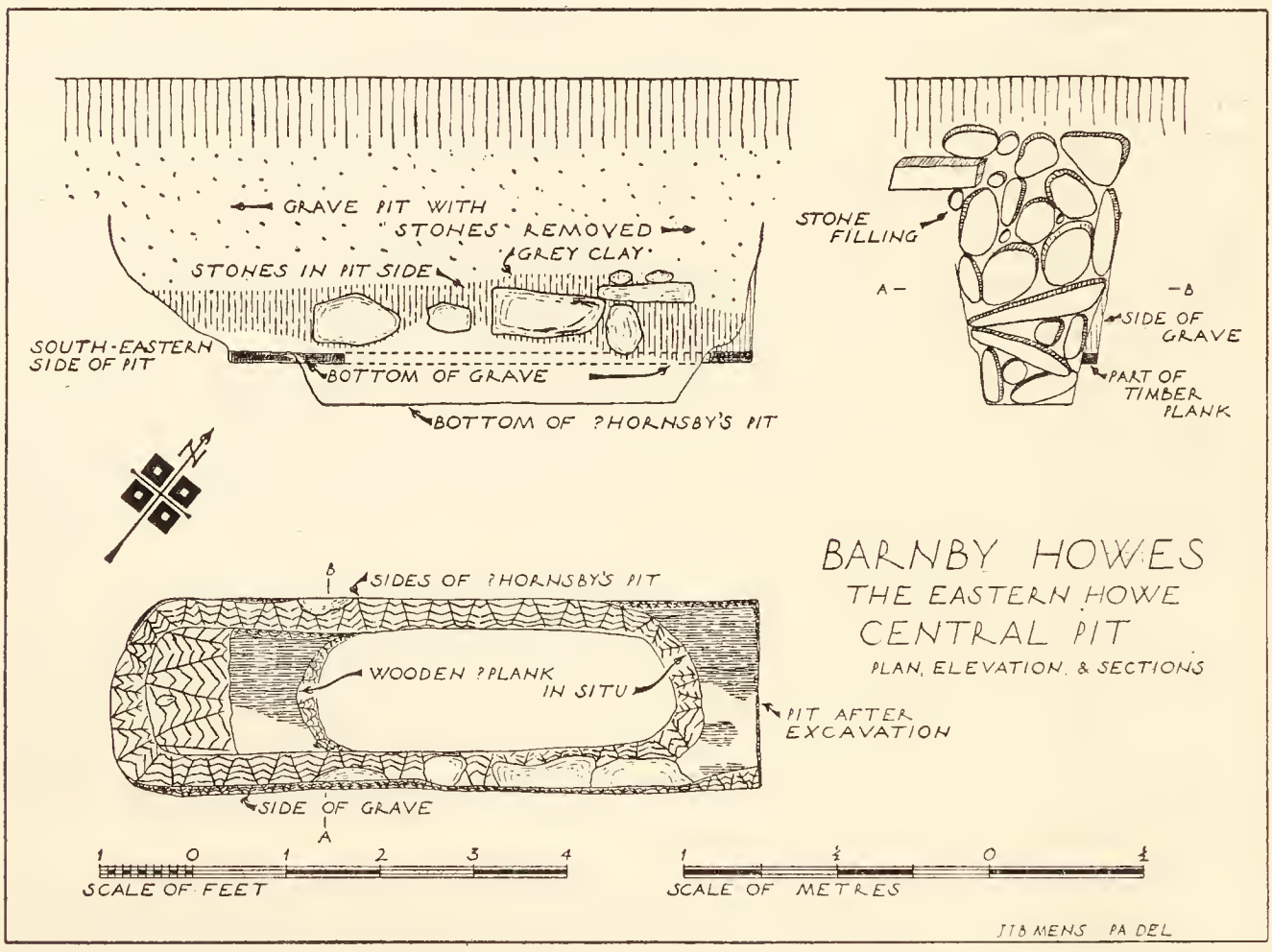


FIG. 7. The despoiled Grave.

Previous excavations, it would seem, had cleared the central area of the barrow, revealing the grave pit set against boulder-clay. The grave had been roughly dug out to a few inches above the wood, i.e. to the surface of the grey muddy layer. Then, as a conclusion, a deeper pit had been driven through this and the unnoticed timber plank. It is by no means clear whence

the stones which refilled the grave were obtained. These stones were roughly uniform, and larger than the average of the scattered kerb stones. The possibility of their being a recent introduction must not be overlooked.

Natural stones from the boulder clay protruded into the original grave pit in places, they had been cleared around, but no effort had been made to remove them. The upper part of the pit appeared to have been refilled by the material dug from it. After such a pit had been refilled, water would percolate far more rapidly through the infilling than through the more compact surrounding clay. Thus, the bottom of the grave would tend to be almost permanently waterlogged, perhaps preserving wood and destroying bone. This circumstance would then account for the grey (bleached, when dry) appearance of the material at the bottom and sides of the pit, both above and below the wooden plank (Appendix II below). Nothing was found in this pit which gave any indication of date nor, as far as is known, did Hornsby find anything.

Fig. 8.

FINDS.

(1) Upper abraded portions of a corded "B" beaker. Light brown, fine paste. This beaker with its simple cord decoration, belongs to a group distinguished by V. G. Childe as a third variant—B.3—within the "B Beaker" group.[1] More recently Willmot has called them "Cord-zone type D", the fourth of a series of seven sub-types (A to G) resulting from an amalgam of Rhenish zoned beaker and corded ware ceramics, in which the amount of corded ware influence is progressively greater from "A" to "G". This particular sub-type is most common in the Rhineland and in Holland, though hardly found east of the Rhine. Westward, examples reached Brittany and thence the Pyrenees and even Spain. In Britain "Cord-zone D" beakers are most common in the north and east, in particular round the shores of the Firth of Forth, and in Northumbria and Yorkshire. Examples do however occur as far south and west as Hampshire and Salisbury Plain. There is at present no warrant on the score of associations for ascribing these beakers to more than a sub-culture closely related to that of the Wessex "B.I" beakers, which, though mainly of Rhenish zoned beaker ancestry, do occasionally display certain corded-ware traits (e.g. the string decoration within the rims of the Thickthorne Down and Wick Barrow beakers).

[1] Childe, *P.C.B.I.*, 73.

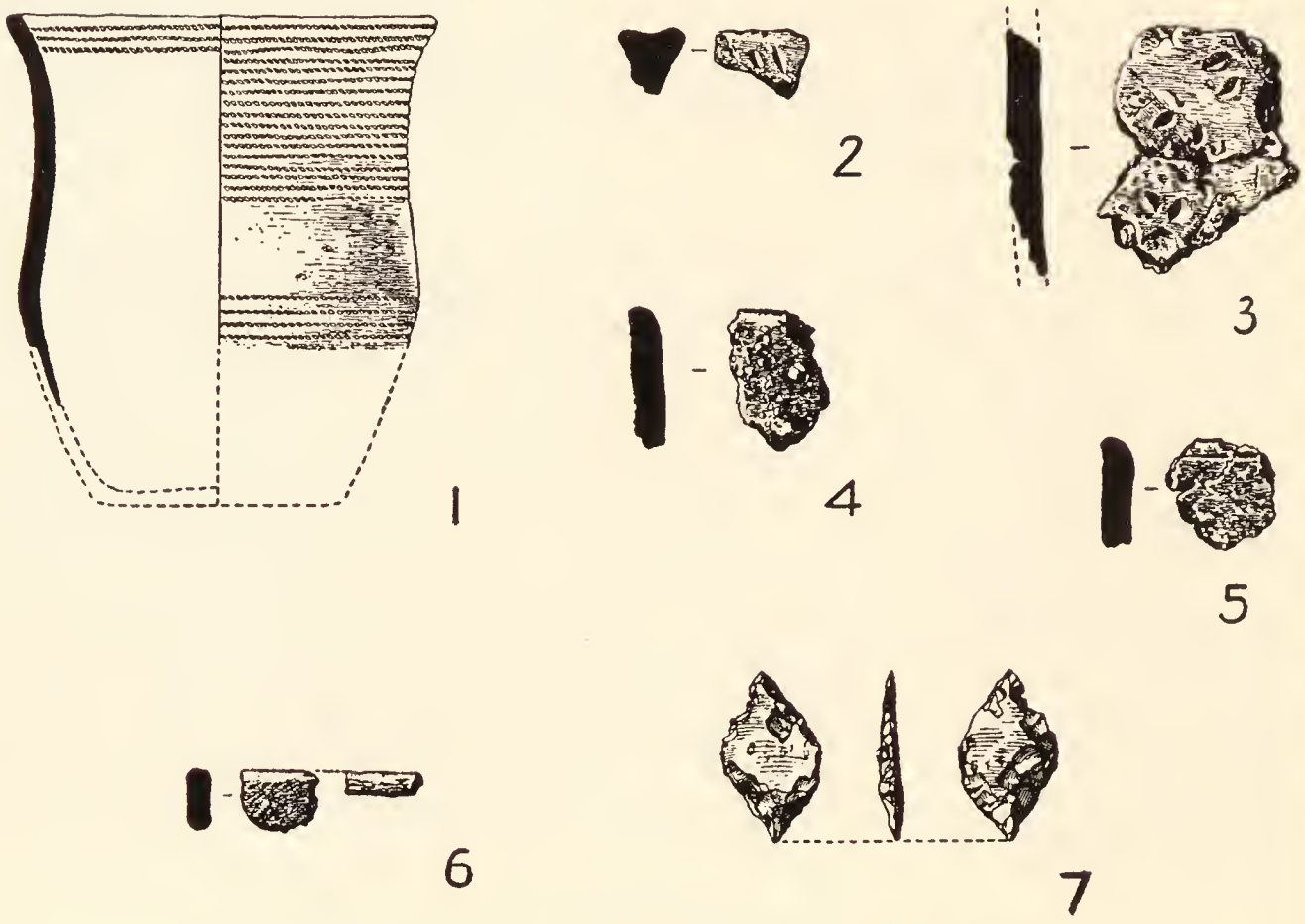


FIG. 8. Finds from Barrow II (1, ¼. 2-7, ½).

From among the stones of the kerb :—

(2) Rim sherd, abraded, with finger-nail ornamentation. Light brown, fine paste.
(3) Thick, lumpy, heavily gritted sherd with finger-nail ornamentation.

From the "pockets" of discoloured soil and charcoal :—

(4) Sherd of dark faced, heavily tempered, ware. Inner surface missing.
(5) Sherd of dark faced ware with a "corky" surface.
(6) Sherd of brown sandy ware.
(7) Leaf shaped arrowhead.

CONCLUSIONS.

It will be seen that the Eastern Barrow is more difficult of interpretation than the Western Barrow. It has to be admitted that our excavation did not enable us to establish any relation between the three principal phenomena found; the robbed grave with the remains of a plank (see Appendix II) at the bottom, the broken beaker under a pile of stones some 25 ft. away, and the "pockets" with their Neolithic pottery. Even the square plan of the "kerb" may well be due to plough disturbance. In spite of the absence of any evidence tending to prove the former existence of an artificial barrow mound we have retained the name "Eastern Barrow" if only because the appearance of a barrow was so convincing even though the substance was absent.

APPENDIX I.

The Pollen Content of the Turf Mound.

By Dr. E. Knox, Edinburgh University.

A "monolith" of soil was despatched from the site and examined in the laboratory, the following data resulting :—

1	Top of "monolith", soil disturbed; contains roots, straw and probably organic remains are from present day plants.
2	
3	Mixed sand and clay with stones, mainly sandstone.
4	
5	
6	
7	Clay with black bands at intervals, and about $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick. Contains remains of roots and plant fragments, too
8	small to be determined.
9	
10	
11	
12	. . . . . Buried soil beneath barrow.

Samples of the clay soil were analysed and also the black humic bands, separately. In all samples the pollen frequency is extremely low, so that a pollen count would not have given any reliable indication of the true character of the vegetation. In all samples the pollen types found were similar and limited in number. The commonest types recognised were the pollen of grasses (*Gramineae*), sedges (*Cyperaceae*), the common reed (*Phragmites*), and alder (*Alnus*); a few moss spores were noted, also spores of fern (*Polypodium*) together with one or two examples of plantain (*Plantago*) and other herbaceous weeds.

APPENDIX II.

Report on Soil Samples.

By Dr. I. W. Cornwall, University of London.

Twenty-four samples were examined as follows :—

(1) Presence of calcium carbonate—all were non-calcareous.

(2) pH suspended in distilled water (a measure of acidity or alkalinity). All save one were somewhat acid.

(3) Extraction of alkali-soluble organic matter (mainly humus). The boulder-clay on which the barrows were constructed contains many flakes and fragments of jet (fossil wood) derived from the local Jurassic formations, so that precautions must be taken against inclusion of these in portions of samples used for the extraction of organic matter. Jet easily yields a brown humic solution with caustic soda and this would of course interfere with possibly significant differences in humus due to soil formation.
Jet is easily mistaken for charcoal by the naked eye, but the absence of clear woody structure and lamination on weathering distinguish it easily from wood-charcoal at a magnification of about x 25.

(4) Visual examination (a) after washing away silt and clay fines with water, (b) after treatment of the washed sample with concentrated HCl and rewashing to remove acid-soluble minerals. This enables carbonaceous grains to be distinguished easily from those of iron and manganese minerals. Of light minerals little more than colourless silica and alumina survive acid treatment.

Results of these investigations for individual samples and groups of samples were as follows :—

No. 1. Barrow I, from bottom of secondary pit. "Is this burnt matter?" pH 5.7, humus 52 mgs. per cent. Recognizable wood-charcoal and grains of burnt clay were present in the acid-insoluble residue. A test for sulphates, often present in wood ash, was positive. The evidence for burning is, however, already clear. Sulphates, if present, would have been inconclusive in isolation, since the boulder-clay contains derived pyrites nodules, which often yield sulphates on weathering, and probably also alum shales which occur locally.

No. 2. Barrow I, central pit at base of baulk. "Has this soil been burned?" pH 5.2, humus 43 mgs. per cent. As before, wood-charcoal and burnt clay crumbs were found in the acid-insoluble residue and among the carbonized remains was a graminaceous seed which, on submission to Dr. Helbaek, was provisionally determined as barley.

No. 3. This was taken from immediately below No. 2, with the question "Is it ash or carbon?" pH 5.0, humus 20 mgs. per cent. Charcoal was found in the acid-insoluble residue but no burnt clay. The evidence of sulphate as an indication of wood ash is probably unreliable on this site for the reasons given under No. 1, but it is worth noting that a small amount of water-soluble sulphate was present in this sample.

No. 4. Barrow I, north-west quadrant 15 ft. from centre. "Was this turf?" pH 7.0, humus 47 mgs. per cent, charcoal absent. From the extractable organic matter content [c. 3½ times the amount found in natural subsoil—see below No. 9(e)] it seems justifiable to regard this sample as being from a former land-surface with vegetation—perhaps turf.

No. 5. Barrow I, sample of buried soil. "Was this turf?" pH 5.0, humus 47 mgs. per cent, charcoal absent but many weathered and laminated jet fragments. The humus figure is identical with that for No. 4, which justifies the same conclusion.

No. 6. Sample of buried soil beneath centre of Barrow I. "Is there evidence of burning on this surface?" pH 5.1, humus 75 mgs. per cent. Many carbonaceous grains but little that could be recognized as wood charcoal. Many of these grains had a coke-like, cellular appearance suggesting that they were carbonized jet. A small piece of unweathered jet, gently ignited in air at a low red heat until evolution of vapours ceased, had a similar (if naturally fresher) appearance. It appears from this that there had been burning of the surface below the barrow mound and it seems possible in the absence of recognizable wood-charcoal, that fragments of jet formed the fuel. On heating in a small flame jet fuses, emits vapours and takes fire with a smoky flame, giving the unmistakable smell of burning coal. On removal from the flame it continues to burn for some time of its own heat like a good grade bituminous coal. In view of its plentiful natural occurrence in the Whitby area, both as derived fragments in the boulder-clay and on the beach, and *in situ* at easily accessible cliff exposures, there is no reason why the barrow builders should not have discovered and exploited its properties as a fuel. The extremely high organic matter content is probably due to incompletely carbonized jet fragments.

No. 7. Barrow I, three samples in a vertical series from (a) the natural subsoil, (b) the presumed former land surface, and (c) the barrow mound material for comparison.

	(a)	(b)	(c)
pH	5.0	5.0	5.0
Humus (mgs. %) ..	13.0	37.0	25.0

Charcoal was absent in all. The pH values tell nothing in this case, differing only slightly in the second place of decimals, which is, in any case, regarded as unreliable. The humus concentration, however, is instructive. The buried soil contained almost three times as much extractable organic matter as the subsoil, while the barrow mound, largely constructed

of sods and surface soil scraped up from the surroundings, shows close on twice as much. This result well confirms the existence and vertical location of the buried soil.

No. 8. "Barrow II, three samples as in No. 7 to show the presence or absence of a buried soil below the mound".

	(a)	(b)	(c)
pH	5.8	5.4	5.4
Humus (mgs. %) ..	20.0	17.0	13.0

No charcoal was found in any of these, but some scattered grains of weathered jet. Unlike the section represented by the three samples of No. 7, all three of No. 8 looked like unaltered boulder-clay, while the more humic buried soil [No. 7(b)] had been of a noticeably darker colour and more crumbly consistency. The pH figures are not particularly instructive, but the low humus throughout suggests that none of the samples is from a buried land surface. The inversion of the succession—the most humic would be expected to occur at the top—is probably not significant. Great care had to be taken with these humus estimations to exclude obvious fragments of jet. A preliminary experiment, done without deliberate selection of the 1-gram sample gave a figure of 76 mgs. per cent for No. 8(b), which was obviously not representative of the sample as a whole, or even likely in a buried soil (cp. No. 7(b) above). A very small piece of included jet would be capable of producing this result. The irregularity in the present figures is probably due, in a slighter degree, to the same cause.

The conclusion to be drawn from the humus figures is that the barrow "mound" is a largely natural, not artificial, feature and therefore shows no buried soil, as was the case with Barrow I, where the mound was piled up on a pre-existing surface with vegetation.

No. 9. "Natural soil profile near radar station." A series of five samples from a section in natural soil was taken for comparison with the section of the mound of Barrow II. Nos. (a) to (e) were taken from the surface downwards at 4″ intervals.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
pH	5.6	5.6	5.8	5.7	5.3
Humus (mgs. %) ..	64.0	56.0	31.0	27.0	18.0

The pH figures show a soil acid throughout and without very significant variations. Humus decreases steadily with depth, from a high figure just below the turf to a low one at a depth of 16 ins. In step with the falling humus content, the clay becomes progressively stiffer and less crumbly.

No. 10. "Barrow II, mound section." Six samples, (a) to (f), taken from the surface downwards at 4 ins. intervals.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
pH	6.2	5.7	5.8	6.2	6.3	6.3
Humus (mgs. %)	62.0	43.0	31.0	24.0	17.0	13.0

These results repeat with tolerable exactitude those of the preceding natural section. They support the conclusion, suggested by the apparent absence of a buried land surface in No. 8, that the "mound" of Barrow II is a natural eminence, perhaps somewhat adapted by the diggers of the central pit as a funerary mound.

No. 11. "Barrow II. Monolith sample from supposed base level of the mound." Following the results from the complete section in No. 10, it was considered to be of no value to examine this also, since the section appears to be in entirely natural material and, moreover, shows no sign, on examination in the block, of anything suggestive of a buried soil.

No. 12. "Barrow II. Sample of wooden plank from undisturbed part of central pit." This appeared, on examination in the laboratory, to be no more than an impression in the soil, though there can be no doubt, from its appearance when first exposed, that it was the impression of the roughly-cleft surface of a worked piece of timber. From its position in the bottom filling of an undisturbed part of the pit, presumed to have been a grave, it would seem to have been closely associated with the presumed body—a coffin-board or part of a bier or lowering cradle.

For the support of this theory, it was first necessary to show that the wood was represented by more than its mere impression. The lignin of wood breaks down on decay into humic substances, so that, in a soil as acid as that of Barnby Howes, one would expect large amounts of organic matter to remain from any such considerable mass of wood as the impression suggests.

A humus estimation gave the high figure of 480 mgs. per cent [to be compared with the 64 mgs. per cent of the humic layer at the summit of the natural soil—No. 9(a)].

Some of this large concentration of organic matter might equally well have derived from the body, if any, since extraction with caustic soda makes no distinction between vegetable and animal organic matter. Timber, however, yields very little phosphate, while a human body could be expected to leave a large concentration of this also, provided that the acidity of the soil had not caused most of the phosphate to be lost to the ground water by leaching, during the lapse of time since the grave was dug.

Comparative phosphate estimations of (a) the soil showing the wood impression, with two representative samples from No. 9, the natural profile, (b) at 4 ins. below surface, and (c) at 16 ins. respectively, gave the following results :—

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Phosphate (as P_2O_5) (mgs. %)	502	170	120

A value about three times that of the natural superficial soil and more than four times that of the natural subsoil at 16″ depth, evidently indicates the original presence of a considerable mass of probably animal organic matter in the pit—i.e. a body, in all probability. The phosphate would be hard to explain in any other way.

APPENDIX III.

The Grain of Barley.

By Dr. Hans Helbaek.

The single grain found at Barnby Howes is that of barley. It is carbonised and somewhat damaged and puffed. The original surface layers have disappeared, the hypodermal cells (chlorophyl cells) making up the present surface. Thus it cannot be determined whether it was originally hulled or naked. Neither is it possible to point out the type of spike to which it belonged, whether two or six row.

It is a very small grain, 3.6 m.m. long, 2.56 m.m. wide, and 1.83 m.m. thick. The length has evidently been slightly greater, the apex being damaged.

As it appears from previous investigations of British prehistoric grain, as for instance published in "Cereals in Great Britain" [1] and "Early Crops in Southern England", [2] barley was the main cereal grown during the Bronze Age. Both naked and hulled barley was grown in Britain from the introduction of agriculture, the naked variety being predominant up to the later phases of the Bronze Age. No evidence has ever been found to indicate the existence of two row barley in Britain in prehistoric times.

APPENDIX IV.

Note on the Goldsborough Group of Barrows.

Fieldwork in the vicinity of Barnby Howes showed that far from being an isolated pair of barrows they were but part of a considerable group numbering at least twelve, some of which show signs of deliberate disturbance (Fig. 1). Similar groups are to be found elsewhere in Yorkshire and

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[1] Knud Jessen and Hans Helbaek, *Cereals in Great Britain and Ireland in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times*, Kgl. Dan. Vidensk, Selsk. Biol. Skrifter, 1944.

[2] *P.P.S.*, XVIII, 194-233.

indeed at no great distance, e.g. Brotten. It would seem that such barrow cemeteries represent the regular burial places of a family or clan and it is from such cemeteries that a sequence of artifacts could well be obtained, representing as they do a closed group.

Previous Excavations in the Goldsborough Group of Barrows.

Canon Greenwell[1] described two barrows which he opened "in the township of Goldsborough and parish of Lythe". A photograph of the food vessel found by the Canon in the first of his two barrows was among the Elgee manuscripts, and had been labelled "Whinney-Hill". Whinney-Hill is No. 4 on our map and in our list of the group. This identification suggests that Elgee discovered evidence of identity more precise than that published by Greenwell. Also in the Greenwell collection are jet beads and armlet fragments labelled "from Lythe",[2] though it is not known from which barrow they came. A burial upon a wooden board was also found in the other group[3] that Greenwell opened.

Details of the Goldsborough Group of Barrows.

No. on Map Fig. I	Local Name	Dimensions		Condition
		Diameter	Height	
1, 2	Barnby Howes	Present Report.		
3	Stangoe Carr	45 ft.	2 ft.	Much ploughed.
4	Whinney-Hill	70 ft.	3 ft.	? Excavated by Canon Greenwell, Arch. 52, Pt. I, 43.
5	—	70-80 ft.	3 ft.	Stones visible, much ploughed.
6	—	60 ft.	1 ft.	? Clay mound, nearly ploughed. out. Possibly an axe-hammer from this barrow (Local information).
7	—	40 ft.	1 ft.	Newly ploughed out.
8	—	80 ft.	1 ft.	Not certainly a barrow.
9	Cow Hill	50 ft.	3 ft.	Ploughed down. Traces of an old investigation by central pit method.
10	Butter Howe	70 ft.	4 ft.	Ploughed on two sides. Traces of an old investigation by central pit method.
11	Potato Hill	90 ft. app.	3 ft.	Ploughed down.
12	Brake End	Not measured		Ploughed down.

[1] *Arch.*, LII, Pt. I, 43.
[2] Greenwell collections in the British Museum and brought to my notice by Mr. J. J. Butler.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 43 (No. 275).

THE ROMAN EXCAVATIONS AT CANTLEY HOUSING ESTATE, DONCASTER.

PART III.

Kilns 22—25 and Iron-smelting Furnace I.

By Sheila M. Cregeen, M.A.

In the summer of 1954 further rescue work was done on Cantley Estate, near Doncaster. The area selected lies midway between Kirk Moor Plantation and the junction of Church Lane and Cantley Lane; it is bounded by Acacia Grove, Birch Road, and part of Acacia Road. Already KILNS 7, 8, and 13, and CREMATION PIT I had been excavated here. (cf. plans, Figs. 1 & 2).

We turned our attention to this area again because of the appearance of pottery and evidence of kilns at the electricity substation then being erected. We began to probe the open stretch of ground at 6-foot intervals, without much result; but in the meantime some interesting features appeared in Acacia Road. There a gas pipe trench was being cut on the North side, and later a deeper one on the opposite side of the road and continuing along Birch Road. In June and July we made trial cuttings along the lines of these trenches as occasion dictated. The excavation of another gas pipe trench between Acacia Grove and the electricity substation led to our resuming work in October.

Summary of findings. (Fig. 2).

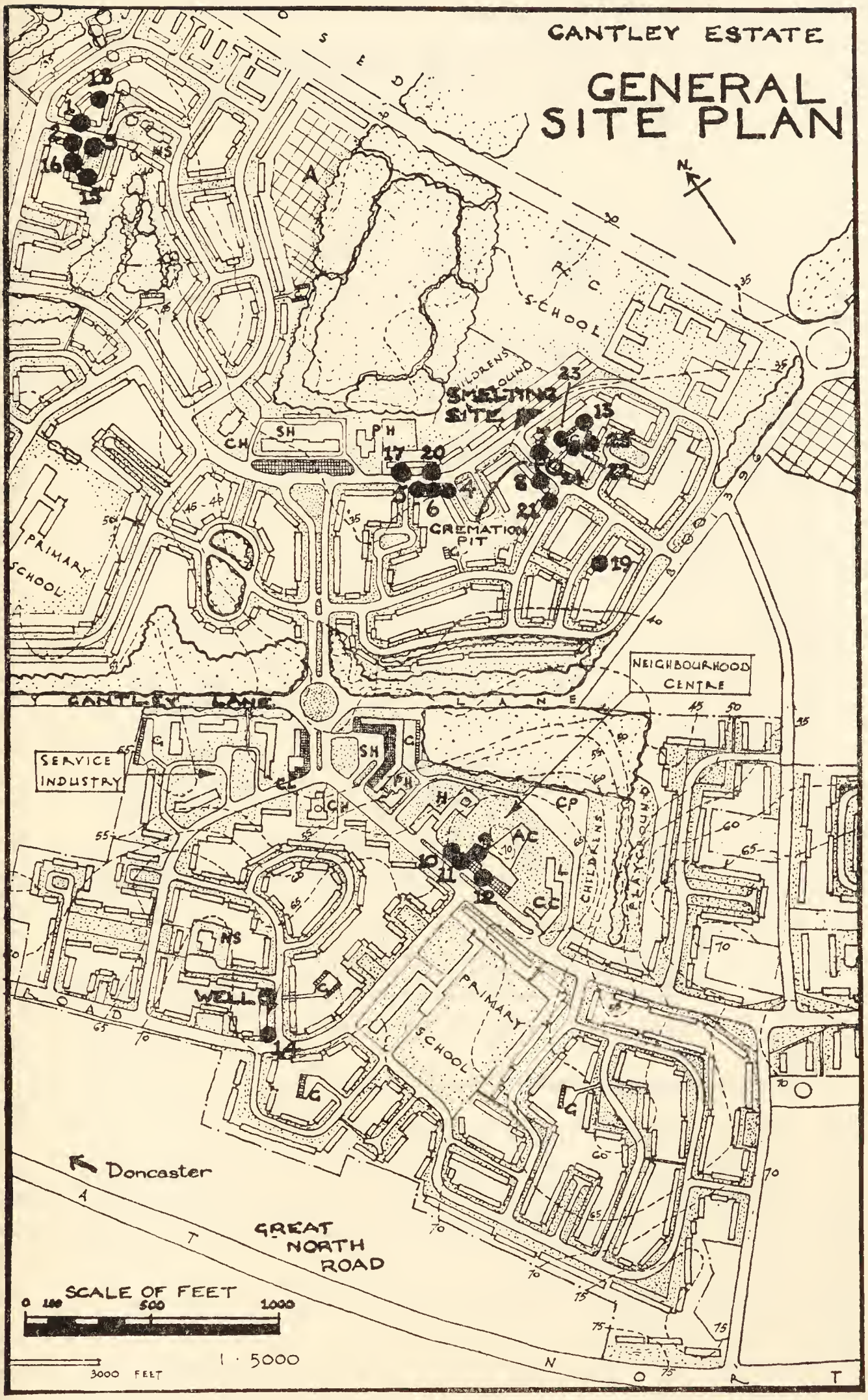
1. Dilapidated features of KILNS 22 and 23 : not excavated, but observed in the area immediately outside and covered by the electricity substation. The first was in the Southern corner and later apparent in a trench running past this corner. The second was outside the West corner. Much pottery came from these destroyed kilns.

2. The remains of IRON-SMELTING FURNACE I, and possibly of a second, associated with a pottery level on the North side of Acacia Road.

3. Two large deposits of black ash in Birch Road, of which the second accompanied other signs of a kiln—KILN 24—which must have been buried under the road.

4. An almost complete kiln—KILN 25—between Acacia Grove and the electricity substation. We excavated the interior.

5. A large amount of pottery from the above sites and from numerous ditches exposed by gas pipe trenches in the area and on the West side of Birch Road.



Based on a map prepared by the Borough Surveyor and Engineer, Doncaster.

FIG 1. Map of Excavation Area.

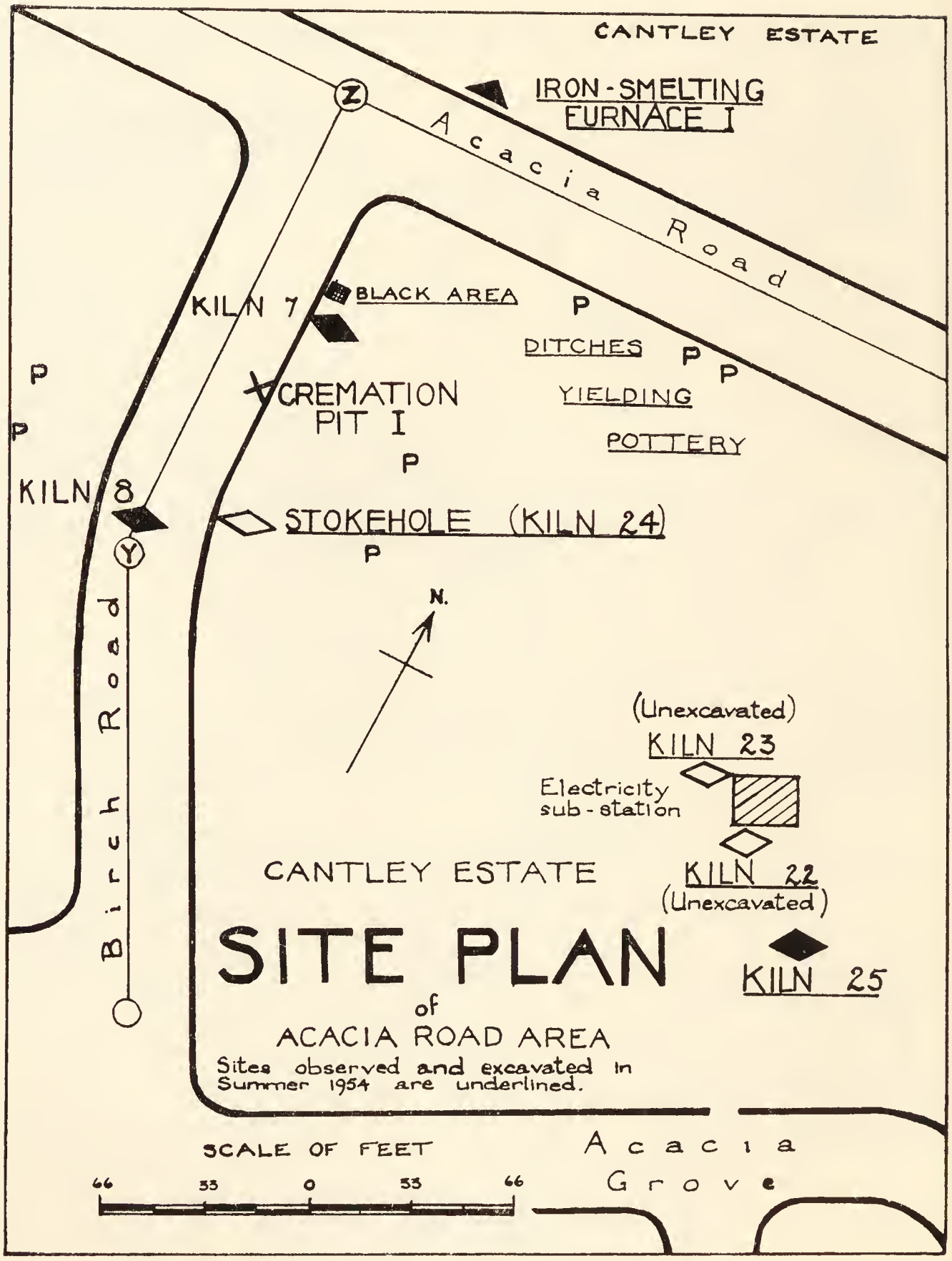


FIG. 2.

These findings, except for the destroyed KILNS 22 and 23, will be described and discussed below. The pottery will be described in a later paper.

Acacia Road: IRON-SMELTING FURNACE I and ASSOCIATED DITCHES.

(cf. plan and sections, Figs. 3 & 4. Finds in Appendix).

Both faces of the gas pipe trench on the North side of Acacia Road, just East of its junction with Birch Road, showed a fairly dark layer below the humus forming roughly V-shaped

depressions in the natural sand. Section AB represents the North face, where in addition there was a saucer-shaped layer of black ash between the two pits. The adjacent sand was darkened with moisture. From the infilling of the pits came coarse pottery, one tiny fragment of Samian, lumps of fired clay, and traces of charcoal.

Apart from the latter, similar material came from a trial hole dug a few feet away in the field. We decided to make a cutting to find out : (a) whether the depressions were mere pits or really ditches, and if ditches, in which direction they ran; (b) whether the black layer extended further; and (c) whether these features were associated with structural remains. The plan in Fig. 3 shows, with later extensions, this first cutting, 22 feet long by 3 feet, at a distance—partly to avoid an electricity cable—of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the workmen's trench.

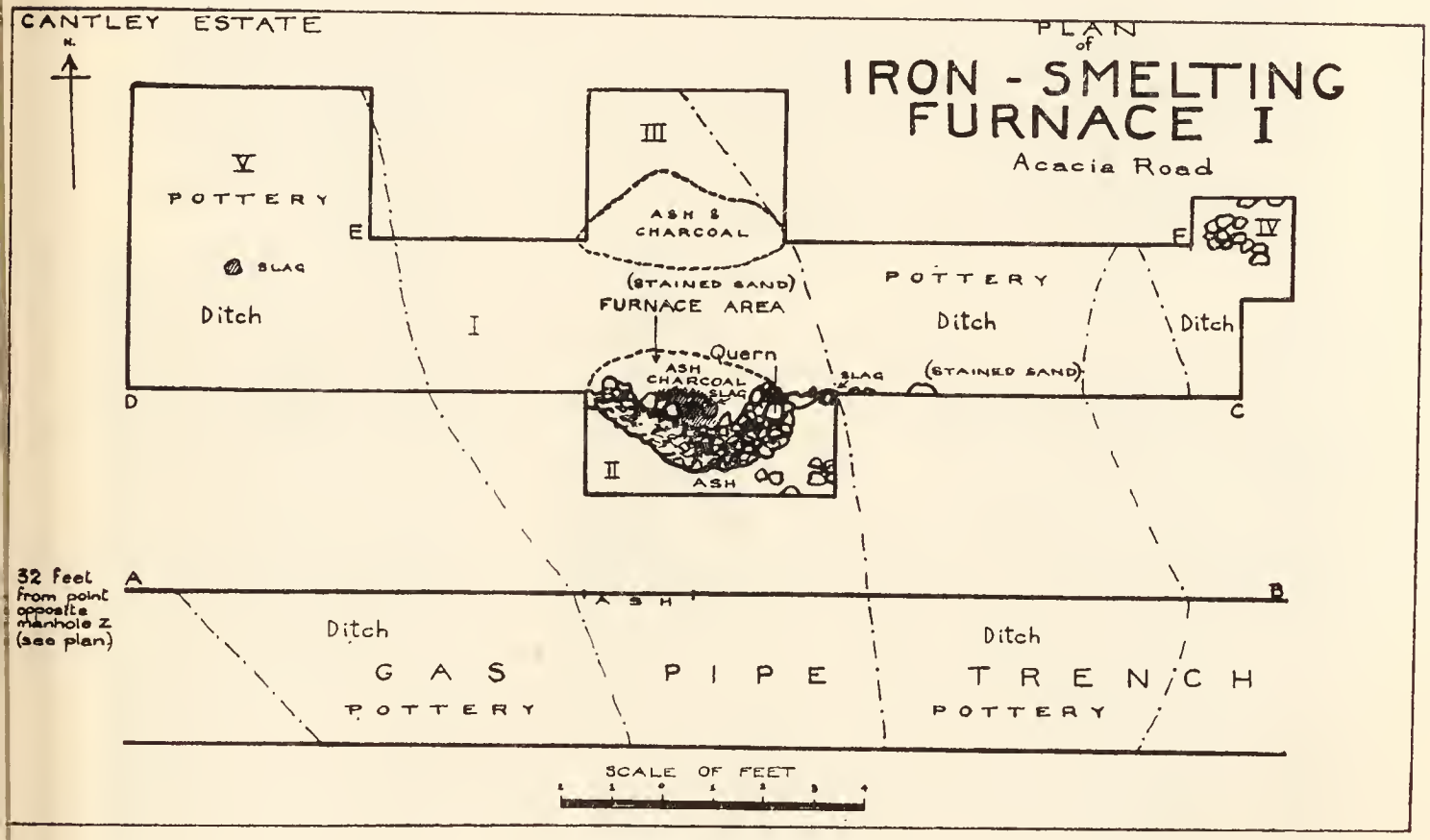


FIG. 3.

The surface of the ground had been artificially levelled, so that the top layer, of drifted sand, was of varying thickness. In the underlying humus was a sparse scatter of sherds, charcoal, small nuggets of soft clay, and a fragment of fired clay. The humus, which was very dark and hard, gradually gave place to a material only slightly lighter in colour, but less compact. It corresponds to the layer below the humus in Section AB. Scattered sherds and clay lumps increasingly occurred, and also two or three lumps of iron slag.

At a depth of 18 inches a stony protuberance appeared in the Southern face of the trench. This, projecting still more, continued downwards, (cf. Plate I, 1 & 2) beside a very dark and

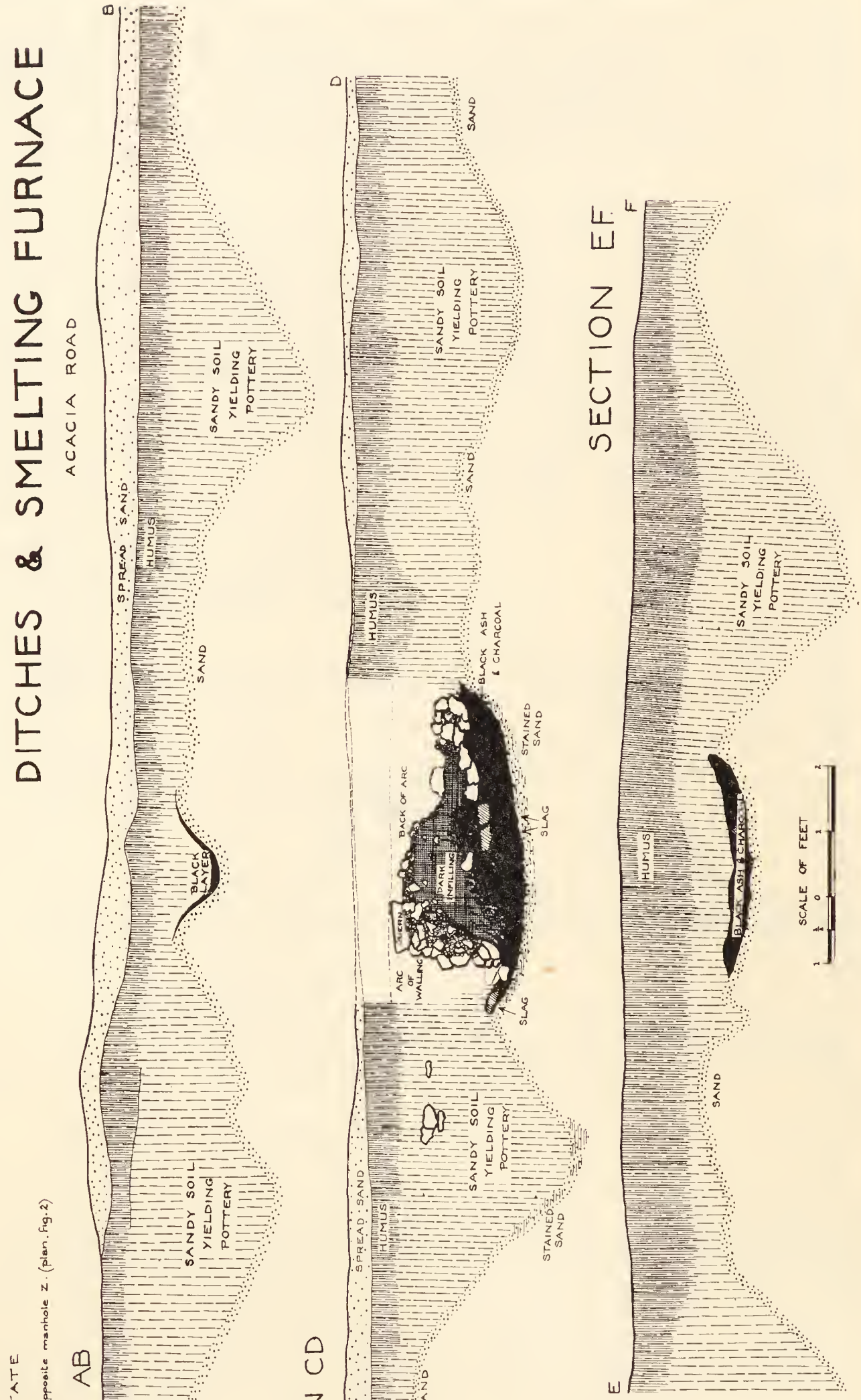

SECTIONS OF
DITCHES & SMELTING FURNACE
ACACIA ROAD
CANTLEY ESTATE
32 feet from point opposite manhole Z. (plan, fig. 2)
SECTION AB
A
B
SPREAD SAND
HUMUS
SAND
SANDY SOIL
YIELDING
POTTERY
BLACK LAYER
SECTION CD
C
D
SPREAD SAND
HUMUS
SAND
SANDY SOIL
YIELDING
POTTERY
BLACK ASH & CHARCOAL
STAINED SAND
SLAG
ARC OF WALLING
BACK OF ARC
DARK INFILLING
SECTION EF
E
F
HUMUS
SAND
SANDY SOIL
YIELDING
POTTERY
BLACK ASH & CHARCOAL
SLAG
SCALE OF FEET

FIG. 4.

PLATE I.

1.



2.



Photos - (1) *H. W. Jones* (2) *A. J. Lefley*

Acacia Road bloomery : part of wall appearing in Cutting I.

PLATE II.

1. Acacia Road bloomery : the quern on the left of the photograph has fallen from its original position on top of the wall.

1.



2.



Photos - A. J. Lefley

QUERNSTONES.
Above: lower stone found in bloomery.
Below left: part of upper stone from building site near bloomery.
Below right: part of upper stone from building site near Birch Road.

then a black layer. Meanwhile the whole trench was being cleared, eventually to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Before describing this, however, some account will be given of Cutting II.

This extension of 5 by 2 feet at right angles to 1 was for the purpose of exploring the vicinity of the projecting stones. Eventually a structure was revealed (cf. Plate II, 1), which is shown diagrammatically in Section CD. At the top level lay the lower stone of a rotary quern, its flat surface marked with iron stain. (Plate II, 2, and Fig. 5). It lay face upwards and slightly aslant, embedded in the highest surviving part of the arc of walling. The top of this part of the wall was otherwise 9 inches below ground level and about a foot wide. It stood 20 inches high, but the rest of it was broken down to 8 or 9 inches. The chord of the arc was four feet long. This was very rough and dilapidated walling. The upper part consisted of small boulders and pebbles, whole or split, in the interstices of which were dark

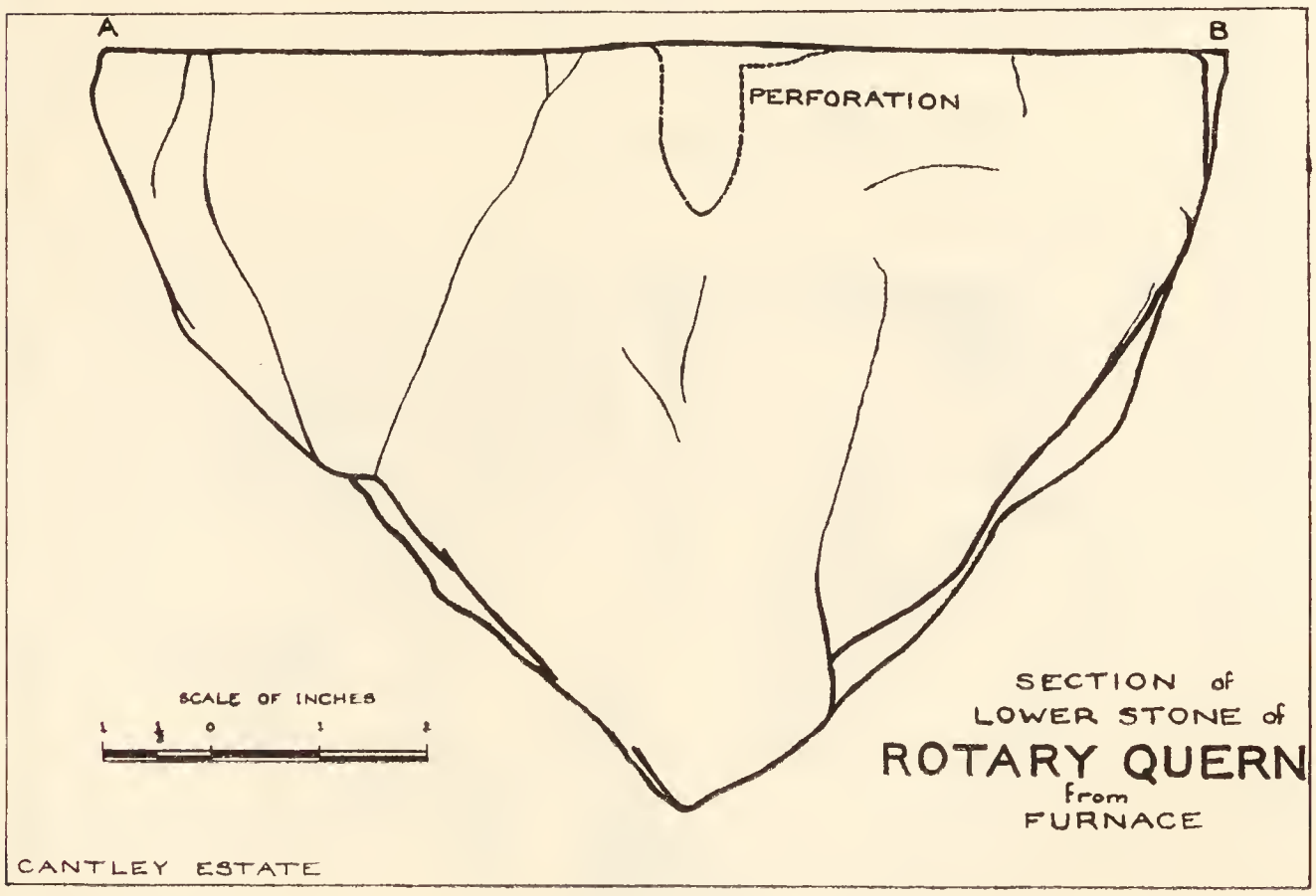


FIG. 5.

soil, tiny fragments of alkaline slag containing pebbles, lumps of fired clay, some perforated, and pieces of charcoal. The lower part of the wall included some lumps of iron slag still containing iron. Below the top of this lower part, a line of stones protruded, running from the end to about halfway along, where they were surrounded by slag. Another short line of stones extended Eastwards, outside the highest part of the wall and level with its base. Loose stones appeared behind the wall; and again, apparently isolated boulders showed in the side of trench I, 2 or 3 feet East of and in line with the wall. The inner surface of the structure, if surface it may be called, curved back from the top.

The dark soil filling this part-enclosed area yielded a small bronze plate or patch (Fig. 6), two oyster shells, more slag of the alkaline type, and a fragment of bone which is probably from the scapula of a young pig. At 18 inches from the surface the filling changed to black ash. This layer, with occasional pockets of clean sand at the edges, was several inches deep and yielded a great deal of charcoal, mainly of oak, but with elm also represented. In the midst of this was a mass of slag. Pottery was absent. The bottom of this burnt layer made a hollowed and slightly sloping line in the natural sand, 3 inches below the base at the West, but coinciding with that at the East end of the wall. Patches of the underlying sand were stained a reddish and a copper colour. The burnt layer tapered away just inside Cutting I, but the natural sand continued to show stains.

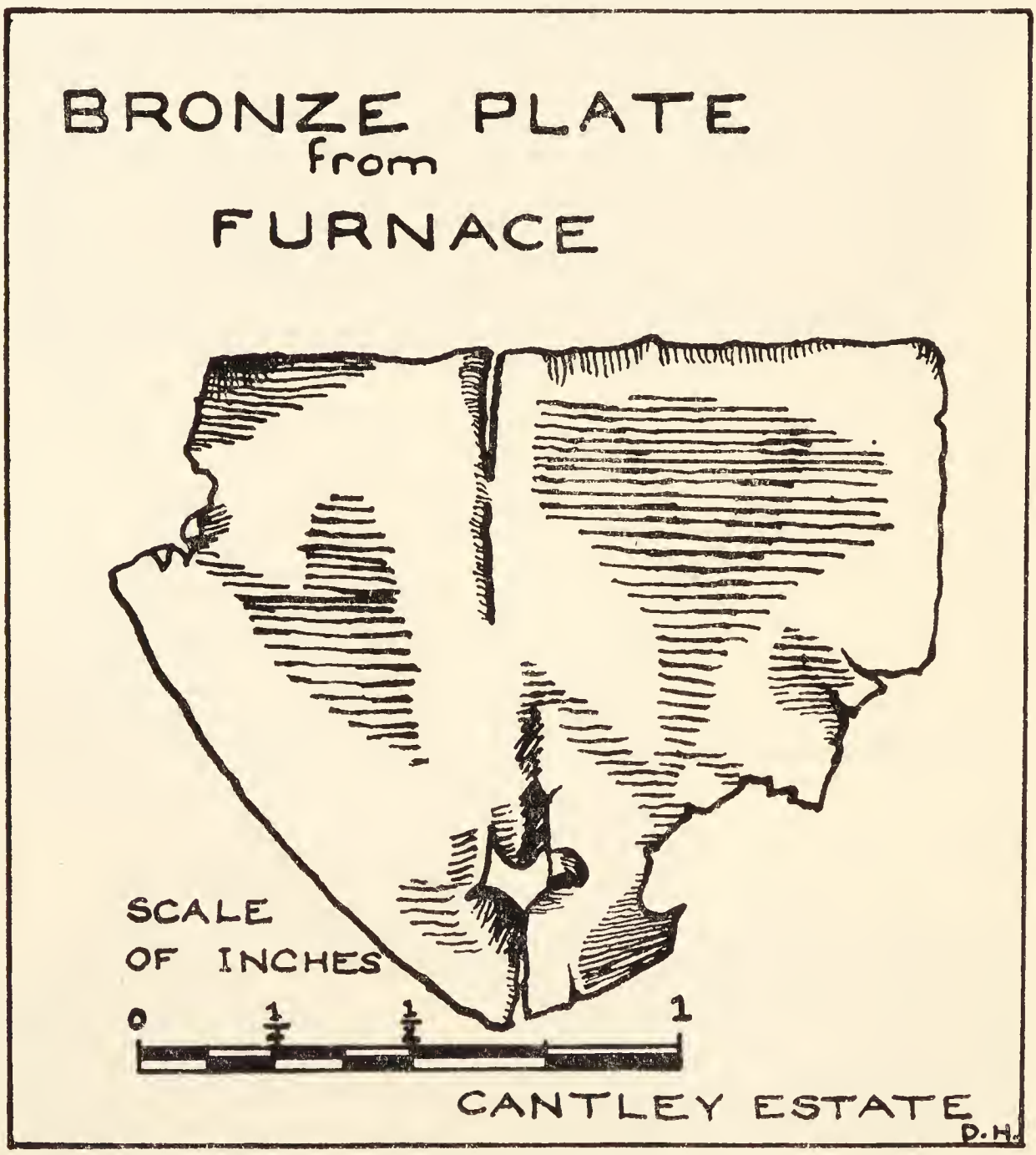


FIG. 6.

Directly opposite, and near the other face of Cutting I, another layer of ash and charcoal appeared and continued into our extension, Cutting III. It contained no pottery, but was mixed with cleaner but reddish-stained sand.

Returning to Cutting II : behind the wall the black ash continued, passing below the electricity cable, to reappear, as already stated, in profile in Section AB.

Sections CD and EF show opposing faces of Cutting I, in which the dips of the pottery-yielding layer on either side of the stone structure are apparent. EF shows the profile of the second black layer, also between the depressions, which was afterwards fully exposed in Cutting III. The West end of Cutting I does not appear in this section because it had been disturbed before measurements were made. At this end the depression was deeper and yielded a particularly large amount of pottery, and more lumps of fired clay. The extension made here, Cutting V, revealed no structural remains.

An extension was also made at the other end of I, where stones jutted from the side, but only a cluster of stones appeared, with no pottery or ash, and with nothing to indicate systematic arrangement. They lay in another depression of dark soil.

Discussion and conclusions.

We were now in a position to answer our original questions as follows : (a) the depressions in the pottery-yielding layer were ditches, running in a N.N.W.—S.S.E. direction, and continuing further afield, to judge by signs in a trench on the other side of the road and also in foundation trenches in the field; (b) the pocket of black ash in the workmen's trench was the end of a more extensive burnt level; and (c) these features were associated with structural remains.

Our new concern was the function of the structure, its date, and its relationship in both these respects to the two ditches between which it stood.

First, its function : neither in material nor method of structure or in the absence of pottery, is it reminiscent of the wall of a Cantley kiln. The quantity of ash and charcoal show it to have been either a hearth or a furnace. The height of the wall suggest the latter. As it was not associated with floors or other signs of a habitation, it must have been an entity in itself. The evidence shows that it was an iron-smelting furnace, or rather bloomery. This is chiefly indicated by the mass of slag in the heart of a thick layer of ash and charcoal, as well as isolated lumps in and around the structure; by the presence of the fused lime, silica, and carbonate which is another waste product of the extracting process; by the presence of a protective wall, inwardly arched in a manner exactly in keeping with the requirement of the cone-shaped type of bloomery to be described below. This identification would satisfactorily explain the presence of iron oxide on the surface of the quern, and as a coating of the underlying and adjacent natural sand, leached from the furnace level.

The second black layer, ending in Cutting III, may well have been another bloomery, without a protecting wall, or robbed of it. The loose stones in V and elsewhere could be the dispersed remnants of a wall.

As to dating : only one roughly dateable object can provide evidence, namely the quern. Otherwise we are dependent on the relationship of the furnace to the ditches, and its similarity to known bloomeries.

Why did the quern lie where it did? The position is hardly fortuitous. Either the quern served to complete the wall, or, more probably, the wall when obsolete provided a platform for the quern, at a convenient height. They must be approximately contemporary. In type the quern compares with one in Maidstone Museum[1] which belongs to a group of legionary querns tentatively assigned to the first and second centuries A.D. The furnace therefore can hardly have been in use much before this time, but could easily date from a later time.

It is contemporary, however, with the two ditches between which it stands. These yielded pottery of the common Cantley types.

That this simple bloomery may well have been working in a country community in the middle of the Roman period is borne out—though without receiving specific evidence of dating—by analogy with the Thealby (North) site, 22 miles E.N.E. of Doncaster, in Lincolnshire.[2] This, and the industrial annexe in the fort at Templeborough,[3] 12½ miles S.W. of Doncaster, provide our nearest examples of Romano-British bloomeries. But as Thealby gives the closer analogy, it will be helpful to outline the process followed there in order to interpret the details of our site.

The Extracting Process.

The direct process by which iron was extracted from its ore in a primitive bloomery consisted in building alternate layers of ironstone and charcoal into a conical or beehive-shaped pile, which was then, apart from a gap left for a chimney, covered by a layer of clay as a roof. Blast was introduced by means of a bellows inserted in the lower part of the pyramid, waste material removed through an outlet in the side when the malleable iron had formed in the bottom of the bloomery. This was then hammered into workable form.

The archaeological evidence of such a process would consist essentially of ash and charcoal, probably various forms of slag and cinder, and possibly some ore itself, and baked clay from the roof.

[1] *Antiquity*, June 1937. E. Cecil Curwen, 'Querns', p. 147, fig. 26.

[2] H. Dudley, *Early Days in N.W. Lincolnshire.* (Scunthorpe, 1939), p. 193 ff.

[3] T. May, *The Roman Forts at Templeborough, nr. Rotherham.* (Rotherham, 1922), pp. 55-7.

At Thealby a number of these conical bloomeries had been made in holes dug into the native ironstone. In one instance the truncated conical structure had survived, and in another the low circular wall of large stones which had supported the upper part of such a mass. In the proximity, at this site, of pottery kilns and an irregular system of pits and ditches, the comparison with Cantley may go further. The whole complex at Thealby, including the habitation site and inhumation burials not known at Cantley, seemed to Professor Hawkes to carry a strongly native tradition possibly right through the Roman period.

Looking at the Cantley evidence in the light of this example we can interpret the mass of ash and charcoal subtended by the wall as the remains of a conical bloomery, oval in plan and 4 feet long, based upon and in its centre sinking slightly in the sandy subsoil; the stonework itself as the remains of a low wall originally surrounding and accommodating itself internally to the shape of the bloomery. Some of the waste products of the process had percolated into this wall, and possibly the lumps of fired clay, some of which were perforated, are the remains of the ventilated clay roof. The fuel was charcoal of oak with a small admixture of elm. Analysis of the iron slag shows that the raw material had consisted at least partly of bog ore, which was to be expected, as bedded ironstone does not occur nearer than Scunthorpe.

Birch Road. Stokehole of KILN 24 (*Figs.* 2 *&* 7).

In the profile of the deep gas pipe trench on the East side of Birch Road, there was an irregular black layer nearly 13 feet long below the humus. We cut back the trench opposite this, for 10 feet, at a distance of 57-62 feet from Z, revealing an area of blackened soil, from which much pottery was recovered. This included a fragment of Samian ware, probably of the second half of the second century (Appendix). There was a cluster of stones in the N.W. corner which we should have explored had the site not been damaged by interference. Nothing definite can therefore be said about the site.

Meanwhile a second cutting, 11 feet long, was made further up Birch Road opposite a deposit of clay and black ash which showed in the side of the gas pipe trench next to the road. Opposite this deposit, and 16 inches down in the expanse of black ash, were two large burnt stones and a lump of fired clay. The large quantity of pottery from this layer yielded a number of stamped rims of mortaria. These, with several unstratified pieces from close by, have been examined by Mr. Eric Birley. Six potters are represented.

The mass of fired, part-fired, and soft clay, in the side of the trench seems to suggest that the blackened area was the stokehole of a kiln mostly buried now under the road. Section AB looks like the interior of a clay buttress resting on a lower layer of ash. Two periods may therefore be represented in our extension, but there was no stratified evidence of an interval.

The implied kiln, on such evidence as is available from the mortaria stamps, was in use in the late second century.

Sections of ditches were observed at about this time in a trench behind new houses on the opposite side of Birch Road. They yielded much pottery, including a fair proportion of orange ware. From the same locality also came half of the upper stone of a rotary quern. (Appendix and Plate II, 2).

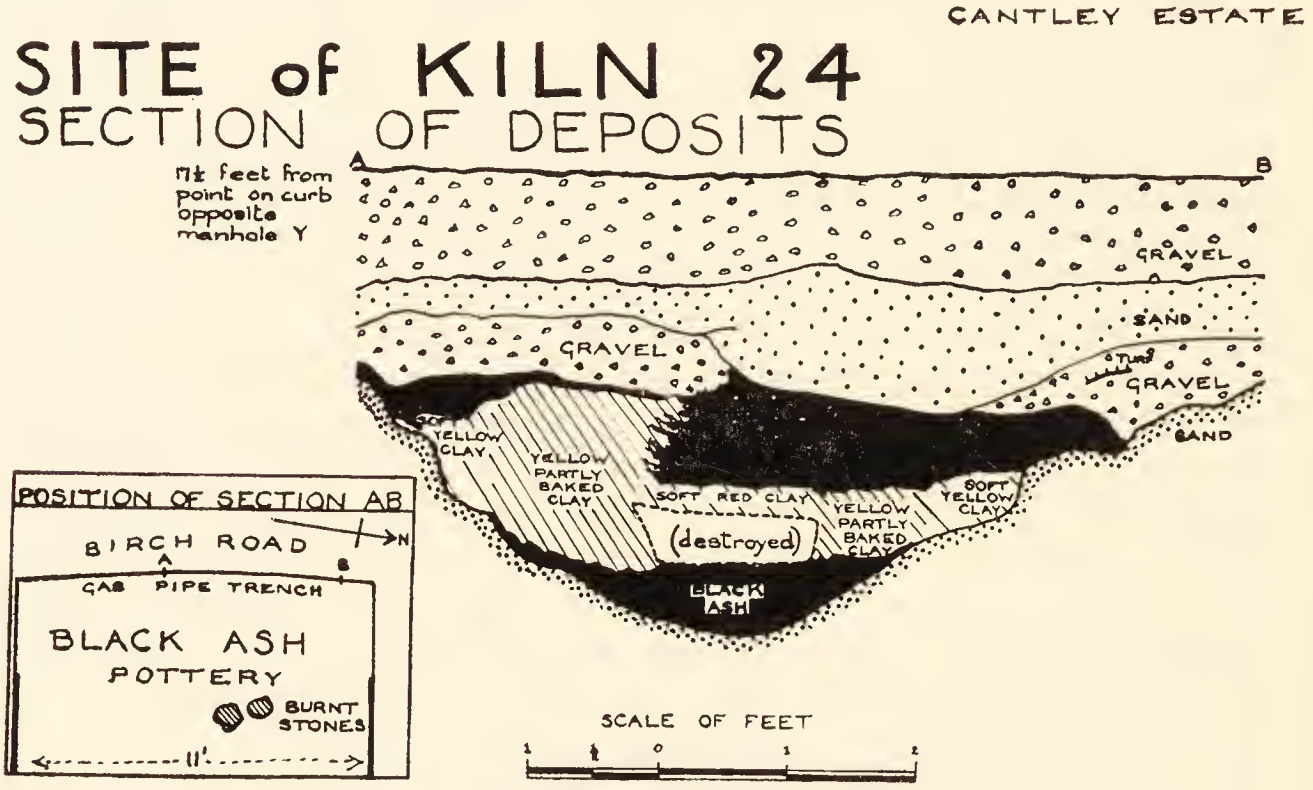


FIG. 7.

Acacia Road. KILN 25. (cf. plan and section, Figs. 8 & 9).

Early in October 1954 a gas pipe trench running between new houses in Acacia Grove and the electricity substation (Fig. 2), had cut through the wall of a kiln and its flue buttress and stoke-hole.

The profile exposed in the S. face of this trench showed sections of two clay walls 41 inches apart and $2\frac{1}{2}$—$2\frac{3}{4}$ feet high. That on the left tapers from 5 at the base upwards to 4 inches. Rather less than half of this thickness, on the side representing the inner face of the kiln wall, was fired to a grey, brick-hard consistency, while in sharp distinction the outer part was still red and only partly hardened.

The infilling between these two walls changed rather suddenly from a moderately dark soil in the upper part to a very dark filling below. The change took place just above the upper of two rough projections of fired clay, about halfway down the kiln area. These later proved to be, as we supposed, the injured edge of the plinth.

The inner face of the second wall was fired hard and grey. But the half-fired red clay outside this extended as a buttress behind the wall face, passing into soft yellow clay before ending in a bulging vertical line about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the kiln. That the stoke-hole lay to the right of the buttress was shown by the layer of black ash just visible at the bottom of the workmen's trench.

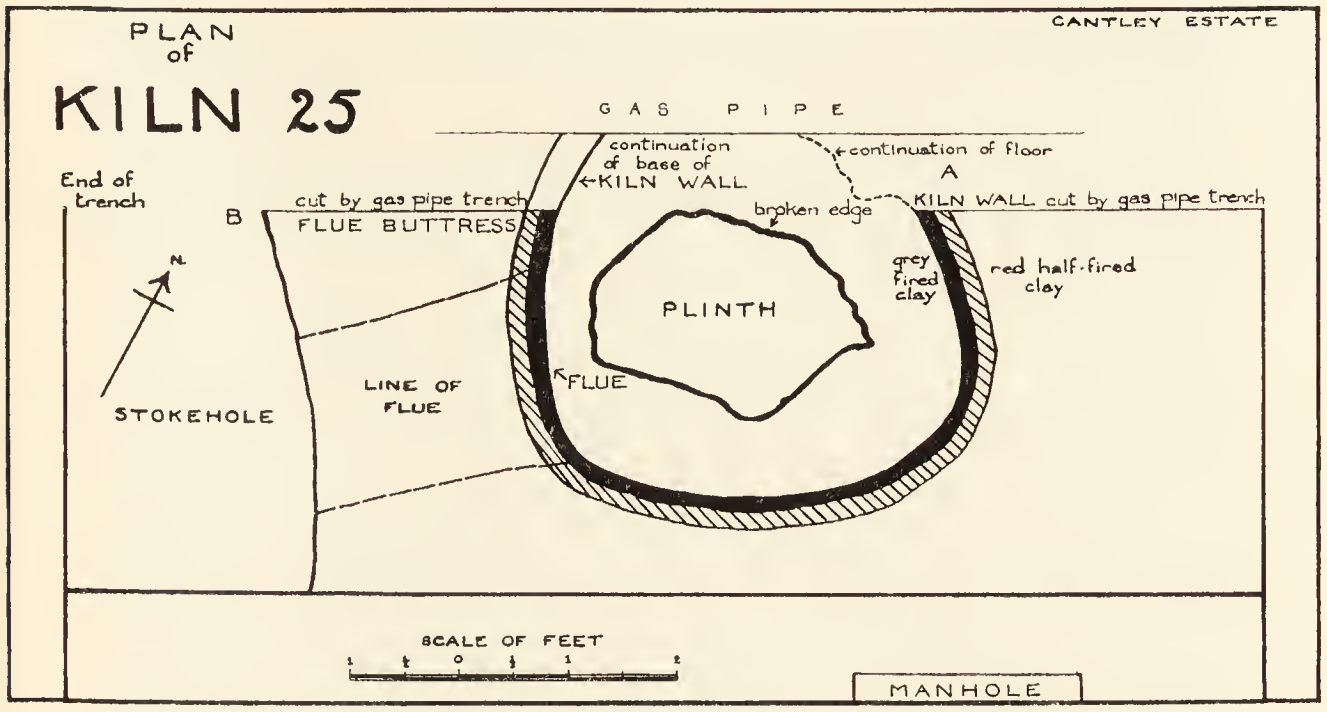


FIG. 8.

These men brought us two fairly complete jars and a similar, broken specimen from the destroyed part of the kiln.

On deciding to excavate this kiln, we marked out an oblong 11 feet long, and 6—later reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$—feet broad, from the original trench, thus covering an area which would include the probable limits of the structure. Sand was first cleared from the surface, then the turf, already partly removed. After stripping off 8 inches of humus, the lower part of which contained a slight scatter of charcoal, small lumps of soft clay, and tiny fragments of decayed pebbles, the highest point of the kiln wall was reached. Small sherds began to appear at this level. Soon the C-shaped arc of the kiln appeared, which in its entirety had been oval.

This incompleteness rendered the kiln unsuitable for eventual removal to the museum. We therefore, judging our main need to be more knowledge of internal arrangements, confined ourselves to excavation only of the interior of the kiln and flue, and part of the stokehole.

The infilling yielded no firebars, but plenty of pottery. From the lower part came three more, damaged jars of the kind already found.

Description of the kiln (cf. Plates III & IV).

The kiln was $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet along its main axis. The wall stood vertically $2\frac{1}{2}$—$2\frac{3}{4}$ feet high, but for a slight outward splay at the back of the kiln (i.e., opposite the flue entrance). The lower part, from just above the plinth, was darkened, as the infilling had been. The whole face was complete and in excellent condition. It had been smoothed in crescent-shaped impressions impinging on one another, one of which was mottled as with fingerprints. There was no ledge, and no rough places marked where the ends of firebars might have rested.

No juncture marked the transition from wall to floor, except for a horizontal line, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, smoothing over the curving angle. The floor was intact, hard, grey, and smooth, and survived almost completely, having been encroached upon only by the gas pipe itself. It sloped gradually and then more steeply from the back of the kiln to the flue entrance, losing about 4 inches.

The edge of the plinth was ragged where the gas pipe trench had cut it. Originally it may have been quadrangular in shape, and must have been over $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long on the main axis of the kiln. It was rather nearer to the flue than to the back of the kiln, and one edge of it was parallel with the flue opening. It expanded from the base to the top, rather like a bollard. Its top was flat, and horizontal, as the increase from 14 to 16 inches in height merely counteracted the drop in floor level.

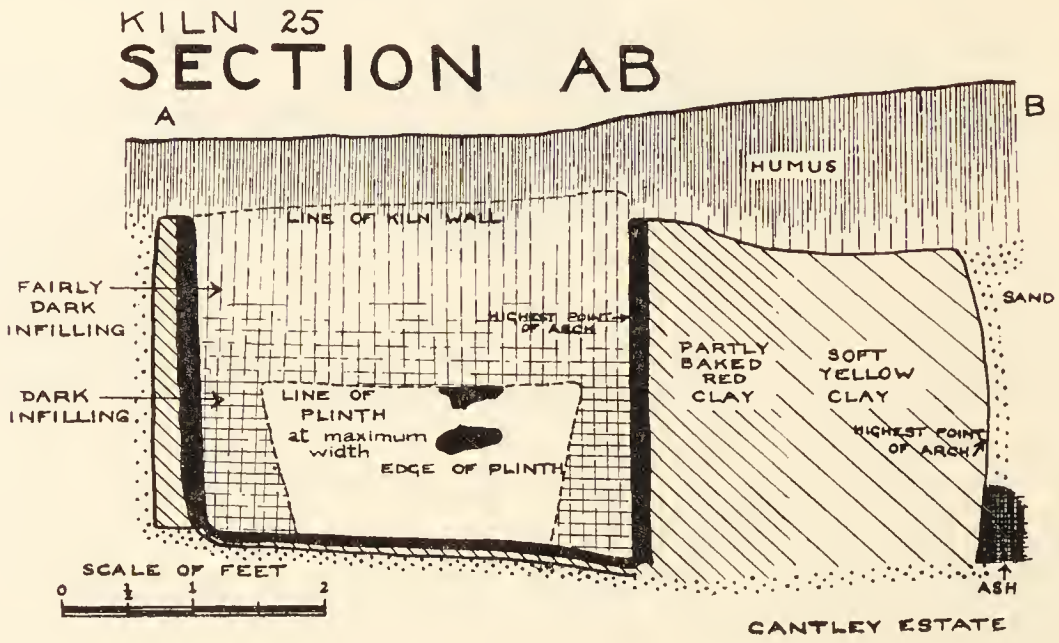


FIG. 9.

The floor of the kiln continued through the flue to its outlet. It was convex between the sides, into which it passed, as in the kiln, through a softly rounded angle. The roof formed an arch 22 inches high from the kiln decreasing to 12 inches at the outlet. Correspondingly, the width of the flue at floor level decreased from $22\frac{1}{2}$ to $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches. No stones were apparent in the structure of the roof, which, like the sides, was baked hard.

The external face of the flue buttress, however, was not hardened. Of the stokehole only an area $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 feet was excavated. It was an unlined deposit of black ash, 6 or 7 inches deep, opening from the flue exit and extending at least the width of the flue buttress.

Half of the pottery from the kiln and stokehole represented medium-sized jars, often with lattice decoration, of which a batch had survived in the kiln (cf. Plate IV, 2); a good proportion were the deeper kind of dish, and the rest were mainly large storage jars and wide-mouthed heavy bowls.

PLATE III.





Photos - A. J. Lefley

1. Interior of kiln 25.
2. Interior of kiln 25, showing flue.

PLATE IV.

1.



2.



3.



Photos - (1 *and* 2) *H. W. Jones* (3) *A. J. Lefley*

1. Kiln 25, detail of kiln wall.
2. Jars from kiln 25.
3. Interior of kiln 25, showing jars in situ on the floor.

Discussion.

This kiln, with the others found at Cantley, is of the circular updraught type defined by W. F. Grimes.[1]

Typically, the kiln and flue were built in a hole in the ground and fed from an unlined hollow serving as stokehole. Most of the features of 25 can be paralleled from kilns already excavated at Cantley;[2] the thin wall in number 8, the absence of supporting ledge in 2, and the lower discoloration defining the furnace limit in 3. Its lack of any trace of firebars is reminiscent of 6. 7 shows the same sudden fall in level towards the flue. The single plinth occurs at some kilns, that in 15 being on the same large scale. These plinths compare with one at Earl Shilton, Leicestershire[3] . The flue in 25 was longer than in some of our kilns. No stones seem to have been used in its roof as in 8, but the buttress compared with this in being as wide as the kiln.

The smoothing impressions on the inner wall of the kiln agree so well in shape and size with the fragment of bronze found in the bloomery (Plate IV, 1, & Fig. 6) as to suggest that the back of a trowel-like tool had been used for this purpose.

No special features mark out this kiln from usual Cantley types. But it is puzzling that a kiln which had survived so well gave no evidence of the oven floor. Had there never been a floor of firebars or had it been removed? The question has arisen at other sites.[4] It is difficult to imagine an arrangement so uneconomical of space and technically inefficient as the stacking of the pots on the central plinth alone. We must conclude, I think, that firebars or wedges of some sort had been present, but had been thriftily diverted for use in another kiln, presumably after this one had been abandoned. It should be possible in due course to suggest when this took place.

APPENDIX

Finds and Samples.

Iron-smelting Furnace and Ditches.

Furnace wall :

(1) Lower stone of rotary quern, marked with iron stain. Flat 'beehive' type possibly of military associations. (See above, p. 40, and Plate II, 2).

(2) Fragments of baked clay, of which two are broken across a smoothed perforation ¾ inch diameter. Similar to pieces found in and about kilns.

(3) Iron slags of two types : (a) with, and (b) without iron content. See 'Samples' below.

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[1] *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XLI, 1930. Holt, Denbighshire, pp. 55-9. Type 1a.

[2] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*: CLI, 1954. F. K. Annable on kilns 1-8 and E. F. Gilmour on 9-15; pp. 403-12; *op. cit.*, CLII, 1955. E. F. Gilmour on kilns 16-21, pp. 539-545.

[3] David T.-D. Clarke, *A Roman Pottery Kiln at Earl Shilton*, 1950. Figured on page 2.

[4] P. Corder, *A Romano-British kiln on the Lincoln Racecourse*, (Nottingham University, Dept. of Adult Education, 1950), Plate II.

Outside West end of furnace :

(1) Iron slag, type (a).

Lower filling of furnace :

(1) Mass of iron slag, type (a).
(2) Charcoal; mainly oak, with some elm.

Upper filling of furnace:

(1) Two oyster shells.
(2) Fragments of slag, type (b).
(3) Two small fragments of burnt bone, of which one is probably part of the scapula of a young pig.
(4) Roughly triangular, perforated bronze plate or patch, probably incomplete; $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. (Fig. 6).
(5) Small fragment of coal.
(6) Small cinders.

Filling of ditches in Cuttings I and IV:

(1) Much coarse pottery.
(2) Lumps of slag, type (a).
(3) Lump of baked clay with one flat surface.
(4) Tooth.
(5) Fragment of stem of clay pipe.

Cutting III: black layer:

(1) Charcoal, as above.

Acacia Road: gas pipe trench near furnace:

(1) Much coarse pottery.
(2) Small fragment of unidentifiable Samian, surface much worn.

Building site near furnace:

(1) Half of the upper stone of a rotary quern. See Plate II, 2.

Birch Road, Cutting I:

(1) Much coarse pottery.
(2) Fragment of Samian. Probably Drag. 33. Second half of second century.

Birch Road; stokehole of kiln 24:

(1) Much coarse pottery, including potters' stamps.
(2) Lump of fired clay.

Birch Road vicinity:

(1) Much coarse pottery.
(2) Half of the upper stone of a rotary quern. See Plate II, 2.

Acacia Grove; Kiln 25 :

(1) Much coarse pottery.

Samples from iron-smelting furnace:

1. Iron slag. Two types : (a) still containing 30% iron, 25% calcium, the remainder being silica. (b) only the alkaline waste products of extraction—lime, silica, and carbonate.
2. From lower infilling of furnace : sand containing 3.1% to 7.8% carbon, largely as wood charcoal. See below.
3. Stained sand from below furnace : this contains a .85% coating of iron oxide.
4. Charcoal from furnace and black layer in Cutting III : mainly oak, with some elm.
5. Accretions on quern from furnace wall consist of iron oxide.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Willing help and advice has come from many people. Those who worked in the field were Messrs. A. J. Harrison, H. W. Jones, and A. J. Lefley; Miss M. Winterburn and Miss M. Broadbent; and juniors :—D. Thomas, R. J. Sayles, C. Tucker, C. Marshall, M. Lingard, Pat Hall and Jennifer Cam. Some of these, and D. Elton, helped to wash and repair pottery.

For reporting finds and interested co-operation, thanks are due to Messrs. Chapman, Holbrey, Crossland, and Barlow.

The photographs were taken by Mr. Lefley and Mr. Jones. Mr. B. Cuttriss filmed some of the work.

Mr. R. H. Arrand, formerly of Scunthorpe Museum, gave much advice on iron-smelting. Mr. D. Hodgkinson drew Fig. 6. The charcoals were identified by Professor Piggott of the Department of Botany, Sheffield University. To Mr. Eric Birley of Hatfield College, Durham, I am indebted for information on the potters' stamps. The British Museum (Departments of Natural History, and of Prehistory and Roman Britain) supplied notes on a bone and a bronze object. Samples of soils and slags were analysed by Mr. W. A. Cregeen of the County Laboratory, Taunton.

I am very grateful to these helpers.

KILNS 26—29.

By E. F. GILMOUR, A.M.A.

(*Director, Museum and Art Gallery, Doncaster*).

Since the last excavations in this area at Cantley, near Doncaster, up to Pottery Kiln 25, four further Pottery Kilns have been discovered. These are given numbers 26, 27, 28 and 29 for the sake of consecutiveness; in case of further finds here in future.

These kilns were all sited at the corner of Birch Road and Acacia Road, near previous finds. All were, however, in very bad condition, having been badly damaged during digging of two drainage pipe trenches.

Little excavation was worth doing on these, apart from checking positions. The sherds found were of coarse grey ware, similar in type to those previously found on other sites in the area.

PARISIAN WARE.

By Philip Corder, M.A., Litt.D.

In 1935 during the excavations of the Roman town of Brough-Petuaria,[1] and again in the two following years,[2] a few scraps of pottery were found which bore a type of stamped decoration not previously recorded. In the following year a sherd of similar ware was found at Rudston,[3] and in the next two years several more at Elmswell.[4] As this ware bore no relation to the late stamped ware of the south,[5] nor to the wares that have now become known as 'Romano-Saxon',[6] and as it appears to be a local product of the Parisi of East Yorkshire, it has been named 'Parisian' ware. Its place of manufacture remains unknown. Up to 1936 only one sherd of this ware[7] provided evidence of the form of a vessel bearing this characteristic decoration, the rest being only small sherds. Since then further examples have been seen by the writer from Brough,[8] Harpham,[9] York,[10] Mablethorpe (Lincs.),[11] and East Stoke (Notts.),[12] and a small scrap found long ago at Newstead has been added to the list.[13] Some of these are described and illustrated below (fig. 2), as they add several new stamps and provide examples of the forms of the vessels. The total number of sherds of this ware still does not exceed 20, but

[1] Corder & Romans, *Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, East Yorkshire*, 1935 (=*Br. III*), fig. 8, no. 13.

[2] Corder & Romans, *Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, East Yorkshire*, 1936 (=*Br. IV*), fig. 16, nos. 1-4.: Corder & Romans, *Excavations at the Roman Town of Brough-Petuaria*, 1937 (=*Br. V*), fig. 8, nos. 11-12.

[3] Steer, *The Roman Villa at Rudston, E. Yorks. Fourth Interim Rep.* (= *Y.A.J.*, XXXIII, 1937), fig. iv, no. 2.

[4] Congreve, *A Roman and Saxon site at Elmswell, E. Yorks.* 1937 (= *Hull Mus. Rep.* No. 198 = *Trans. E. Riding Antiq. Soc. XXVIII*), fig. 5 Nos. 6, 7 : Corder, *Excavations at Elmswell, East Yorkshire*, 1938, fig. 13, no. 4.

[5] Heywood Sumner, *Excavations in New Forest Roman pottery sites* (1927) (Ashley Rails), pls. IV-VI, XXXV.

[6] Myres, *Romano-Saxon Pottery* in *Dark Age Britain* (Methuen 1956).

[7] *Br. IV*, fig, 16, no. 1, p. 67.

[8] A sherd, similar to *Br. IV*, fig. 16, no. 1, found by Mr. Freear in excavating the north rampart in Brough House in 1951, and seen by the writer in February 1952. b. The sherd illustrated here as fig. 2 no. 3 submitted to the writer by Mr. R. Inskeep.

[9] The sherd illustrated here, fig. 2 no. 6 submitted to the writer by Mr. Mellor, the excavator, in 1951.

[10] The bowl from the Yorkshire Museum (fig. 2 no. 5), submitted to the writer by Mr. D. M. Waterman in 1948. Also the vessel from Trentholme Drive (fig. 2, no. 1) and other finds from York, submitted by Mr. L. P. Wenham.

[11] Fig. 2, no. 2 from the collection of Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard, F.S.A.

[12] Found during excavations at East Stoke (Ad Pontem) by Mr. R. Inskeep, and seen by the writer in June 1952 ('from yellow sand and burnt material, bag. 21').

[13] Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* (1911), pl. LI, no. 12.

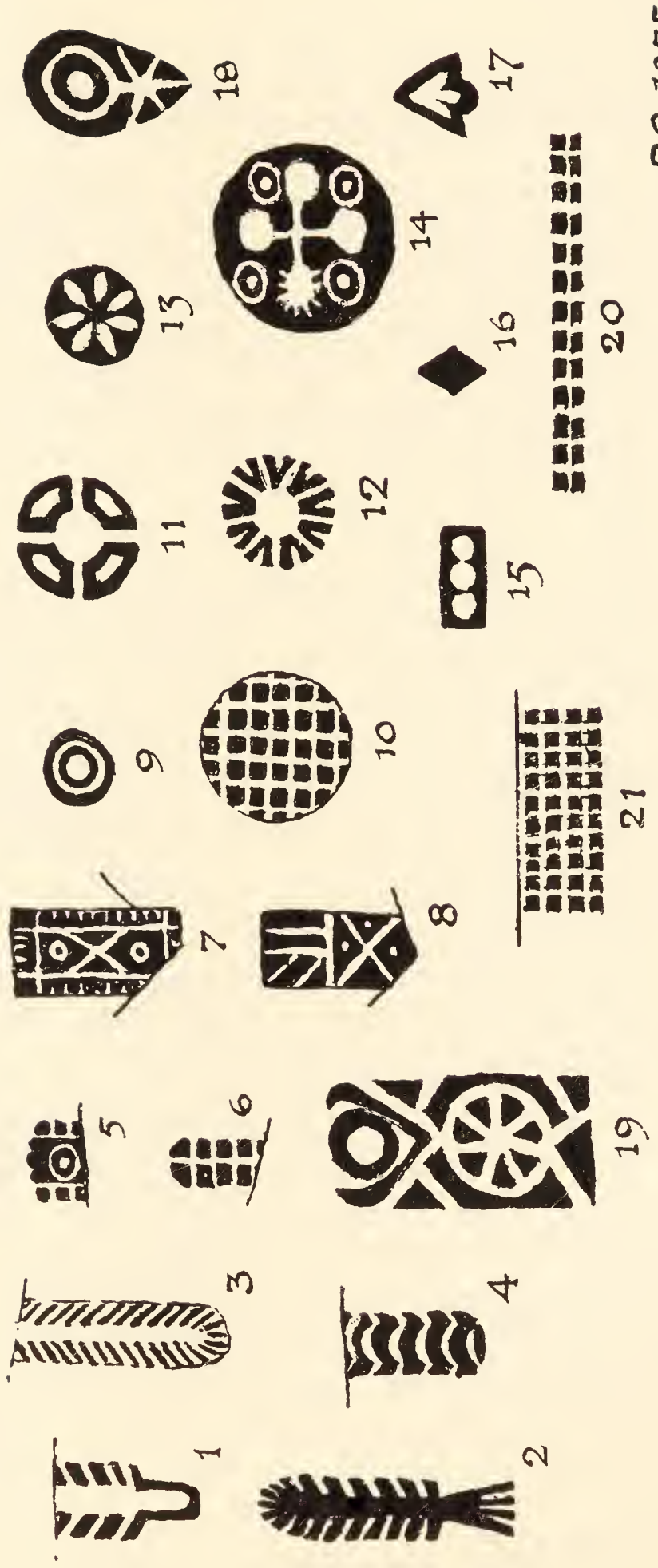


FIG. 1. Stamps used on Parisian Ware. (*Scale* $\frac{1}{1}$).

its characteristics are so clearly defined that it seems now advisable to record what is known about it and to publish a corpus of the known stamps (fig. 1).

Ware and decoration

The ware is normally thin, dense, hard, dark grey, smoothed or highly polished externally, though occasionally with a brownish core.

The decoration is on the body of the vessel, usually in a zone demarcated by sharply defined single or double grooves. Small separate stamps, probably of wood, were applied from the outside while the clay was soft, and usually raised lumps or pimples on the inner surface. The impressions so made are irregularly spaced, and even sometimes overlap one another. Frequently two or three different stamps were used on the same vessel. Where the field is divided, double, or in one case quadruple, lines of square 'beads' are used.

Evidence for date.

Most of the Brough sherds were unstratified, but three could be dated to the late 1st or early 2nd century before *c.* A.D. 120.[1] These include stamps 3, 6, 9, 16 and 19. The Rudston sherd (cf. stamp 3) was from one of the ditches underlying the villa and was of 1st century date.[2] The large bowl from the Yorkshire Museum (fig. 2, No. 5) marked XLA, came from the late S. N. Miller's trenches of 1925-6 behind the Master's House in the Blind School Garden from a sealed layer containing only 1st and 2nd century sherds.[3]

It must therefore be tentatively concluded that stamped Parisian ware is to be assigned to the late 1st or early 2nd century. Meagre though this evidence is, it dissociates Parisian ware from the stamped wares of the New Forest and from other late stamped ware from Silchester[4] and Bourton on the Water.[5]

The distribution of the contemporary stamped ware from the West Stow Heath kilns (Suffolk),[6] where stamps similar to our Nos. 9, 13, 20, 21 were used, is confined to Norfolk and Suffolk.

Unpublished examples of stamped Parisian Ware. (Fig. 2).

1 From Roman cemetery, Trentholme Drive, York.

Beaker in plain unpolished grey ware, bearing some resemblance to the 'Poppy Head' beakers of the South. The pedestal base is raised and grooved around the outer edge on which the vessel stands. The slightly oblique rim, separated from the body by a deep groove, has been broken in antiquity and ground down for re-use. A zone at the widest part of

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[1] *Br. IV*, fig. 16, nos. 1, 3 (Stamps 3, 6, 16, 19); *Br. V* (not illustrated) p. 45 (Stamp 9).

[2] Rudston, *loc. cit.*, p. 333.

[3] Extract from Mr. Miller's notes kindly communicated by Mr. D. M. Waterman.

[4] May, *The Pottery found at Silchester* (1916), pl. LXXXII, B.

[5] *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, vol. 56 (1934), fig. 6, p. 113.

[6] West, 'Romano-British pottery kilns on West Stow Heath' (*Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, vol. XXVI (1952), pp. 51-2.

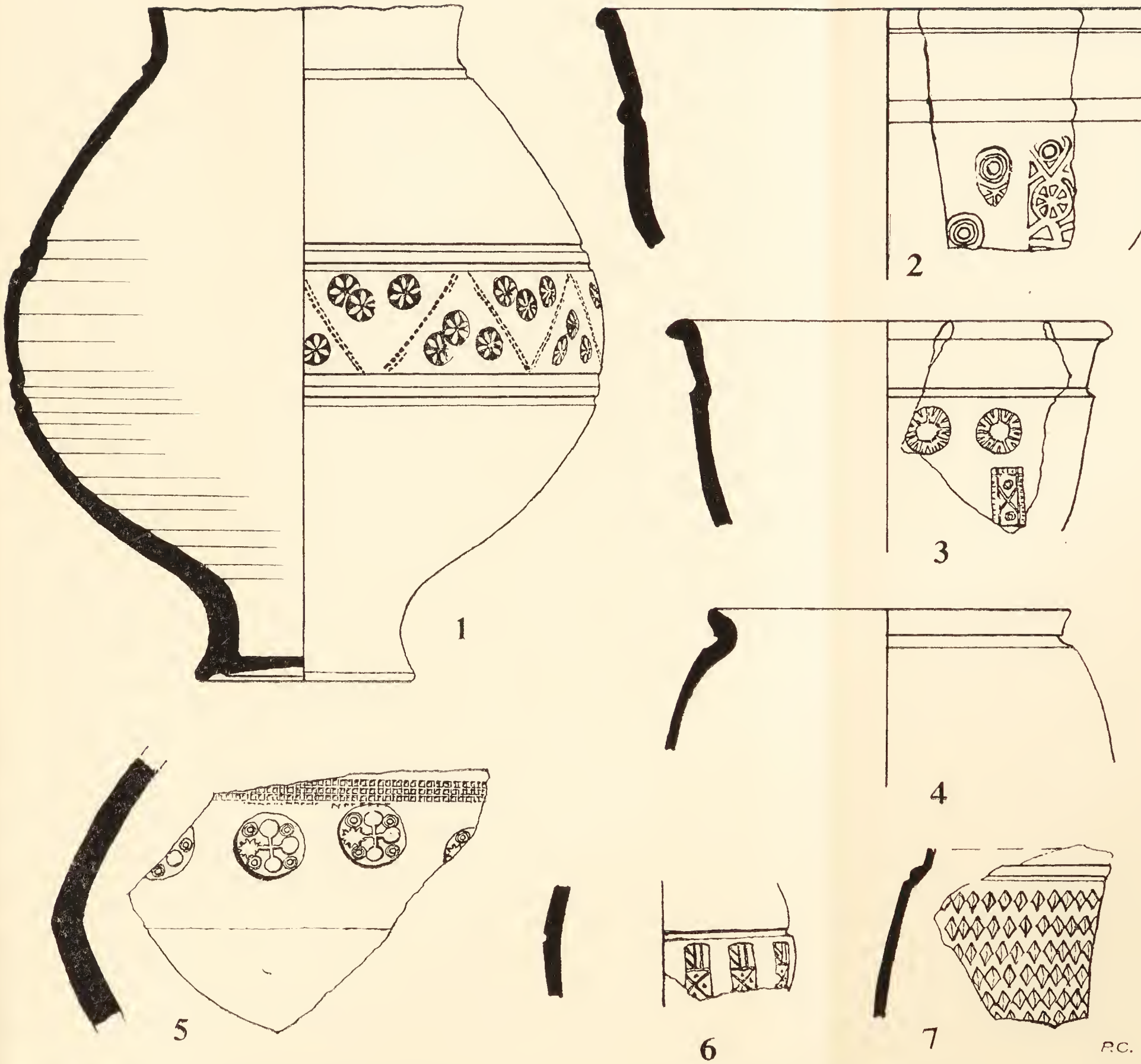


FIG. 2. Parisian Ware from York (1, 4, 5, 7), Mablethorpe (2), Brough (3), and Harpham (6). (*Scale* $\frac{1}{2}$).

the body, demarcated by deeply impressed double grooves, is decorated by groups of rosette stamps (Stamp 13) separated by lines of double beads (Stamp 20) disposed chevron-wise. The rosette stamps have, as usual, raised lumps on the inner surface of the vessel, and are very unevenly spaced, both characteristics of Parisian ware.

2. Found on a mudbank at Mablethorpe (Lincs.) with a black bowl of Flavian type containing a hoard extending from Augustus to the mid-fourth century (*Num. Chron.* 6th ser. No. 19-20 (1945), p. 165-6), and now in the collection of Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard, F.S.A.

   Bowl in smooth unpolished grey ware. The plain upper zone is separated from the hemispherical body by a pronounced cordon, which has left a groove on the inner side of the vessel. On the body are an impression of the large composite stamp (Stamp 19) and one, and part of a second, impression of Stamp 18. Both are rather worn and indistinct. The diameter of the bowl is about 6 in.

3. Found during excavations by Hull University at Brough-Petuaria, and submitted to the writer by Mr. R. Inskeep.

   Bowl somewhat similar in form to No. 2, but having a more pronounced lip and an offset in place of a cordon. The ware is dense dark grey with polished black surface. Stamped on the body are two impressions of Stamp 12 and a nearly complete Stamp 7, all of which have raised lumps on the inner surface. The sherd is small, but the diameter of the bowl is about 4½ ins.

4. Found in Mr. L. P. Wenham's excavations in Blossom Street, York, in 1954.

   Rim and upper part of a globular beaker or small jar. This sherd bears no decoration on it, but the hard, dense grey ware with polished outer surface is that of Parisian ware, and it has therefore been included in this group as showing the form of the vessel.

5. Yorkshire Museum, York. Found by the late S. N. Miller in 1925-6.

   This sherd comes from a large carinated bowl, about 13 ins. in maximum diameter, and is in hard, dense, smooth, drab-grey ware. In this respect, and in its size and thickness it differs from other known examples of Parisian ware. On the body above the carination are a series of unevenly spaced large circular stamps (Stamp 14) of the cross-and-pellet type, beneath a band consisting of four rows of rectangular beads (Stamp 21) the lowest of which has hardly left any impression.

   The circular stamp is larger than any other yet recorded, and bears a superficial similarity to the 4th century stamps from Silchester and Bourton on the Water (see n.4 & 5, p. 50), but it came from a layer containing only 1st and 2nd century pottery (p. 50), and has therefore been included here.

6. Found at the Roman Villa at Harpham, 1950, and submitted to the writer by Mr. Mellor, the excavator.

   Part of the side of a small jar or beaker in dense, hard, grey ware, with occasional stony flecks in the paste. The surface is smooth, though unpolished. Beneath a shoulder groove are a series of impressions of Stamp 8, none of them complete. The stamp is repeated four times at intervals of about ¼ in., leaving lumps on the inner surface of the pot. The diameter of the vessel is rather uncertain, but it cannot have much exceeded 2½ ins. in the body.

7. Found in Mr. L. P. Wenham's excavations in Blossom Street, York, 1954.

   Sherd from the side of a jar or beaker, from 4 to 4½ ins. in diameter. In very hard, thin, dense, grey ware of almost metallic quality, with smooth but unpolished surface. Beneath an offset and a well-marked groove, the body is decorated by rows of deep diamond-shaped impressions, like Stamp 16, previously recorded at Brough, with Stamps 6 and 9 (*Br. IV*, fig. 16, no. 3). The impressions are so regular that they would appear to have been made by a toothed wheel rather than a series of single stamps repeated. They have, however, raised pimples

on the inner side of the vessel, as is usual with Parisian Ware, and this evidence of repeated pressure may indicate the use of a stamp rather than a roulette.

Stamps used on Parisian Ware (Fig. 1).

The stamps illustrated have been recorded from the following sites :

1. Brough-Petuaria, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16.
2. Elmswell, 13, 15, 20.
3. Rudston, cf. 3.
4. Harpham, 8.
5. York, 13, 14, 16, 20, 21.
6. East Stoke, 17.
7. Mablethorpe, 18, 19.
8. Newstead, 9, 20.

FOUR FINDS FROM EAST YORKSHIRE.

By T. C. M. Brewster.

1. EARLY ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AT MALTON, YORKSHIRE.

Prior to *circa* 1825 a socketed bronze axe and two bronze spear-heads were discovered in, or near Malton, Yorkshire. The drawings in the photograph (Plate I), and the data connected with them were found in a manuscript attached to a proposed enlarged third edition of Thomas Hinderwell's *History and Antiquities of Scarborough.* This volume formerly belonged to Scarborough Philosophical and Archaeological Society's museum in Vernon Road, and is now in the Public Library, Vernon Road, Scarborough.[1]

Of the spear-heads Hinderwell's note has the following to say:—"A Brass Spear found on the south side of the Derwent at Malton, very near the River, in digging a Clay Pit. It was finely bronzed. This represents the size. Another nearly the same was found in the same place."

The drawing of the spear-head, and its section are beautifully executed natural size. No exact provenance is given, but the note says the finds were made in a clay pit on the southern bank of the Derwent, possibly the site of the now disused brick-yard pit. If the drawing is correct the overall length of one spear-head was $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins., the blade 3.7/10 long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. wide. Internal width of the socket must have been 9/10 ins. at the widest. Spear-heads of the Malton type belong to the Late Bronze Age of the British Isles, and are not too uncommon. Hinderwell's notes appear to be accurate, and provide valuable information which would otherwise have been lost.

In the top left hand corner of the illustration can be seen a slightly distorted sketch of a small Late Bronze Age bronze socketed celt drawn, according to Hinderwell, actual size. The loop was evidently broken, otherwise the specimen appears to be perfect. Calculations made with the aid of the drawing give the following measurements. Width of blade $1\frac{7}{8}$, height 2.2/10 and width of upper part of the socket 6/10 ins. Within the drawing is written the following information. "A Celt or British Battle Axe found at Malton this size Bronze". At the side of the sketch, near the loop, is written "The Ring Broke". It is obvious that the axe and the spear-heads were separate finds, but came from Malton, or its immediate environs. Socketed celts are fairly

[1] In three volumes. Manuscripts bound with printed pages from previous editions. Notes and drawings of Malton finds in Vol. I. Title page dated 1825.

common and can be safely dated to the final phase of the British Late Bronze Age. Some examples have occurred on Iron Age "A" sites.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The writer wishes to thank Mr. M. Edwards, M.A., Librarian, Scarborough Public Library, for permission to publish the notes and copy the illustration, also Mr. A. S. Taylor for his assistance at the Library. Mr. Dove of Walker's Studios was responsible for the excellent photograph of the drawing.

2. TWO ROMANO—BRITISH FIBULAE FROM NEAR DRIFFIELD, E. YORKS.

FIBULA I.

The brooch illustrated in fig. 1a and Plate II, came from Bramble Hill, Elmswell, near Driffield, East Yorkshire. O.S. 6 inch sheet 161 S.E. It was excavated by Messrs. C. & E. Grantham, in 1954, from a shallow pit located beneath a deposit of 3rd and 4th century pottery and domestic debris. Associated with the fibula was a much rubbed coin of Antoninus Pius, which supplies a *terminus a quo* for the pit and its contents. These in all probability belong to the early part of the second half of the second century A.D. According to the excavators, the two finds were isolated from the later material, which it is hoped, will be published in due course.

When excavated the entire brooch was enveloped in copper sulphate, which appeared to have errupted from beneath the seating of the glass cone. Delicate chemical treatment continued for several months and was undertaken by the writer. This process gradually removed the encrustation, and exposed the gold coating on the bronze. The entire upper surface apart from the oval centre covered by the dark purple glass cone, is finely gilded. A rounded outer ridge, on the upper surface, encircles a zonal decoration of stamped rectangles, measuring *circa* 2mm. by 1 mm., and clearly divided by a raised ridge in the form of a cross.

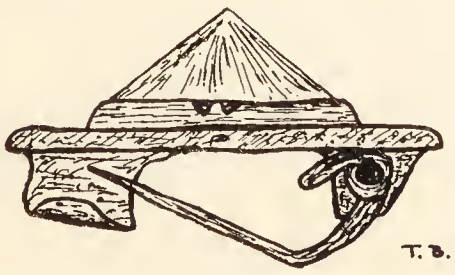


FIG. 1a. Bramble Hill.

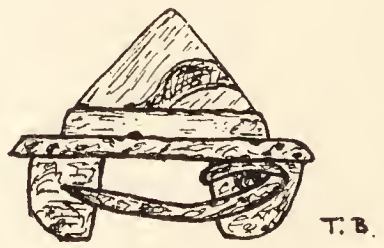


FIG. 1b. Harpham.

Scale : $\frac{1}{1}$.

This scheme is separated from an inner band of identical decoration by a raised rounded ridge, *circa* 1 mm. high. Clasping the base of the glass boss is a moulded ridge of bronze 3 mm. high which is also gilded. On the underside the fibula was formerly coated with tin, or silver, traces of which were noticed

PLATE I.

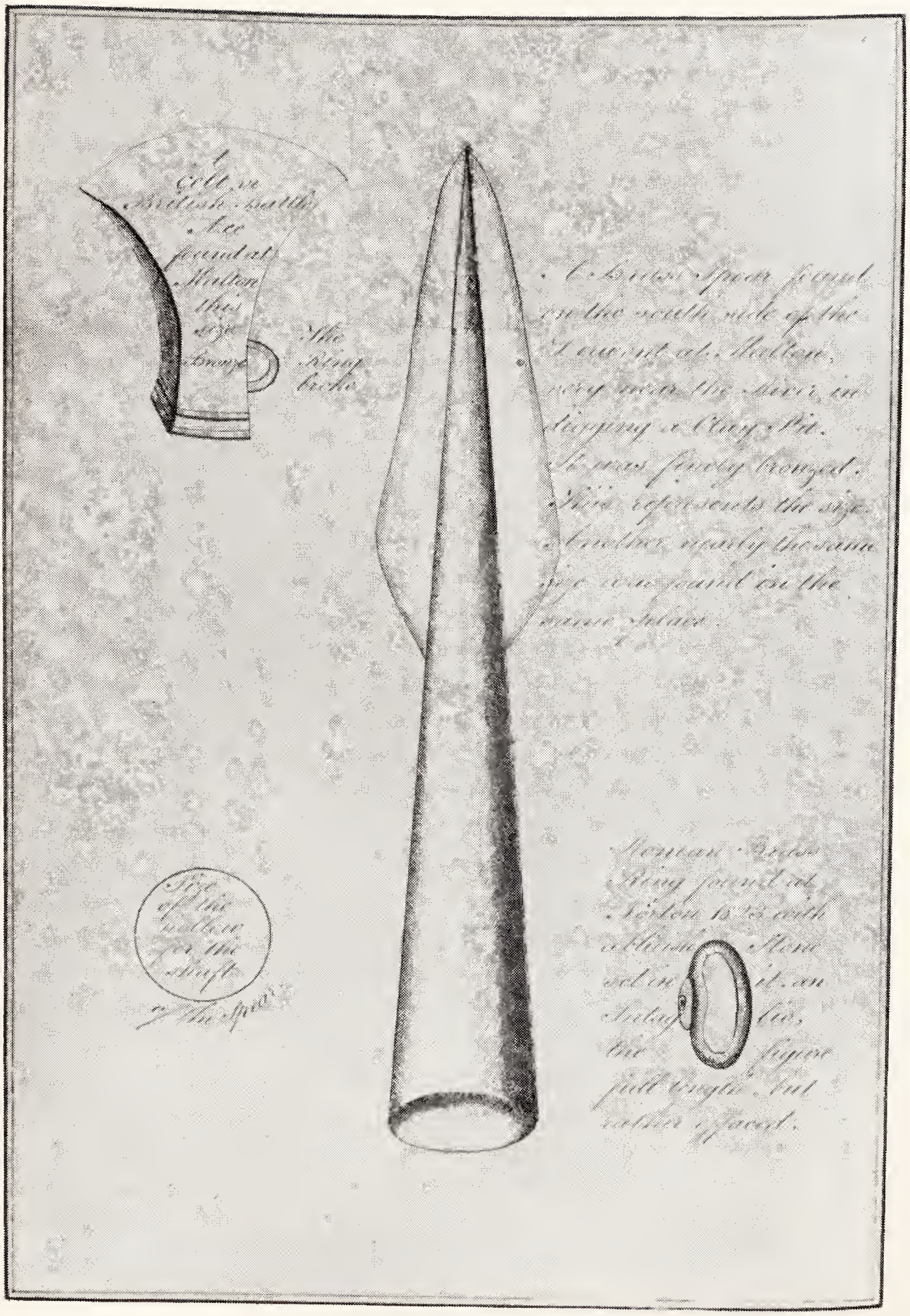
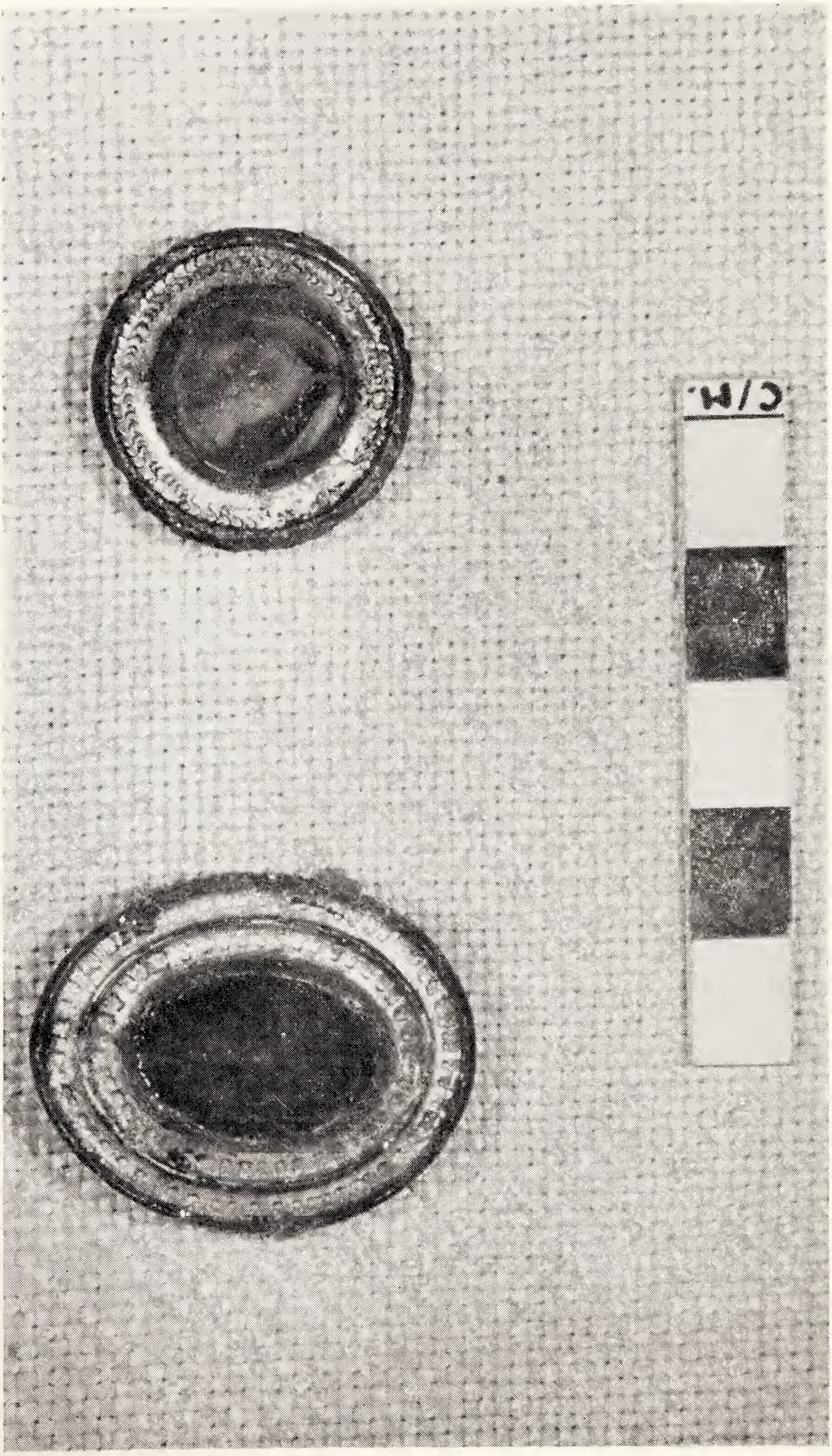


Photo - Walker's Studio, Scarborough.

Scale : $\frac{2}{3}$.

PLATE II.



Bramble Hill.

Harpham.

Gilded fibulae from Driffield and Harpham.

on the bronze disease. A small spring pin and catch-plate are placed longitudinally across the base. Measurements are as follows :—Height from the bottom of the catch-plate to the top of the cone is 1.7 cms., Maximum length 3.5 cms., Width 2.8 cms., Length of cone 1.8 cms. Width of cone 1.2 cms.

An exact parallel to the Bramble Hill fibula can be found in the British Museum's *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, p. 20, fig. II, 36. In this case there is a hinge spring.

After treatment, which was successful, the brooch was housed in Messrs. C. & E. Granthams' private museum at Driffield, where it now remains.

FIBULA II.

This fibula, fig. 1b and Plate II, was recovered from the infilling of a trench at the Roman villa site of Harpham near Driffield. O.S. 6 inch sheet 145 S.E. Associated with the find, according to Messrs. C. & E. Grantham, the excavators, were an iron saw, pottery crucibles, clay moulds, fragments of bronze and remains of several iron tools. Above the deposit was a mixed filling of pottery and domestic debris. The whole complex is of the utmost importance, and it is essential that the material should be accurately published in the near future.

Brooches of the Harpham type occur in the second and third centuries A.D. It may be possible to get a closer date for the whole infilling when the trench section is examined in detail.

As can be seen from the photograph and fig. 1b the fibula is circular with a cone or boss of wine brown glass with yellow bands and tones. Originally the entire upper surface was gilded, apart from the glass centre. Unfortunately some of the outer edge and the centre ridge is badly scrubbed. The outer edge is rounded and approximately 2 mm. wide, and encloses a channel 3 mm. wide, which is still gilded and decorated by an S motif. This decorative scheme occurs on some terra sigillata. Between the decorated zone and the glass boss is a raised ridge, 3 mm. high, providing the seating for the cone. Attached to the lower part of the brooch is a small spring pin and catch-plate. There is evidence to suggest the underside of the bronze had been gilded or tinned. The dimensions of the fibula are as follows. Diameter 2.5 cms. Height from the bottom of the catch-plate to the top of the cone 1.7 cms. Height of cone, where it obtrudes above the surface is 7 mm.

In the case of the Bramble Hill fibula the gilding is yellow, but in the Harpham example it has bronze tones. As in the case of the first fibula the Harpham brooch is in Messrs. Granthams' museum at Driffield.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The writer wishes to thank Messrs. C. & E. Grantham for their kindness in lending him the brooches, and providing information.

3. A MEDIEVAL POT FROM NEAR DRIFFIELD, E. YORKS.

During a visit to the Mortimer Museum at Hull, in 1951, the writer noticed an unusual coarse ware cooking pot exhibited in the Anglian section. This pot had been found by Mortimer in a tumulus at Kellythorpe, just to the south of Driffield. Driffield Group. Barrow C. 38 O.S. 6 inch sheet 161 S.E.

The vessel and its site location were described by Mortimer as follows :—"16 ft. south of the centre, and 15 inches from the surface, were portions of a wide-mouthed Saxon vase which at sometime had been broken and some pieces removed, probably by rabbit diggers. This is now restored (fig. 774) and measures $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the top. It has strong marks of fire on its lower half, and seems to have been a cooking pot. Nothing was found with it."[1]

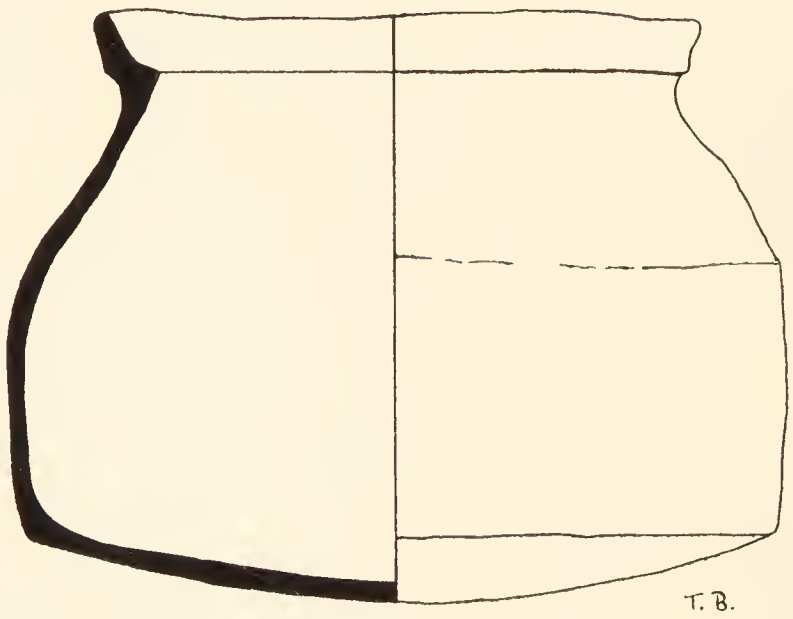


FIG. 2. Medieval pot from Kellythorpe.

Scale : $\frac{1}{4}$.

After reconstruction the approximate width of the base is 9.2 inches, the body 9.5 inches and the top outer edge of the rim 7.45 inches. A certain amount of kiln fuming, and sooting from cooking fires, cover the otherwise grey to buff fairly hard bisque, which has some red tones. Wall thickness varies from .2 to just under .3 inch.

Wide mouthed medieval coarse ware cooking pots of the Kellythorpe class correspond closely to the Type IV Staxton ware series and can be ascribed to the 14th century.[2] The Kellythorpe vessel[3] does not match exactly, in fabric or structure,

[1] J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 278-9.

[2] T. C. M. Brewster, *Two medieval habitation sites in the Vale of Pickering*, fig. XV. 20. pp. 40.

[3] Museum code (M.M.) TC. 38.

the products of the Potter Brompton and Staxton medieval coarse ware kilns.[1] It is therefore probably a product of another group of potters working in Holderness, and using the Staxton ware forms and potting technique.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The writer wishes to thank the Director of the Mortimer Museum for permission to publish the Kellythorpe pot, and Mr. W. H. Southern for his kind assistance in placing it at his disposal.

[1] Both sites will be published shortly if funds permit.

A DANISH RIVER-DIVERSION.

By June A. Sheppard, M.A.

At the northern end of the Hull valley and about three miles east of Driffield, there is a silt and peat-filled hollow about three square miles in extent that is almost completely surrounded by higher ground formed of boulder-clay and glacial gravel. The Driffield Beck flows east from Driffield until it reaches this tract, then turns south to follow its western margin. It leaves the area by the only break in the boulder-clay rim to the south, an alluvial floored valley several hundred yards wide. The Kelk Beck enters from the north by another gap in the rim and flows due south along the eastern margin. Keeping to the same general direction, it suddenly leaves the alluvium and cuts across the boulder clay rim to enter the valley of the Old Howe. The waters of the Driffield Beck, and the combined Kelk Beck and Old Howe eventually unite at Emmotland to form the river Hull (Fig. 1).

It is the lower section of the Kelk Beck which especially attracts attention. The lack of an alluvium-filled valley makes it unique in Holderness, where the main streams follow channels formed in glacial times. The ice-sheets gave rise to large volumes of melt-water which cut wide flat-floored valleys in the soft boulder-clays and gravels. When the ice disappeared the streams were fed by rainfall only and were misfits in these wide valleys. Following a rise in sea-level in post-glacial times, the valleys were filled with several feet of alluvial deposits. The silt and peat-filled lowland between the Kelk and Driffield Becks appears to have been a very wide valley of this type. The fact that it links the upper part of the Kelk Beck valley with the Driffield Beck in itself suggests that the Kelk Beck once flowed this way, and that the course across the boulder clay through Foston is anomalous.

Air photographs give strong support to the hypothesis that the Kelk Beck once flowed west into the Driffield Beck through the alluvial lowland. On these photographs a number of old stream courses can be distinguished. These are often winding and braided and difficult to follow, reflecting the marshy nature of the carrs (as the alluvial lands are here known) before the Hull valley was drained in the nineteenth century. But the general pattern of these channels is sufficiently clear; they are directed south-westwards from the Kelk Beck towards the Driffield Beck (Fig. 1). The waters were probably gathered up and carried to the latter by the pronounced channel between Brigham and a small boulder-clay island to the north. This can be seen clearly on the ground where it is crossed by the North Frodingham to Wansford road.

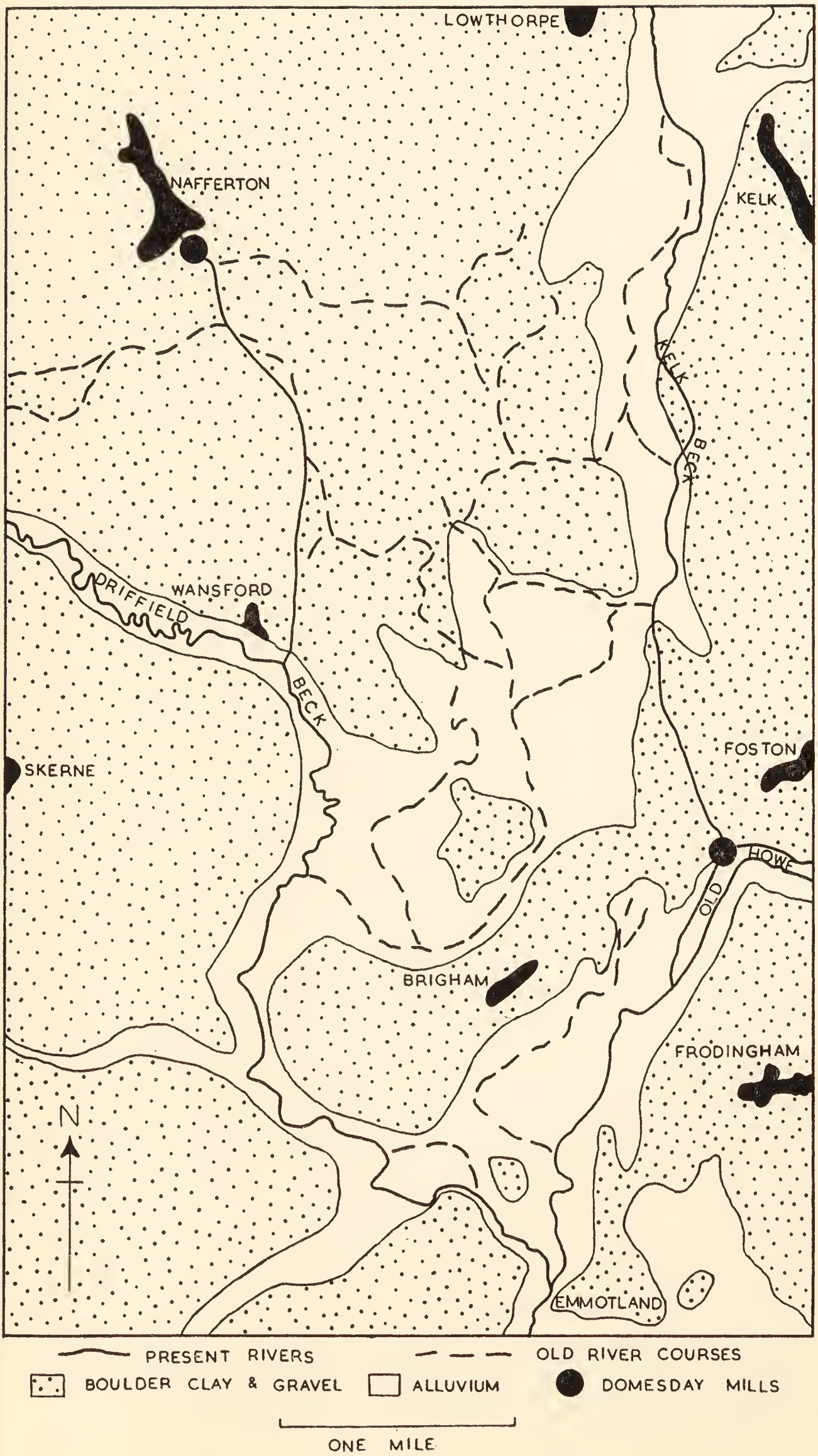


FIG. 1. The area east of Driffield.

The evidence that there has been a change in the course of the Kelk Beck is, therefore, fairly conclusive. Such a change could be either natural or man-made, but it is difficult to suggest any reason why the Beck should of itself adopt this more difficult course in preference to the old channel. The absence of an alluvial valley indicates that the diversion must have taken place since the marked rise in sea-level of post-glacial times, that is, within the last 4,000 and probably the last 2,000 years.[1] This dating suggests very strongly that the diversion was man-made rather than natural. The detailed relief also supports this. The ridge between Foston and Brigham consists of a series of low hills with small cols between, and the Beck crosses by one of these cols. But on the south side there is a drop of several feet from the col to the level of the Old Howe, so that if the ridge is viewed from the Old Howe valley there is no indication from its profile that it is crossed there by a major stream.

On the other hand the course of the Kelk Beck through Foston meanders, although not markedly. Meanders are not usual features of man-made channels. But it is conceivable that if the diversion were very old, those who made it may have skirted minor obstacles rather than cut through them so as to produce a winding channel. In the course of time such windings may have become exaggerated to resemble natural meanders.

The balance of evidence would therefore appear to favour the diversion of the Kelk Beck through Foston by human agency.

Almost all the lower courses of the Hull tributaries have been diverted at one time or other, but there are only two other cases where the new course has been carried across a ridge of boulder-clay. The first case was at Meaux where the monks diverted the Lambwath waters through their lands in order to provide fresh water for the abbey, power to drive their mills, and a navigable channel along which to carry produce.[2] The second was farther south where the monks helped to construct Foredike across the boulder-clay in Wawne to act as a drain and as a navigable channel, and to drive a mill.[3] These two diversions can be dated as late twelfth and early thirteenth century by references in the Meaux Chronicle. Although both channels acted as drains for the surrounding land, their direction across boulder-clay upland was largely determined by considerations other than drainage. Similar factors may explain the carrying of the Kelk Beck waters across the Foston-Brigham ridge, for the new course would be unlikely to do much to improve the drainage of the area to the north. Diversion to provide a navigable channel or to drive a mill seems more likely.

[1] H. Goodwin, *Studies in the Post-Glacial History of British Vegetation.* Part IV. *Post-Glacial Changes in Relative Land and Sea-Level in the English Fenland.* Phil. Trans. Royal Soc. B. Vol. 230, 1941.

[2] *Chronica Monasteria de Melsa,* Vol. I, pp. 160, 354.

[3] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 409.

There is no direct evidence as in the other two cases by which the Kelk Beck diversion can be dated. All that is certain is that the diversion had taken place by the time of the 1660-1662 Pains and Inquisitions of the local Court of Sewers.[1] By that date there were a number of drains through the carrs, and White Dike crossed the ridge about half a mile west of Kelk Beck. But in spite of this artificial drainage pattern, the old channel of the Kelk Beck seems to have continued to attract water to itself. In 1670, a petition from the inhabitants of Brigham to the Court of Sewers stated : "And whereas of Late Times by reason of the negligence of several psons concerned in the banke belonging the aforesaid sewer called the White dike, the same banke being not in sufficient repaire, when any sudden downfall of raine or flood hath happned the sewer hath either overflowne or forced a passage through the said banks into Wandesford South Carre and soe into the dike or sewer called Runsfirth[2] and by that means drowned the Comon highway leading betwixt ffrothingham and Wandesford . . . . . and great quantities of good meadow and pasture land thereabouts".[3]

No detailed reference to the becks and drains of this district earlier than 1660 is known. In the absence of documentary evidence to date the diversion, indirect evidence must be used in an attempt to assess the approximate date.

It is the Domesday Book which is of most value in this search for indirect evidence. The survey mentions, among other things, the mills that existed in 1086. These must all have been water-mills, for windmills were not introduced into Britain until some time later.[4] But not all streams are suitable for driving water-mills. A regular flow of water is necessary to ensure fairly regular working. A fairly steep gradient provides greater energy for turning the mill-wheel, and a narrow, well-defined channel is an advantage, for this concentrates the energy and ensures adjacent firm ground on which to build the mill itself. A river in a flat-floored valley meanders and bifurcates. It is liable to change its course and leave a mill on a stagnant backwater with insufficient power to drive the mill-wheel.

The distribution of mills in the east part of the East Riding at the time of the Domesday survey reflects these factors. The mills avoided the wide, alluvium-filled valleys of the boulder-clay lands of Holderness. Not only had these streams very gentle gradients and slight currents, but also their run-off fluctuated considerably as a result of their rising on the surface of im-

[1] In the custody of the Hull and East Riding River Board and the East Riding County Council.

[2] A section of the present Nafferton Drain and one of the old courses of the Kelk Beck.

[3] Court of Sewers for the East Parts of the East Riding of Yorkshire. Minute Book E, in the custody of the Clerk of the Court.

[4] The windmill at Weedley, near South Cave, was mentioned in 1185. This is the first windmill known in Yorkshire. See M. Beresford *The Lost Villages of England*, 1954, p. 335.

pervious clay and shallow gravels. In summer they were liable to become mere trickles. When the monks of Meaux used the diverted Lambwath waters to drive their mills near the abbey, they were probably relying on a large mere in the course of the stream acting as a reservoir. Even so their mills were far from satisfactory.[1]

The streams flowing from the Wolds on the west or north-west were more suitable for driving water-mills. These streams are fed by powerful springs at the foot of the chalk dip-slope. The porous chalk acts as a reservoir and ensures a regular flow from the springs, which are particularly frequent around Driffield. Suitable mill sites occur along the streams before they enter the more gently graded alluvial sections of their valleys. It was at such locations that the mills mentioned in the Domesday Book were situated (Fig. 2).

Amongst the Domesday mills was one at Foston. The two possible rivers on which this could have been located are the Old Howe, a boulder-clay stream, and the Kelk Beck. If the Kelk Beck did not pass through Foston in 1086, the mill must have been on the Old Howe. It would then have proved the one case of a mill on a boulder-clay stream. The Old Howe at Foston has a wide alluvium-filled valley, and could not have provided a good site. It was also followed by the township boundary, and agreement with North Frodingham would have been necessary before a mill could have been built to use these waters. On the other hand, if Kelk Beck already passed through Foston lands, it would have provided a much more favourable site. The channel was well defined; there was a marked fall where the stream dropped into the Old Howe valley; and the stream, which was derived from a chalk spring near Kilham, had a regular flow. The weight of evidence suggests therefore that the mill was on the Kelk Beck, and that the Beck had been diverted before 1086.

This evidence narrows considerably the period during which the diversion was carried out. The date of execution must be before 1086, and very probably before 1066, for the period of twenty years between the Conquest and the survey was a time of unrest and wasting to which the Domesday Book itself bears record. It seems equally unlikely that the alteration could have been made by the Romans. There was a Roman villa at Harpham, only four miles away, but few other indications exist of Roman occupation of the clay and marsh lands. Their roads and villas kept rather to the higher, drier Wolds.

The originators must therefore have been either the Anglian or the Danish settlers of Holderness, and the date must lie between about 500 and 1066 A.D. The Angles began to arrive in the fifth century, and the place-names of Holderness suggest that they first settled in clearings on the higher and often gravel-capped mounds, whence settlement spread later onto the sur-

[1] *Chronica Monasteria de Melsa,* Vol. III, p. 82.

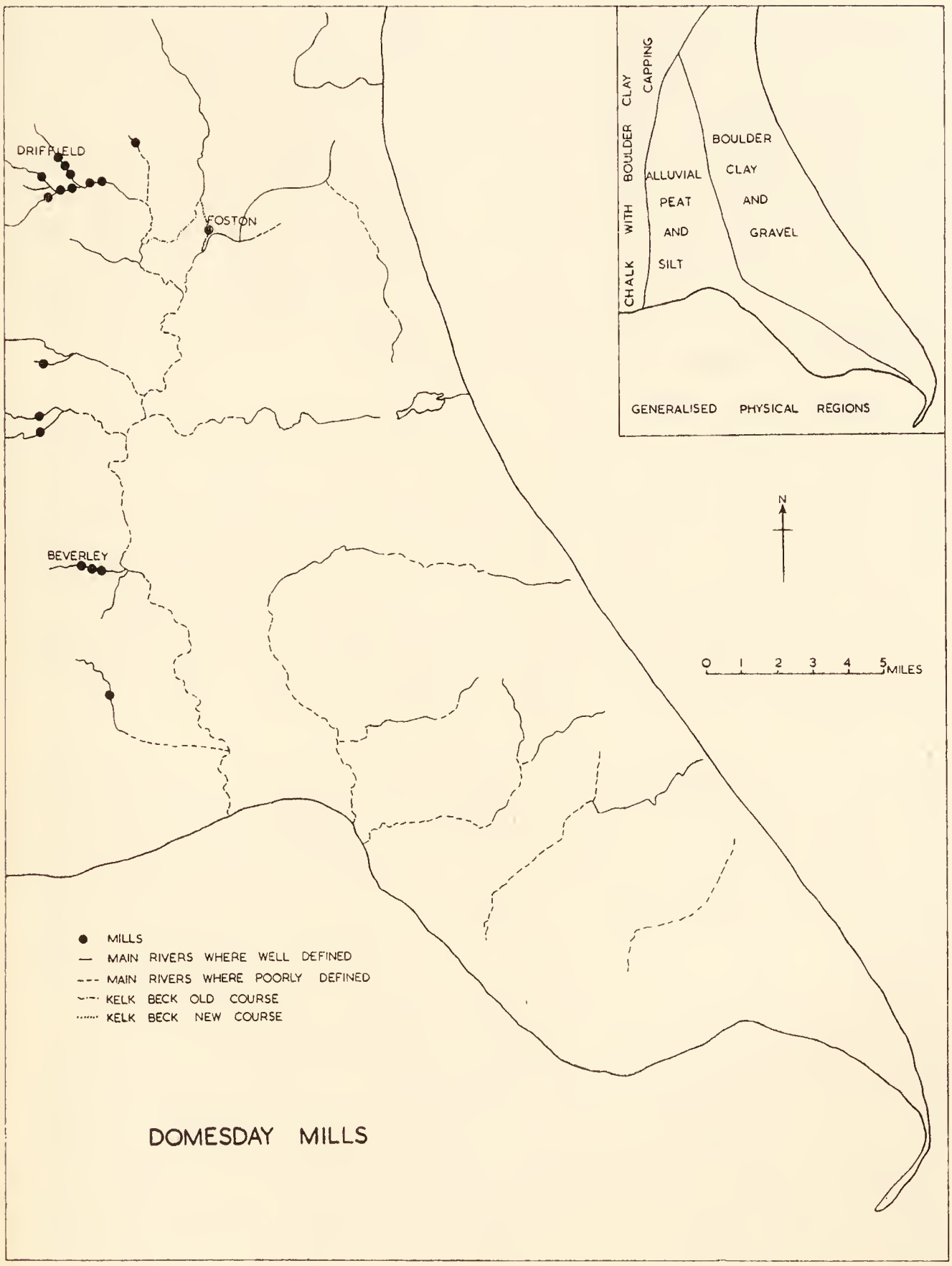


FIG. 2. Stream characteristics and the location of Domesday Mills in Holderness.

rounding clay lands. But the marshy valleys of the Hull and its main tributaries were avoided. This suggests that the Anglian peoples made little attempt to use the carrs and the waterways.

When the Danes began to settle the district during the latter half of the ninth century, they found much of the best land already occupied. Place-name evidence suggests that they reclaimed and settled some of the silt-land bordering the Humber, and the smaller boulder-clay islands standing above the carrs in the Hull valley. In such situations they probably extended their knowledge of water-engineering. The Danes settled in parts of the higher land too, and either established new villages between old Anglian settlements, or drove out or subjugated the Angles. This appears to have happened east of Driffield, for of the eight villages in the area under consideration, four bear Danish names—Nafferton, Lowthorpe, Foston and Skerne.

The ease with which the Danes adjusted themselves to marshland conditions suggests some ability to master and manage the waters which the Angles avoided. The strength of the Danes east of Driffield, and particularly their presence in Foston, suggests that they used their knowledge and mastery in this case to divert the Kelk Beck. No doubt they would not have undertaken such a task until they had been firmly established in the district for a number of years. We may therefore suggest as the most likely time for the diversion a date between 900 and 1066 A.D., and probably nearer the latter date than the former.

Further support for a date during the tenth or eleventh centuries is provided by the parish boundaries. It is believed that these evolved as the boundaries between the townships of the Angles and Danes, and were in many places well-defined and established by the tenth century. In Holderness, as in many other parts of England, the courses of the main streams were frequently used as boundaries, and almost throughout their length the channels of the Hull and its main tributaries are put to this use. Only in three localities in Holderness do the boundaries ignore a large stream. In Rise the southern boundary avoids the present course of the Lambwath and the whole of this stretch of the valley is included within the parish. In Driffield, similarly, the boundary runs south of the Beck to include the entire valley. In Foston, the diverted section of the Kelk Beck is ignored and included wholly within the parish, while the western boundary follows White Dike. It is difficult to suggest reasons for the first two anomalies, but in the case of Foston, may it not be that the Beck was not flowing across Foston lands at the time when the township boundaries became stabilised?

If this were so, it would be legitimate to expect the old course of the Beck to be used as a boundary. In fact, a boundary coincides approximately with the old course over only a short stretch between Brigham and **Wans**ford. But the old course

passes through carrs which until the nineteenth century were almost continuously waterlogged, and in many such areas the precise boundaries were not defined until later than the upland boundaries. When they came to be defined, if there were no suitable stream course which could be adopted, fence-ditches were cut, e.g. Parkdike was a fence ditch which ran between Meaux and Weel carrs when Meaux lands were granted to the Cistercians in 1150 A.D. There are therefore two possible explanations of the failure to use the old course of Kelk Beck as a boundary. In the first place, its meandering braided nature may have made it unsuitable. In the second place, the boundaries in the carrs may have evolved after the diversion of the Beck waters, perhaps not until the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

The balance of evidence, therefore, favours a diversion of the Kelk Beck by Danish people in the tenth or early eleventh century. The possible reasons for the diversion, suggested above (p. 61), may have been to drive the mill, or to provide a navigable waterway. There is no evidence that the Kelk Beck was used for navigation, but it seems very likely that the provision of water to drive the mill was at least one reason for the diversion. If the people of Foston wished to grind their corn by more advanced methods than hand-querns, they would look for a stream suitable for driving a water-mill. They would notice that the Kelk Beck had a suitable regular flow, but dissipated its waters in the carrs. They would realise that at least some of the water could be embanked and carried across the col in the Foston ridge, and that the point where this water dropped into the Old Howe valley would provide an ideal site for a mill, for there was a fall of several feet into the valley and a firm foundation for the building. The importance of the site is indicated by the many references to a mill in Foston throughout the following centuries.[1]

No doubt in the tenth century the diversion did not have the clear-cut pattern it now displays. Some of the Kelk Beck water passed through Foston, and perhaps most of it during dry seasons. But during times of flood the waters must have spilt over the western bank and found their way into the carrs and eventually by the old course into Driffield Beck. The 1670 petition quoted above suggests that something of this kind was still happening then, for the waters spilling over the banks of White Dike were themselves mainly overflow waters of the Beck. As the years passed and successive drainage improvements were made, the waters became more and more concentrated in the present Beck course. Similarly, the peculiar course below the

[1] e.g. 1304 Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. XXXVII, *Yorkshire Inquisitions* IV, p. 69; *Court of Sewer pains* 1662; *Minutes of the Commissioners of the Beverley and Barnston Drainage*, Oct. 1808, June 1843.

mill, running parallel with the Old Howe in the same valley as far as the borders of Foston lands, may have evolved centuries after the Beck waters first fell into the marshes of the Old Howe.

If the diversion of the Kelk Beck dates from the tenth or eleventh centuries, the Nafferton Beck (Fig. 1) may have been altered at the same time. Perhaps greater alterations than have previously been suspected took place in the natural drainage pattern of England before the Norman Conquest.

EXCAVATION OF A MEDIEVAL MOAT AT MOAT HILL, ANLABY, NEAR HULL.

By M. W. Thompson, M.A., Ph.D.

The village of Anlaby lies about four miles west of Hull and two miles north of Hessle which stands on the banks of the Humber. Approaching the village from Hull one reaches first on its outskirts on the left, First Lane, and about 50 yards further on, on the right standing about 100 yards back from the road, lies our site, Moat Hill. This area of Anlaby, formerly part of the pastures of Anlaby Manor farm, has recently been acquired by the Haltemprice Council for building development. The site had been scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act, but as the Council wished to build here it was decided by the Ministry of Works to excavate on the site before this would be allowed. Accordingly five weeks of excavation were carried out by the Ministry under the supervision of the author in September and October 1954 with the permission of the Council.

The name Moat Hill describes succinctly the two main features of the site; a broad rectangular moat surrounding a rectangular island which is quite appreciably higher than the surrounding land. The moat itself had been filled in by the Council several months before we first visited the site, but from a contoured plan which was kindly supplied it appears that it was 4 to 5 feet deep and, so I was told, held water for most of the year. The external dimensions of the moat are 250 feet by 220 feet, the island being 160 by 110 feet. The moat is or was 50 to 65 feet broad on the east and west sides, but only 40 to 50 feet on the north and south, which has the peculiar effect of making the island much more elongated than the whole enclosure. There is no entry baulk, but Mr. Simms tells me that there were indications of an entry on the north side before the Council filled in the moat. The moat is at its narrowest here, and the gradient up the hill is gentler, both of which lend support to this view. The site is free from bushes and trees except in the north-west corner where a row of hawthorns and an ash cut across the moat and corner of the island. Parallel to this is a small ditch on the south side. Reference to the first edition six inch sheet of 1855 shows this to be the remains of an old field hedge marked on that map. The same map also shows a well on the edge of the island in this area. (fig. 1).

Mr. Laws, aged 74, told us that in his childhood the ruins of the 'castle' had been on the west side of the island, and that his father had helped cart away their remains to pave the courtyard of the farm. While we were digging on the site foundation trenches for houses were being dug between us and the farm.

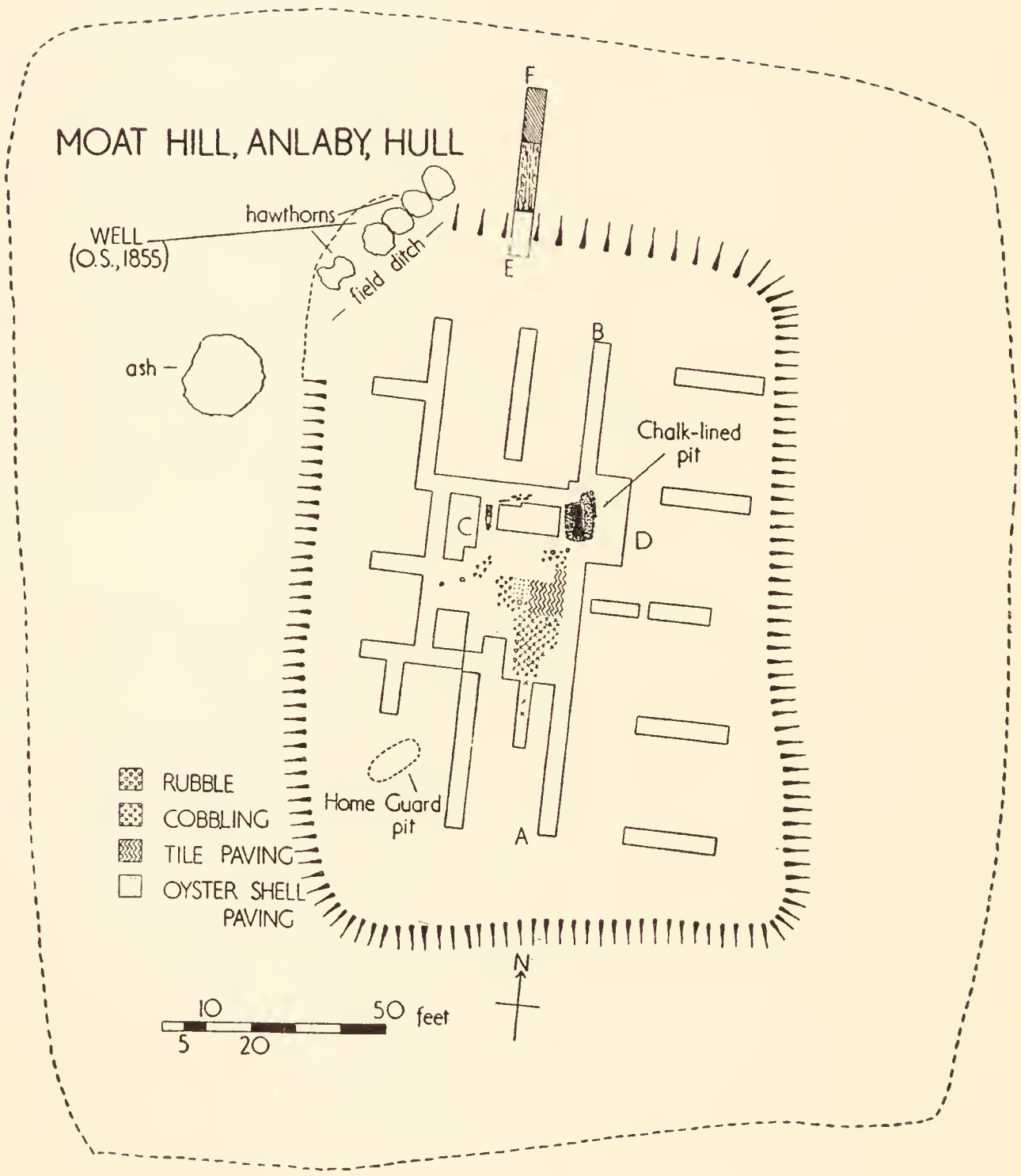

MOAT HILL, ANLABY, HULL
hawthorns
WELL (O.S., 1855)
field ditch
F
E
B
ash
Chalk-lined pit
C
D
A
Home Guard pit
RUBBLE
COBBLING
TILE PAVING
OYSTER SHELL PAVING
N
10
5
20
50 feet

FIG. 1.

A number of large blocks of chalk and flint were found, including one with a chamfered edge. These were spread out over the ground but had evidently belonged to a building. Mr. Laws further told us that Cromwell had destroyed the 'castle'. The story has some foundation insofar as Christopher Legard who had his seat at Anlaby joined the Parliamentary forces in Hull at the beginning of the Civil War, and during his absence Royalist forces damaged or destroyed part of his property at Anlaby, for which he claimed compensation later.[1] Our site cannot have been occupied then but it is just possible it served as a refuge.

Documentary Evidence

In Domesday[2] there are several owners of land in 'Umlouebi' :
The Crown; 3 carucates, 1 bovate, in two holdings, one with a manor.
Count of Mortain; 5 bovates.
Ralph de Mortemer; a berewick of 2 bovates.
Giselbert Tison; $3\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, held by Richard including a manor.
In Kirkby's Inquest of 1284-85[3] the following holders appear :
Abbot of St. Mary's, York; 3 carucates in frank almoin.
William, son of Peter; 1 carucate in frank almoin from the prior of Watton.
William de Middleton; half a carucate from St. John's, Beverly.
Gerardus de Furnivall, Amicia de Brudecroft; 1 bovate each.
John Legard; 3 bovates.
Prior of Ferriby; 1 carucate.

We will jump forward to 1450-55 and work backwards. From this date we have the Anlaby Chartulary[4] where our moat is described by Thomas Anlaby in the following terms, after it passed out of the hands of his family :

' . . . . . Charlys was gyen be kyng of this land William Conqueror all the lordschyp with the landys . . . . . wyth in the town and terretory of Anlaghby . . . . . than at that tym of the fyrst gyft . . . . . the sayd Charles byggyd hym a manor besyd the well and the lak of the bake of the well, makyng the lake of the well to ryn about hys uter moot on both syddys the maner, and on alder sydd on the utter moot at the north syd and at the suth syd an ryndyll and entres for the sayd watter to ryn contynwandly in to a gret moot in the forsayt (with in the qwylke gret moot stood the hall chambers with worthy byggyng and ryall),

[1] Sir J. D. Legard, *The Legards of Anlaby and Ganton*, 1926, 79-89.
[2] *V.C.H., Yorks.*, ii, 203, 223, 269, 272, 286, 317.
[3] *Surtees Soc.*, vol. 49, 1866, 80.
[4] The original chartulary is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and I am grateful to the Director for allowing me access to it and to make the transcription in the appendix. M. R. James (*Y.A.J.*, 31, 1934, 337-48) has published a description and the two passages following were transcribed by him. We have added capital letters and punctuation, expanded contractions, and dispensed with the thorn and zok.

so that the water of the spring com in on the north syd of the maner in to the grett moot of the maner plas be a gratt, and went out at the suth syd of the grett moot be a noder gratt and so down be the car to Sar[1] cryke and to wyke that now ys callyd Hull water . . . . .'

At the beginning of the list of deeds on folio XVa Thomas writes :

' . . . . . begynnyng at the heldyst dede of Cherlys of Anlaby that wonnyde in hys maner of Anlaby in the este ende of Anlaby and quadrat dykyd about wyth ryal hale and chambyrs wallyd wyth in rounde about the mote, and at ylke corner of the mot stood a fayr douf cote, wyth meckyl ryall byggyng wyth outyn as lathys garners wyth many oder howsys of officys qwylk er all fallyn doune and wastyd in the handys of the prior and the covent of Hautemprys . . . . .'

Since this moat is at the east end of Anlaby there can be no doubt that the author was describing our site. We have noted the disproportionate width on the east and west sides of the moat compared with the north and the south. Thomas Anlaby gives an explanation which he had much more opportunity to verify than we have. The well marked in the north-west corner by old editions of the O.S. sheets should be remembered when reading his account. The car which led the water south to the Humber possibly corresponds with the large ditch on the west side of First Lane, or further south Heads Drain.

We must, however, beware of a certain exaggeration in some of the description. The site was in ruins in 1450 when Thomas Anlaby wrote, and he himself had never lived there. The chartulary was written in secrecy and permeated by a hatred of the prior of Haltemprice who still held this property formerly belonging to the family. We should bear this in mind when we read the adjective 'royal' or 'mickle royal' applied to the buildings, and I hold some reservations about the 'wall within round about the moat' with a fair dove cote at each corner.

The circumstances of the loss of this property when William Anlaby was disinherited are fully described by Thomas on folios Xb and X1a,[2] and are dated, as elsewhere in the manuscript, to 1342. William, two years after the death of his father, was unable to withstand a legal action brought against him by Thomas Wake, Lord of Lydell, and the prior of Haltemprice, and was forced 'to give and release all his manor of Anlaby' to Thomas Wake, who conferred it upon the prior. (Thomas Wake had founded this priory in 1321, and his large grant of land to it in 1325 had already brought the edge of the prior's property up to the north side of Anlaby[3]). The destruction of William and his

[1] J. R. Boyle, *Charters and Letters Patent . . . .*, 1905, p. 9, Statute of 1377 speaks of ' . . . . . Sayercryk, iam vocatum Hull . . . . .'. This may have been a name for the Humber estuary, and James's emendation to 'far' is doubtful.

[2] I have transcribed this passage in an appendix.

[3] Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 519-522.

son by this deed afterwards 'moved and stirred' Thomas Wake 'in his conscience' and he charged the prior to take William and his son home and give them a 'gentleman's livelihood'. Apparently the prior took some heed for William's son Pers died at Haltemprice in 1414 (pedigree on folio IX).[1] With the death of Pers this line became extinct.

Three independent sources confirm Thomas's date of 1342. In October of that year is recorded[2] a licence for alienation in mortmain by Thomas Wake of Lydell to the now prior and convent of Haltemprice ' . . . . . of a messuage, toft, 21 acres, 14½ bovates, 32 acres of meadow and 24/10d of rent in Anlaghby . . . . .'. In the same year we are told elsewhere[3] 'The tenements are held of the abbot and convent of St. Mary, York, by the yearly service of 26/- . . . . . who hold them of John de Mowbray in frank almoin'. The messuage was worth 10/- annually. In the feet of fines of the same year[4] we learn the prior was to hold the lands and messuage 'together with the homage and service of William son of Peter of Anlaby'. Three years later in 1345 the prior appears as plaintiff and William and Maud his wife as deforciants, a messuage and land in Anlaby being involved. The result was a quit claim and warranty by the deforciants for themselves and for the heirs of Maud. I assume from Thomas's account a century later that this was not a mere loss of titular rights, but that William was actually dispossessed in this year. Moreover there is no mention of conditions of service if William was to continue to occupy the site.

Now let us turn to the beginning of the site. We know from Kirkby's Inquest (see above) that William son of Peter held only one carucate of land in frank almoin from the prior of Watton in 1285, but the messuage and land transferred to the prior of Haltemprice in 1342 were held from St. Mary's, York.[5] There could hardly have been a mistake over the chief messuage and a substantial amount of land, so I presume either there had been a change in tenure or the abbot of St. Mary's had enfeoffed the Anlabys of new land. The latter course appears to me more likely since in 1285 the abbey held 3 carucates 'antiquitus in elemosinam' in Anlaby. This might also help to explain a weakness in tenure which made it so easy for Thomas Wake to dispossess William in 1342.

No Charles can be identified in Domesday, where in any case the lands are not held by any single person. He may possibly have lived in the first half of the twelfth century (see appendix B for a discussion of this matter), but we have very little confidence in Thomas's view that he first dug the moat. We can

[1] The prior's motives may have been less altruistic; perhaps he wanted to avoid the difficulty of an heir by keeping Pers celibate!

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rol.*, 1340-43, 536.

[3] *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii, 429.

[4] Y.A.S., *Rec. Ser.*, xlii, 157 and 183.

[5] *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, ii, 429.

see from the Chronology in the chartulary that the author had but the haziest idea of events before the fourteenth century. We would suggest that the moat was dug soon after 1285 on land just acquired from St. Mary's, York, but had to be given up in 1345 or 1342 to the prior. The priory lies just over a mile from our site, so I presume that it managed directly the newly acquired lands and had little use for the messuage; indeed Thomas tells us that in his day the buildings were 'all fallen down and wasted in the hands of the prior'.[1]

It is worth noting that in the fifteenth century at any rate there was a ferry across the Humber at Hessle.[2] In 1303[3] we hear that a new road, the Wolds Road had come into use from Hull passing 'through the middle of the vill of Anlaby' where it seems to have bifurcated, going west to Ferriby and north to Willerby. The eastern part of the road appears to correspond to the modern Hull-Anlaby main road, and it is therefore interesting that our site was built adjacent to it. Did the new road play some part in the choice of this position? Anlaby at the time of our site then was quite a busy cross-road for north/south ferry traffic and east/west Hull traffic.

The later history of the site need not concern us. In the Hull Public Library are copies by Mr. Wilson Barkworth of a survey of Anlaby fields in 1472-3, and two wills of Robert and Thomas Legard in 1441 and 1445. These wills[4] portray a fairly wealthy family, and make one involuntarily think of their contemporaries, the Pastons of Norfolk. In the sixteenth century this family, which had been connected by marriage with the Anlabys since the twelfth century, became of more than local significance and a distinguished member of their family has written their history.[5] Among Robert Legard's possessions in 1611 was 'The Mote Cloose', which probably describes the field in which our site lay.[6]

Excavation

It will be easiest to start with our section in the moat (EF), although this was the last point in which we dug. (fig. 2). The Council had laid a land drain on three sides, so a section was only practical on the north side, although even here it could not be extended right across without interfering with the buildings. This small section required timbering and a motor pump for the water.

[1] The priory had a 'firma capitel maner', rent £4/13/4, and 'firma terra', rent £18/15/4 in Anlaby at the dissolution, Dugdale, vi, 522.

[2] In 1421, Y.A.S., *Rec. Ser.*, 59, 175, and 1495 Inq. p.m. H.vii, i, 450. The Hull/Barton ferry received a letter patent in 1315, Boyle, p. 8.

[3] Y.A.S., *Rec. Ser.*, 37, 49-50.

[4] e.g. ' . . . . . meam optimam togam furratam' or ' . . . . . cum omnibus vasis et jocalibus meis argenteis . . . . . '

[5] *op. cit.*

[6] *A Perfect Survey . . . . . Robert Legard of Anlaby . . . . .* 1611. Copy in Hull Public Library.

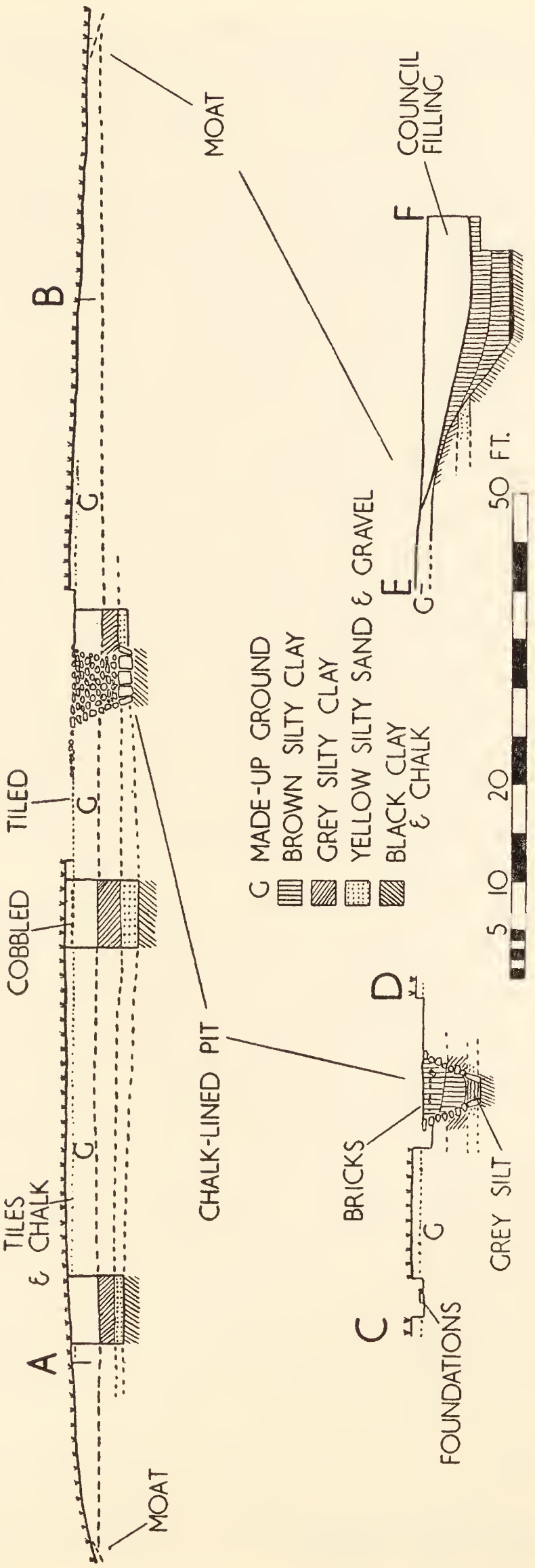

A
B
C
D
E
F
G
TILED
COBBLED
TILES & CHALK
MOAT
CHALK-LINED PIT
BRICKS
FOUNDATIONS
GREY SILT
COUNCIL FILLING
MADE-UP GROUND
BROWN SILTY CLAY
GREY SILTY CLAY
YELLOW SILTY SAND & GRAVEL
BLACK CLAY & CHALK
0
20
50 FT.
5
10

FIG. 2.

The moat was 8 feet deep, flat-bottomed and steep-sided. Below 5 feet of filling recently put in by the Council, which was clearly defined by a thick black turf line, there were 4 feet of natural silting. This deposit was divided into a thin layer of black organic matter at the bottom, 2 feet of dark brown silty clay with some organic matter including large pieces of wood, and above another 2 feet of similar deposit but lighter in colour and without organic matter. A piece of tile was found in the bottom of the moat, but otherwise sherds of green-glazed pottery were found only just below the turf line.

The bottom of the moat is formed by hard black silty clay with small pieces of chalk in it. This peculiar deposit is, I presume, of glacial origin. This forms the side of the moat up to 5 feet 6 inches from the surface, where it is overlain by a 1 feet 6 inches band of yellow silty sand and gravel. Above this is 2 feet 6 inches of dark grey silty clay without chalk,[1] and above this the final foot of brown silty clay. There is no marked old turf line between the two, but there can be no doubt that the upper deposit represents the made-up part of the central island, for it contains mixed up with it chalk and gravel from the levels below.

In the central island deep excavation at three points established that a similar stratification is found all over the site (section AB, fig. 2). The made-up ground is deeper in the centre, however, reaching 3 feet 6 inches (the dumpy level showed that the hill is in fact about this height above the surrounding fields). The yellow silty sand varies in depth, thickness and composition, being particularly weak on the south side, but its main features are the same everywhere.

The plan in fig. 1 shows how our trenches were laid out. From a more or less central trench AB further trenches were laid out at right angles in such a way that no large areas were left untrenched, so that no important structures should escape us.

The first trench encountered the chalk-lined pit shown on the plan. This pit is 6 feet deep (fig. 2 and Plate I), the unpaved bottom being formed of the natural hard black clay, just reached at this depth. The sides are formed of roughly bonded undressed blocks of chalk or in a few cases flint. The bottom course is formed of ten large chalk flags set upright against the clay behind, four on either side and one at each end. There is no back to these walls, the stones being simply set in the ground behind and perhaps for this reason all sides are steeply battered. The pit is rectangular with slightly rounded corners, measuring 9 feet by 6 feet internally at the top and 5 feet 7 inches by 1 foot 4 inches at the bottom. The north-west corner of the pit had collapsed. There were no signs of any steps leading in. The bottom 1 foot 6 inches of the pit were filled with a coarse grey silt, formed, I suspect, by seepage while the pit was in use. This silt contained the greater part of a squat glazed jug and in its upper part the bridge-

[1] None of the clays on this site are real clays but somewhat coarser, something between clay and fine silt.

spout of a jug of fine thin white ware. The rest of the pit was filled with brown clay which enclosed fragments of bricks and some pots in its upper part. This clay gave the appearance of having been put in deliberately and not of having silted up.

At right-angles to the north-west corner of the pit were patches of chalk foundations 1 foot 6 inches wide. At right-angles again to this was a length of 3 feet of well made foundations of the same width and made of Brough stone and chalk, surviving to a height of one course. On the south side there was some chalk rubble but no definite foundations. There can be no doubt that we are dealing with a building. Its eastern edge is formed by the eastern side of the top of the pit. Here in the north-east corner the top course of the pit had another single course behind it forming a corner. Unlike the stones of the pit these outer stones were Brough stone. The pit, therefore, would lie in the eastern end of the building, its length being equal to the building's width. The external measurements of the building would, therefore, be about 25 feet by 12 feet.

To the south of this building was a tiled area, approximately 7 feet by 12 feet (Plate II). This was made up of small pieces of roof tile fitted roughly together. On the west a small area 4 feet by 5 feet of paving with oyster shells abutted on this, giving way to more chalk rubble further west. On the south side was an area cobbled with beach pebbles which gradually faded away to the south, a certain amount of chalk occurring on its west side.

The tiled area was littered with occupational debris, bones and glazed sherds, so that we at first supposed it was the floor of a building. There were no foundations on the south and east side so that there can be little doubt that it was a courtyard. Where then was the 'royal hall'? It must have been somewhere on the west side. This side yielded a prodigious quantity of tile and Mr. Laws averred that the 'castle' stood on the west side. The chalk rubble on the west side of the courtyard probably mark its east wall, and two large blocks of Brough stone its northern end. All traces of the hearth and floor (if it was flagged) have been removed. The building was probably L-shaped with the tiled courtyard in the angle of the L. (The medieval habit of laying foundations on the ground surface makes them an easy prey to later robbers, and we can only be thankful that the depth of the pit saved it from a like fate).

No other structures were found, although over practically the whole site tile and sherds were found about 9 inches below the turf. The well shown by the Ordnance Survey in 1855 did not, unfortunately, come to our notice until it was too late to dig there.

Two features of the site are worthy of note. Firstly the building up of the central mound from material from the moat has not been certainly recorded before, although Mrs. Audrey Williams suspected this in an unfinished moat at Nuthampstead

(Herts.) that she dug a few years ago.[1] It is slightly reminiscent of motte construction, although in this case there can be no question of waiting a century for the ground to settle, as it has been suggested was necessary in the case of a shell keep.[2] The motive was no doubt partly drainage, partly defensive. Flooding was a problem as the Patent Rolls show.[3]

Secondly a pit lined with chalk blocks as we described above has not, so far as I am aware, been found on a medieval manor site before. The writer uncovered a pit of about the same size, 11 feet by 6 feet, at a fortified manor in Huttons Ambo, near Malton about thirty miles from Anlaby. In this case the pit (dating to about 1200) was much deeper, 11 feet instead of 6 feet. The sides were of natural rock, except in one case where the silting of an earlier ditch had been faced over. This pit was not incorporated into a building (although it was close to a wall and may have had a pent roof). In both cases the purpose was probably the same; a larder where perishable foodstuffs that had to be kept cool were stored.[4] Mr. Biek in the Ministry's laboratory has shown that the silty material from the bottom of the pit did not contain an excess of salt, or in other words salted meat was probably not kept in this pit. (See Appendix C).

Finds

(i) Roman.

A coin of Constantine the Great was found close to the pit on the east side about 1 foot 3 inches below the surface, presumably cast up in digging the moat.

Obv. Laureated bust to right. CONSTANTINUS AUG.

Rev. Gate of camp crowned by two towers, above a star. PROVIDENTIAE AUG. In exergue PTR with pellet in crescent on right.

Mr. Rigold has helped me identify the coin as Cohen 454. It is an issue from Treves of the early 320's.

Three sherds of hard grey ware, including an everted rim are probably also Roman. They are probably Crambeck ware, so abundant throughout Yorkshire during the fourth century.

(ii) Medieval.

Flints. A few small conical cores and unworked flakes, no doubt left over from the production of strike-a-lights.

Bones. Animal bones of yet unidentified domestic species were found in the chalk lined pit, on the paved area and indeed practically over the whole site.

Oyster Shells. We have mentioned these being used as paving on the site.

Tiles. Enormous quantities of roof tiles were found over the site, some used to pave the ground, others no doubt from the roof itself. One complete roof tile measured 11.6 inches by 7.2 inches by .5 inches thick. It had a nib for hanging from the purlin in the middle of one end. (fig. 5). Most of the fragments are of this type but a few curved pieces were no doubt parts of ridge tiles, but none were glazed.

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[1] *Ant. J.*, xxvi, 1946, 138-44.

[2] *Arch.*, 83, 43-108. At Kidwelly.

[3] *Cal. Pat. Rol.*, 1356: a 4 foot rise above normal of the Hull and Humber submerged the Hull/Anlaby road and the meadows between Hessle and Anlaby, so that an emergency commission had to be set up.

[4] *P.P.S.*, xix, 1953, 1-2. We are reminded of the ice-house recently excavated by Professor Clark.

PLATE I.



The chalk-lined pit seen from the north-east.

PLATE II.



Tiled and cobbled area to the south of the chalk-lined pit.

Bricks. Fragments of bricks were found in the upper filling of the chalk-lined pit, and one or two pieces were incorporated in the tiled areas. These bricks are hand made and of lighter colour than modern bricks; the size is also very distinct. No brick sufficiently complete to measure the length was found, but one example must have been greater than $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This and other pieces were 2 inches thick and 5 inches broad.

Lead. A piece of twisted lead sheet, see Mr. Biek's description in Appendix C.

Nails. Six nails were recovered, one with a large flat head.

Sickle. The tang and about 3 inches of the broken blade of a sickle.

Plates. Two iron plates measuring 2.5 inches by 1.3 inches, and 5 inches by 1.1 inches respectively were found. Their use is uncertain but they are possibly from locks.

Unidentified object, shaped like the bolt of a door.

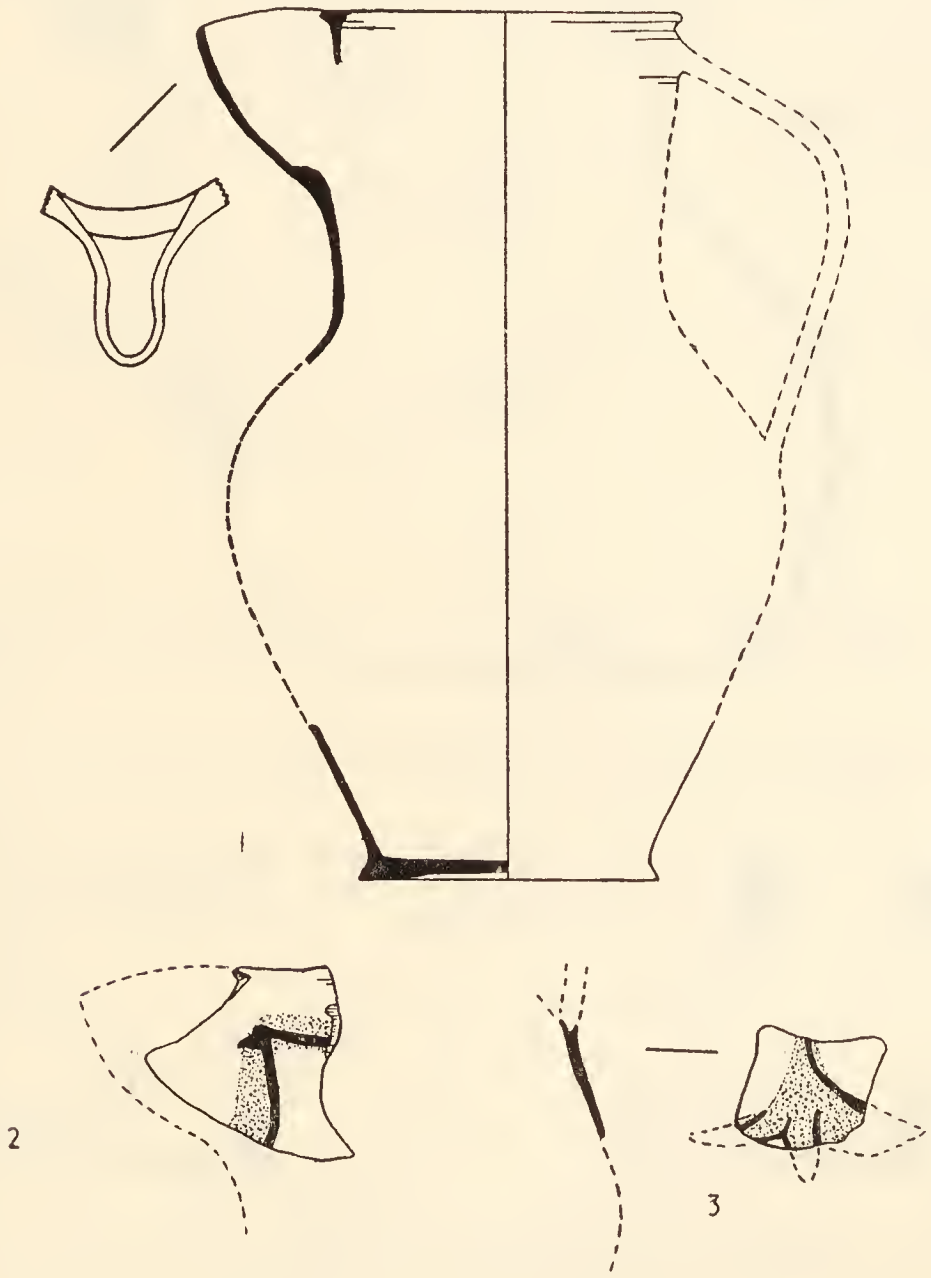


FIG. 3. Scale : $\frac{1}{4}$.

POTTERY.

The only stratigraphy observed was in the chalk-lined pit. All the rest of the material came either from the paved courtyard, the cobbled area or at other points in the tile level over the site, or from the upper filling of the moat. We kept them separate during the excavation of course, but it is not worthwhile doing so now.

Coarse Ware. Three or four sherds of thinnish coarse ware, sometimes red, sometimes black on one or both sides or occasionally blackened by fire on the outside. Among these were a slightly thickened upright rim showing a vessel 7.4 inches in diameter of a normal cooking pot form (fig. 4, 6).

Glazed Ware. The handles of at least 19 distinct jugs were found, but the number of vessels represented is considerably greater, probably at least 35 to 40.

Among the jugs those of thin, hard, white ware are quite distinct from the others. There are two types. First there are two sherds with polychrome decoration, black and green paint under a transparent glaze. One of these is from the rim just where it bifurcates for the parrot beak (fig. 3, 2); the other shows the three-leaf decoration just below the handle at the back of the vessel (fig. 3, 3). The second type is identical in ware but instead of being painted has a fine dark green glaze over the surface. A parrot beak bridge spout and part of the base were stratified in the chalk-lined pit in the top of the grey silt. The form (fig. 3, 1) is identical with published illustrations of the painted jugs; flat everted base, plump body, small thin handle, flat moulded rim, and large parrot beak bridge-spout.

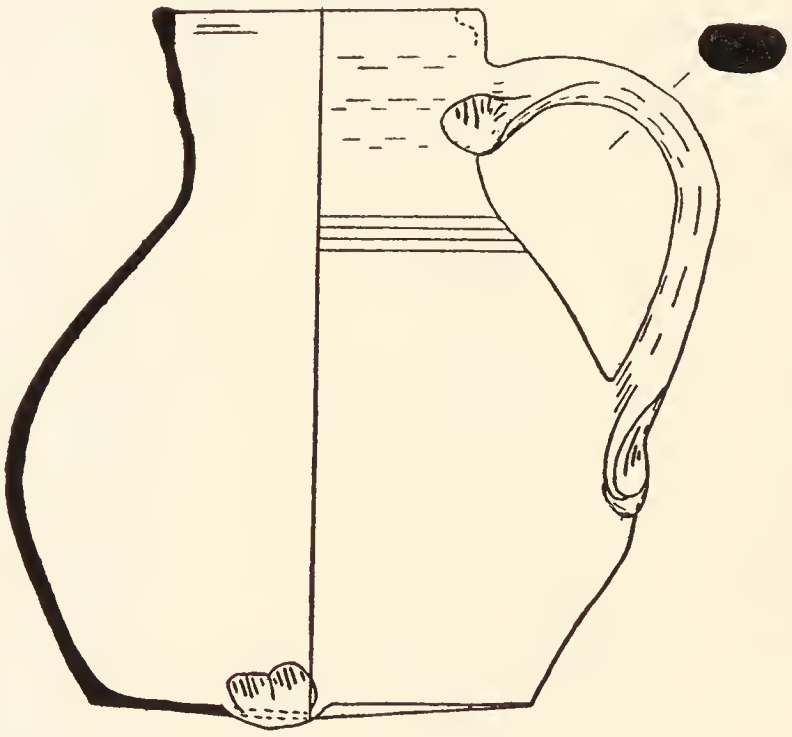
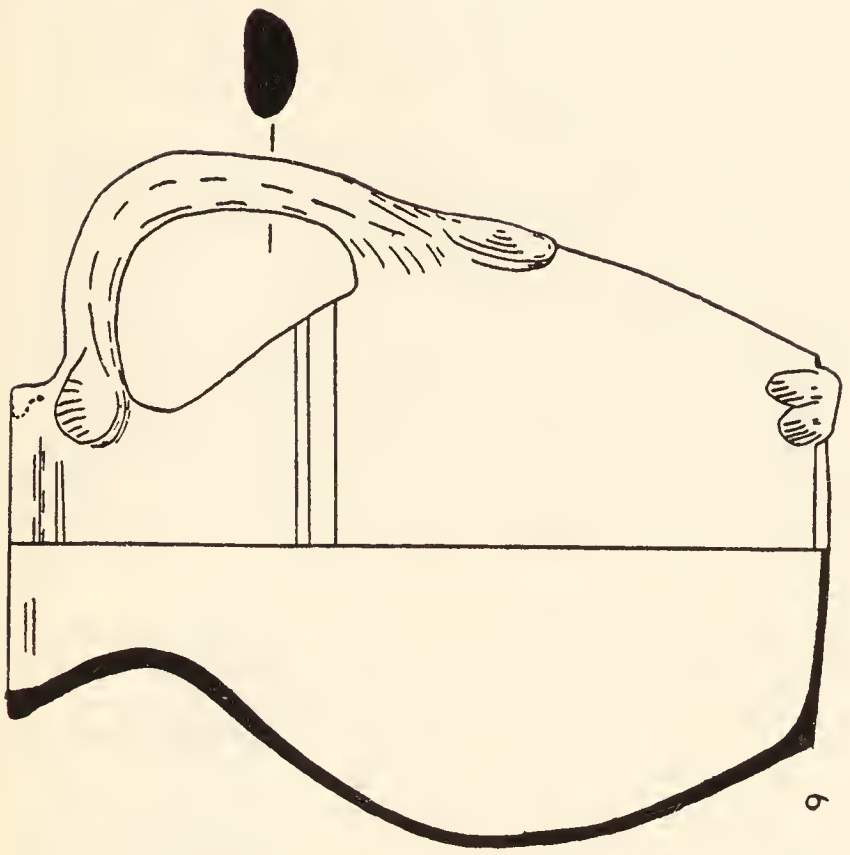


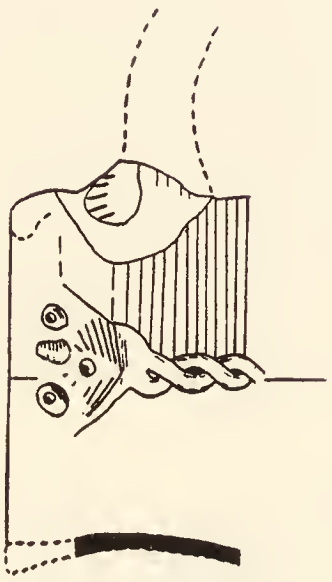
FIG. 4. Scale : $\frac{1}{4}$.

Another vessel from the grey silt and slightly lower in it is an almost complete jug (fig. 4, 4). The outside diameter at the top is 4 inches, the height 8.5 inches. A small kink in the rim opposite the handle forms the spout. The handle is undecorated and the body almost so, save for three very shallow grooves below the glaze on the shoulder. The body is squat and slightly angular; the base slightly sagging and pressed out at three points on the edge : the ware fairly thin but the thickness varies a great deal, moderately hard, grey in section, pink in places on inside and out, with green glaze on upper part of the vessel. The base is darkened as though by fire.

At a depth of 2 feet in the upper filling of the pit sherds came to light which made up into the pot shown in fig. 5, 9. This vessel is heavier and thicker than the last; the ware grey in section is pink on the upper part

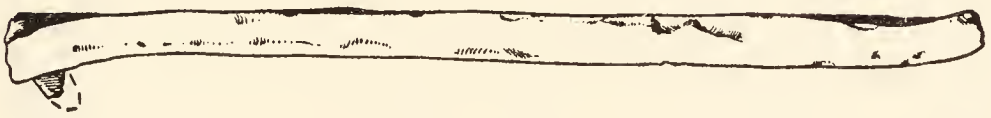


9



10

Scale : ¼.



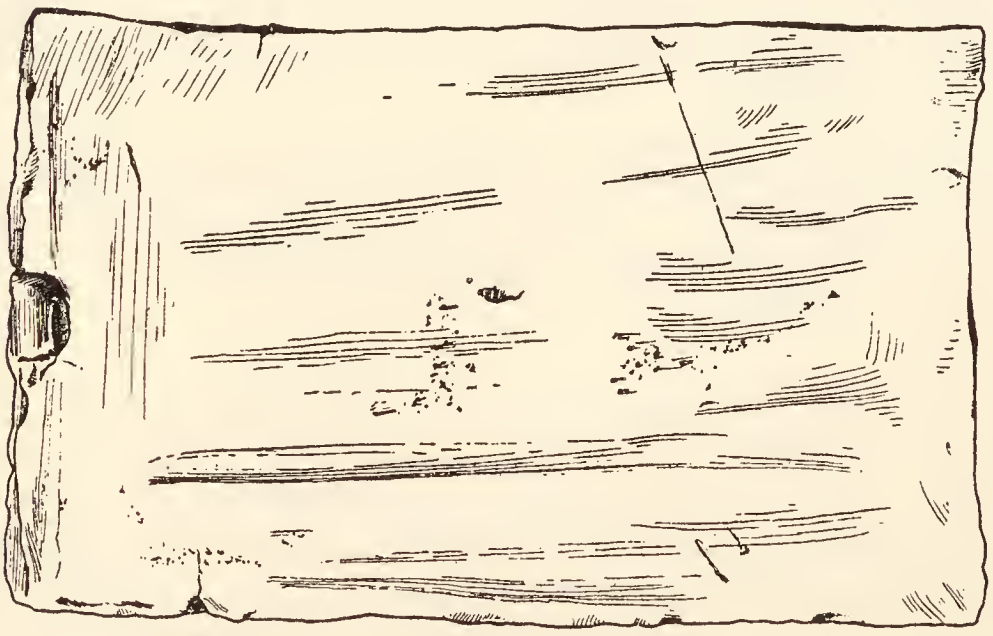


FIG. 5.

outside, the upper part of the jug being irregularly glazed on the outside with a lightish green glaze. The diameter is 3.8 inches, the height 9.8 inches. This vessel is taller and has a much more elliptical body than the previous one, but is otherwise similar. The three grooves are more distinct; the handle again undecorated, and again being applied in a similar way, pressed out at top and bottom. The base sags again and is pressed out at three or four points. This jug has three grooves just below the lip unlike the former, and another just below the level of the handle.

The great mass of the sherds from elsewhere on the site belong to vessels of this type differing only in two respects. Whereas there are only three engraved lines on the shoulders of the last two vessels they increase on others until the vessel appears to have almost a corrugated surface. The handles of the two pots described were plain but most of the others on the site are grooved, sometimes with three, usually four but once six longitudinal grooves (fig. 6, 11-19). These handles are sometimes very broad, reaching 2 inches, although there are two or three plain and small ungrooved handles. Practically all the bases are of the type described, sagging and pinched out. There is one exception (fig. 4, 7) of red ware with flat expanded disc-like base, quite evidently later than the rest of the material. This vessel is distinguished from the others by dark glaze on the inside as well as on the outside.

The ware of the great majority of the jugs is similar; grey in section, but with a red slip on parts of the outside, exactly like the jug described from the upper part of the pit. There are, however, a few pieces in red tile-like ware, as the base just mentioned above, which often have a brownier glaze and are no doubt later. We should mention the footed base of a small bowl with brown glaze on the inside, two small handles, and the rim of a large bowl or pan 1 foot 2 inches in diameter (fig. 4; 5, 8), flattened and everted at the top. Some of these vessels may be as late as the fifteenth century.

Two vessels deserve special mention. The first is the top of a jug about 4 inches in diameter with a fairly dark glaze inside and out. The outer surface has the sort of corrugation of which we have spoken (fig. 5, 10). The stump of the handle remains and presumably was opposite the spout; at right angles to this axis are a pair of applied faces on the outside of the vessel. Two blobs with holes in them represent the eyes, the nose being indicated by a pinched up blob between. Below this is a pointed projection with a hole on top of it presumably indicating the jaw and mouth respectively. Below this two intertwined coils of clay descend down the vessel to represent the beard. The ware is grey and of the same type as the majority of the other jugs.

Another vessel of reddish ware with a yellowish spotted glaze has a stamped decoration, made by pushing the clay outwards from inside and stamping the protuberance. Only a few sherds were found but a rosette and a herring bone pattern (perhaps indicating foliage) survive. Another sherd of grey ware has a blob with gridded decoration.

Discussion

Hull is justly famous for its early brickwork. There is documentary evidence for kilns from 1303, and of extensive brick-building carried out in the fourteenth century. Holy Trinity is the best known surviving example.[1] The great quantities of tile, and the bricks, found on our site are a testimony to the activity of the medieval Hull kilns (or possibly the Beverley ones). If we work through Mr. Lloyd's long list of measurements of bricks we find only four instances of bricks with the width of

[1] N. Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork*, 1925, p. 5, 96-100, 357. Boyle, p. 10; in 1326-7 the licence to crenellate town and houses within allows use of stone or brick (tegula).

the Anlaby bricks (i.e. over 5 inches). These four are all dated circa 1335-1410; three are from Hull or Beverley; the last from Thornton Abbey on the other side of the Humber and about six miles from the Barton ferry.

Another assemblage of pottery, dated 1275-1320, with which it would be profitable to compare ours is that from Kidwelly Castle.[1] Our two polychrome sherds from Anlaby clearly came from a jug like fig. 6, or indeed may be compared with any of the London jugs in fig. 13 and 14. The triple leaf below the handle is a general characteristic of these jugs, and the right-angled pattern by the spout is almost as common. The unpainted green glazed variety of this jug was not found at Kidwelly, and Mr. Dunning tells me he regards them as being a little later although having the same foreign source.

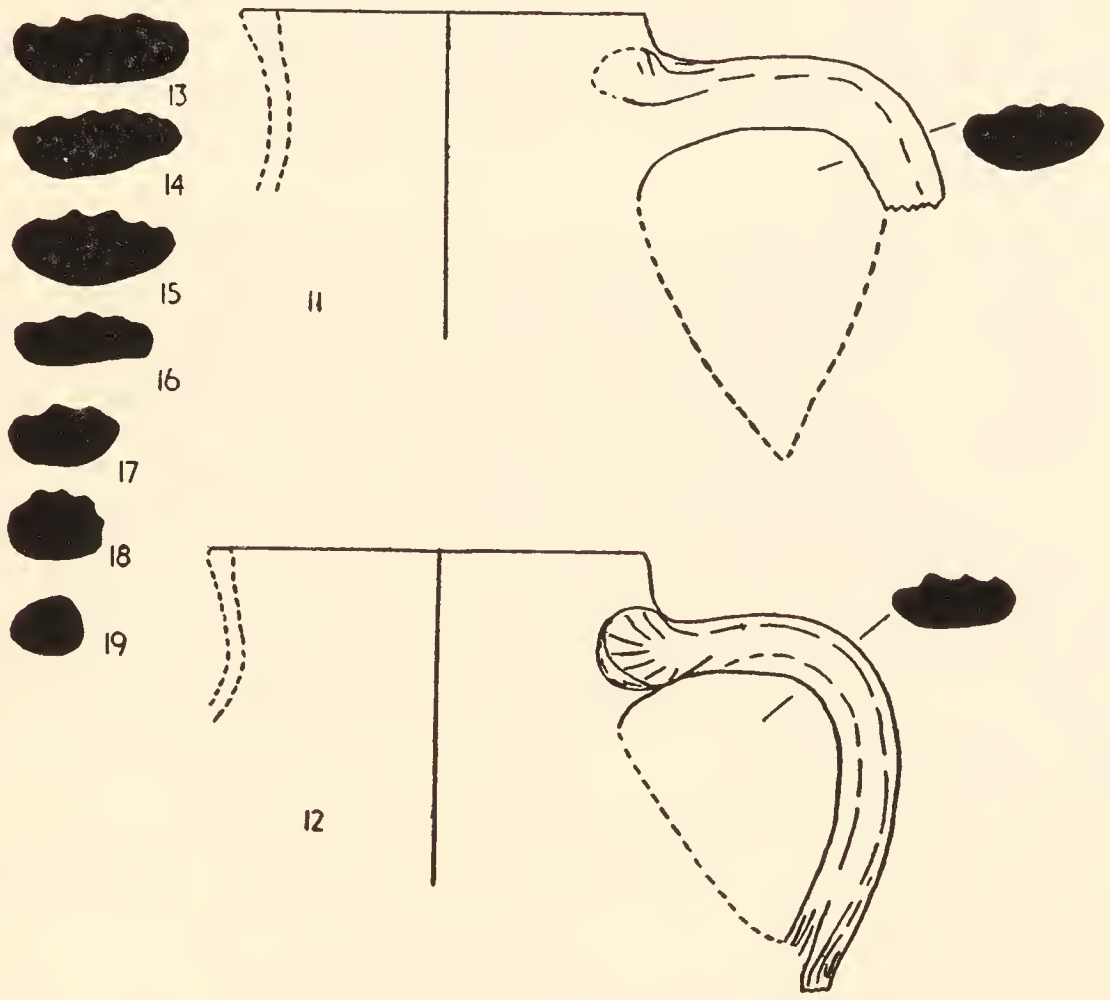


FIG. 6. Scale : $\frac{1}{4}$.

Since their first notice in Archaeologia in 1933 the number of known examples of these imported jugs has increased considerably (particularly at Stonar in Kent), but their distribution has remained essentially unaltered; west coast of Scotland and Wales (mainly Edwardian castles), and southern England near the coast (Exeter, Isle of Wight, London, etc.). The polychrome

[1] Fox, Radford, Dunning, Kidwelly Castle, *Arch.* LXXXIII, 43-108.

jugs from Felixstowe and Ipswich in Ipswich Museum had extended their distribution a little way up the east coast and our find takes this right up to the Humber.[1]

Mr. Dunning tells me that an origin for these jugs as part of the Gascon wine trade, first suggested in 1933, is becoming almost certain with the finds of these jugs in that area and of an unpublished kiln for their manufacture near Saintes (Charente Maritime). It is therefore worth remembering that the 'prise of wine' (import duty) in Hull was apparently quite lucrative, until 1333 when both the King and the Archbishop of York were taking prise, which discouraged the foreign merchants from bringing their wine to Hull.[2]

Class (b) and (c) of Kidwelly were not found at Anlaby, and (d), cooking pottery, was almost absent. Class (a), however, may well be compared with the rest of the Anlaby material. The ware is very similar at both sites, but our glaze is darker. The inturned rim, sagging base and rilling are found at both sites. There are a number of differences; the Anlaby handles are never stabbed, there are no native bridge-spouts at Anlaby, and the bases are never pressed down all the way round but only in three or four places.

The pot containing the famous Boynton hoard from Wiltshire may be compared to the one found in the silt of chalk-lined pit at Anlaby. The decoration is absent and the rim very distinct at Anlaby, but the general squat shape and base are similar.[3] The Boynton hoard comprised nearly 4,000 pennies, all long cross with one exception and covering the whole range of Edward I and II, but not extending into Edward III's series. The pot which appeared to be fairly new was probably of about the same date as the deposition of the hoard, that is about 1325. The documentary evidence at Anlaby would allow us to give a roughly equivalent date there. A similar jug from Oxford, less securely dated, has been described by Mr. Bruce Mitford[4] and assigned to roughly the same period.

Decorative stamping and applied faces are known from many parts of the country. We may mention Sussex where the two are found together in a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century

[1] *Cal. Close Rol.*, 1288-96, p. 21, and 1296-1302, p. 99-101, 499, give us a list of the ports where the main wine trade was being carried on. Many of the sites with polychrome pottery occur on these lists, but the present known distribution clearly has too much bias to the west coast, the main trade really being on the east. This is perhaps due to the Edwardian castles, which remain undisturbed, whereas the medieval east coast ports have been continuously occupied since.

[2] *Cal. Fine Rol.*, iv, 174 and 360. We may note an actual instance in 1316, when the Ipswich ship La Hynde loaded ' . . . . . at Bordeaux with 84 tons and 4 pipes of wine to take to the port of Kingston-upon-Hull to trade there . . . . .', but was seized in the mouth of the Humber (*Cal. Pat. Rol.*, 1313-17, 586). Mr. Hervey has discussed the Hull wine trade during this period in Ridley's Wine and Spirit Trade Circular, July and August 1943.

[3] *Num. Chron.* 5th series, xvi, 155.

[4] *Oxon.*, IV, 1939, fig. 25a.

context.[1] A face like ours has recently come to light at Denny Abbey, Cambs., and Mr. Charlton has drawn my attention to three applied faces from the North of England.[2] These are all distinct in that they have no proper chin or beard and are sometimes on the handle (as is the case in Scotland). Mr. Hurst has pointed out to me that twisted vertical coils have been found at York (Yorkshire Museum), and that our face is really an unusual combination of a general feature with a local speciality.

On the whole the documentary and archaeological evidence interlock well on the date of the site. While the silt was formed in the pit it was probably in use, and so a date of 1320-30 for the squat pot is probable, as the Boynton find suggests, while the imported unpainted ware would be a little later, 1330-40 or so, which Mr. Dunning tells me would suit this type of vessel well. The polychrome sherds would date from a little after or before 1300, soon after the buildings were erected. Practically all our bases are pinched out and sagging, and so we could hardly put them later than the first half of the fourteenth century. The flat base and few sherds with brown glaze on the inside could be accounted for by desultory activity on the site after 1345.

We may summarise the results of our excavation in the following way. Material from the moat had been thrown up on to the central island, and on this mound the domestic buildings were set. Unfortunately few of these remained except for a pit lined with chalk blocks probably for storage. From the surviving foundations it was concluded that this pit lay in the end of a small building which probably formed the offices (buttery, pantry, etc.) to the hall which probably lay at right-angles to it. The finds comprised a valuable pottery series including imported French jugs not hitherto known from the north-east coast or Yorkshire. The known evidence for early brick and tile working in the Hull and Beverley area was confirmed by finds of substantial quantities of both on the site. Relatively good documentary evidence has increased the interest of the excavation, and provided a dated assemblage of pottery useful for the rest of the county.

APPENDIX A.

I have transcribed below Thomas Anlaby's account of the disinheritance of William Anlaby in the introductory portion of the chartulary, folio Xb line 33 to folio X1a line 20.

I have added capital letters and punctuation, expanded contractions, and substituted 'th' for the thorn, 'y' for the zok, and single 'f' where it is double in the MS. Otherwise the original spelling has been retained. I am greatly indebted to Mr. A. J. Taylor for making several corrections and interpretations of difficult words.

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[1] *S.A.C.* LXXIV, pl. XII and LXXVII, 110-11.

[2] *Arch. Ael.*, 4th series XIII, 287. figs. 3, 9-11. It should be noted that two of the polychrome jugs (Cardiff and Ipswich) have applied faces in the same position as ours.

'This Pers gat in wedlake William hys son and hys heyr, of whom Sir Thomas Wake, lorde of Lydall and Cotyngham and fundor of Haltempris, xxi yere efter the fundacion of Haltempris in the yer of kynge Edwarde the therd xvi in the secund yer efter the obit and decess of Pers of Anlaby fader to the sayd William, the sayd Sir Thomas Wake be febyll cownsyll of hys priore of Haltemprys sowyd be grett process of accion in law the sayd William of Anlaby, qwhos sympylnes and poverte mott not agayn stand hys soott. And so he condempnyd in grett goodys a gannys the sayd lord Wake wher for he prisond hyme. And so the sayd William Anlaby, the son of Pers, in derys of destres haldyng and for ferdnes of manysthyng be the instigacyon of the sayd Sir Thomas Wake and the sayd priore, constrenyd hym to reless and to gyf all hys maner of Anlaby wyth all the pertynens therto langgyng to the sayd Sir Thomas Wake, lord of Lydall, and to the prior be caus yt lay ner the abbey of the prior to tham essely, and in as mekyl as the sayd lord Wake had no lyfflod ner hand tham bot that was tallyd to hys heyrs cawsyd hym to reples and incres the prior of hys fundacyon wyth the lyfflod of this simpyll and pur gentylmane in distruccion of this William and hys herres.

Of the qwylke deede the sayd Sir Thomas Wake, the fundor, was sor efter werd compunkyd, as howre ewydens makes mencyon of record, and he grettly mowyd and sterryd in hys consciens (ther of the qwylk ys ilka manes juge in hym self) chargyd the prior full (?) gretly in amendsyng som whatt in party, to tak hym home with tham and gyff hym gentylmans lyfflod term of hys lyf and Pers hys son. And yf anny tallys cold be fown of that lyflod to restoryt a gane as consciens will upponn the qwylk befor rehersyd, ther was a fyn [1] rasyd be ye sayd Pers as he was constrenyd to do, the qwylk fyne suld be in the yere of keng Edward therd xvi. And thus the sayd prior has desheryd this William and us tyl this day, qwhos lyn ys worn and passyd a way and non of tham lyffyng.'

APPENDIX B.

It is extremely difficult to date the Anlabys who appear in the pedigree in the chartulary. They are difficult to recognise in official documents, partly because there were several different branches of the family in Cottingham and elsewhere, and partly because younger brothers are not recorded in the chartulary. Kirkby's Inquest is a case in point. Here William son of Peter is recorded as holder, but Thomas does not mention any such person; the only William son of Peter is the one who was disinherited, but his father died in 1340. There is a William in the Etton line but his father was apparently called Richard. I suspect therefore that Thomas compiled the pedigree from the documents he had before him, which may have led him into certain omissions and inaccuracies without his knowing.

The dating of the founder of the family, Charles, with which we are concerned here depends on the deed on folio XXIIa, an agreement between Pers de Anlaby and Nicholas de Stutteville, dated 1221. This Pers was the great-grandson of Charles. Thomas tells us that he included this deed because of the date, and I suspect that working backwards from this he concluded that Charles might be contemporary with the Conqueror. We do not know Pers's age at this time, but we have to remember that he was descended from the first marriage of Robert. In other words Charles can hardly have been an adult man before the early twelfth century and possibly not until the middle of that century.

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[1] The interleaved sheets between folio XXVIII and XXIX in a later fifteenth century hand speak of a fine paid by William (who lived in Halgarth); Pers is therefore probably an error here for William.

APPENDIX C.

Report by Mr. Biek on the twisted fragment of lead sheet from the chalk-lined pit at Anlaby.

The small amount of soil attached to the surface of the fragment was tested for chloride. The fragment was also shown to the Corrosion Expert of the British Non-ferrous Metals Research Association.

The chloride content was negligible, and no greater than would be expected in an average soil. The appearance of the fragment, which is comparatively well preserved for its antiquity, suggests slow and uniform corrosion under non-aggressive conditions and in the absence of air. Under such conditions the lead is affected only by the soil water, forming the hydroxide, and in a later reaction the red oxide (litharge), which is evident in spots on the fragment. The presence of any severe corrosive influence, such as salt, in the ambient soil can therefore be ruled out.

It thus appears that there is no evidence to suggest the use of the pit for meat storage in salt.

FOUR EARLY CHARTERS RELATING TO YORK.

By G. V. Scammell, M.A.,
Lecturer in Diplomatic in the University of Durham.

I. A charter of bishop Hugh du Puiset of Durham concerning land in Coney Street, York.

The following charter is drawn from the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, by whose kind permission it is reproduced. It contains a number of points which invite comment. There is an interesting reference to the shrine of St. Cuthbert in the cathedral church of Durham. The forthright mention of the purchase of the land in question is worthy of note. In this context it might be observed that Puiset, during his youthful and colourful days as Treasurer of York, had formed some connection with what may be described as a mercantile element in that city.[1]

The charter falls within the early years of the episcopate, being one of a short series of grants in favour of the convent of Durham made before the bishop became involved in those disputes with his chapter which lasted until his death in 1195.[2] Combined with other evidence, the present document illustrates the comparatively easy and rapid transference of land in this period. It was issued sometime after the consecration of Hugh du Puiset as bishop of Durham (21 December, 1153),[3] and before the death of prior Absalon of Durham (1158),[4] who regranted the same property to Lefwin, son of Thurwif, an important citizen of York.[5] Lefwin had at least two sons: Hugh, much engaged in the acquisition of land in York,[6] and Gerard, who became rector of the church of Stokesley. It was Gerard who granted to the monks of Byland that land in Coney Street which his father had held of the monks of Durham.[7] There is an interesting notice of Gerard in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, to the effect that he left "*xx solidos in obitu suo, et duos bisantias* (*sic*) *ad calicem faciendum*".[8]

[1] For Puiset's activities as Treasurer of York, see *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, vol. II, pp. 224-5; Symeon of Durham, *Opera*, ed. Thomas Arnold, II, pp. 320-5; C. T. Clay, 'Early Treasurers of York', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XXXV (1943), pp. 10-11.

[2] *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, ed. J. Raine, pp. 7-9.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6; Symeon of Durham, I, p. 169.

[4] Symeon of Durham, I, p. xlix; British Museum, Cotton Ms. Claudius D IV, fo. 80v.

[5] Dean and Chapter muniments, Durham, Register I, fo. 11v.

[6] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I, pp. 174-5; nos. 229, 238.

[7] *Ibid.*, no. 245 (c. 1190-1210).

[8] *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*, collotype facsimile, with introduction by A. Hamilton Thompson, fo. 66v.

Puiset's charter is here printed with its original punctuation and spelling. The endorsements, which are approximately dated, are given in full on account of the valuable light which they throw on the changing forms of place and personal names.

Hvgo Dei gratia Dunelmensis Episcopus. Omnibus hominibus et fidelibus beati Cuthberti et suis francis et anglis salutem. Notum uobis facimus nos concess/isse et dedisse in perpetuum beato Cuthberto et Conuentui Dunelmensis aecclesiae terram de Cunegestrate in Eboracho . quae fuit/ Askilli filii fellaf . quam emimus de hacone de Thorcheseia et heredibus suis ad luminare ante corpus pii patroni nostri beati / Cuthberti. Et uolumus ac precipimus hanc nostram donationem inuiolabiliter obseruari. Quam siquis infringere presumpserit, nouerit se / odium beati Cuthberti incursurum. His testibus. W(azo) Archidiacono. Johanne Archidiacono. Willelmo filio Tostini. Thedbaldo de scheltuna. Rodberto de / friebois Magistro Thoma de Sexdecim vallibus. Magistro Johanne de Rana. hugone filio pinzonis. Rodberto de amundavilla./ Willelmo vicecomite. helia escoland. Ricardo filio pagani et aliis multis francis et Anglis.

Original: Dean and Chapter muniments, Durham, charter 3. 1. Pont, no. 18.

Endorsed: 1. Hug' Epi' de terra in Cuningestraete in eboraco (13th c). 2. Carta hug' Epi' dunelm' facta priori dunolm de terra in Conyngstret in Ebor' quondam askalli fil' felleum (15th c.). 3. prime pont' 4. 1. Conyngstrete (15th c.).

Size: 8″ x 3″. The document is of regular shape, unruled, but written throughout in a neat and careful charter hand. There is a good seal in white wax (varnished), hanging *sur double queue* (cf. Greenwell and Blair, *Durham Seals*, II, p. 443, no. 3114a).

TRANSLATION.

Hugh, by the grace of God, bishop of Durham, to all men and faithful subjects of the blessed Cuthbert, and to all his men (both) French and English, greetings. We make it known to you (that) we have granted and given in perpetuity to the blessed Cuthbert, and to the convent of the church of Durham, (that) land in Coney Street in York which once belonged to Askil, son of Fellaf, and which we bought from Haco of Torksey and his heirs (to endow) a light before the body of our blessed protector, Cuthbert. And we wish and command (that) this our gift shall be observed inviolate. If anyone shall presume to impair (it), he shall know (that) he has incurred the enmity of the blessed Cuthbert. Witnessed by these; Wazo, archdeacon; John, archdeacon; William, son of Tosti; Theobald of Skelton; Robert of Friebois; master Thomas of Thixendale; master John of Rane; Hugh, son of Pinzon; Robert of Amundaville; William, the sheriff; Elias Escolland; Richard, son of Paganus, and many others (both) French and English.

II—IV. Three *acta* of bishop Hugh du Puiset of Durham in favour of St. Mary's Abbey, York.

The following three documents are printed from the register of the Abbey of St. Mary, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of York, to whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce them. They are concerned with the churches of Stainton and Gainford, and the chapelry of Barnard Castle, which had come into the possession of the monks of York at an early date. All three churches were granted to St. Mary's by Guy I de Balliol.[1] His

[1] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I, nos. 559 and 561.

daughter and heiress, Hawisa, married William Bertram (founder of the Northumbrian house of Austin canons at Brinkburn), and it was as a grandson of Guy that Roger Bertram confirmed some of these gifts to St. Mary's[1]—as is mentioned by Puiset (II).

Of the *acta* here printed (II) is a simple confirmation to St. Mary's of the church of Stainton. (III) may be understood as a licence for the convent to appropriate the church of Gainford and the chapelry of Barnard Castle, though the form of the document is far from explicit. It was, of course, the bishop's duty to supervise any such process, watch his interests therein, and, with more detachment, those of the incumbents and parishioners. There is, it will be observed in this instance, no concern for anything beyond the episcopal rights. Both charters were issued after Puiset's consecration (21 December, 1153)[2] and before 1158, in which year prior Absalon, who is a witness, died.[3] (II), by reason of its confirmatory nature, may well date from shortly after Puiset's accession to his see (2 May, 1154),[4] a time when it was customary for interested parties to seek such documents. The witnesses to these two *acta* call for little comment. William, son of Tosti, Theobald of Mustervilers and Theobald of Skelton appear regularly among the attestations to Puiset charters. Master Thomas of Thixendale was one of the bishop's clerks, and Walter, the monk, one of the episcopal chaplains.[5]

(IV) is a letter of protection for the abbot and convent of St. Mary's. Such documents are comparatively rare for this date, though it will be recalled that Puiset, whose influence in Yorkshire was always considerable, also took Rievaulx into his protection.[6] The style of the letter is worthy of note since it reflects the formulae of papal writings to a greater extent than is usual in the products of Puiset's "chancery". If the document may be understood to mean that a monk of York was serving the church of Gainford a date somewhere in the first half of the episcopate is perhaps indicated. Otherwise there is no reason to date the letter more closely than 1154-95.

(II).

Hugo dei gratia Dunelmensis episcopus Absaloni priori, Wazo et Johanni, archidiaconis, omnibus clericis et laicis episcopatus sui, salutem. Noveritis nos concessisse et presentis carte munimine confirmasse monasterio sancte Marie Eboracensis et capitulo eiusdem monasterii donacionem quam fecit ei dominus Rogerus Bertram in perpetuam elemosinam de ecclesia de Stayntona cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, salvo jure et dignitate episcopali.

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[1] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I, no. 566.

[2] *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, p. 6; Symeon of Durham, I, p. 169.

[3] Symeon of Durham, I, p. xlix; British Museum, Cotton Ms Claudius D IV, fo. 80v.

[4] *Scriptores Tres, loc. cit.*; Symeon, I, p. 169.

[5] Details of Puiset's *familia* will be given in my forthcoming book on the bishop.

[6] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, II, no. 952.

Hiis testibus; Absalone priore, Wazo et Johanne archidiaconis, magistro Laurentio, Waltero monacho, Tedbaldo de Skeltona, magistro Thoma, Galfrido de Crambun, Tedbaldo de Monasterio villari, Helia clerico.

Text: Dean and Chapter Muniments, York, St. Mary's Register, fo. 312v (new foliation).

TRANSLATION.

Hugh by the grace of God bishop of Durham, to prior Absalon, archdeacons Wazo and John, and to all clerks and laymen of his bishopric, greetings. Know that we have granted, and by the authority of this present charter, confirmed to the monastery of St. Mary's, York, and to the chapter of that same monastery, that gift of the church of Stainton with all its appurtenances, which the lord Roger Bertram gave in perpetual alms, saving the episcopal right and dignity. Witnessed by these; Absalon, prior; Wazo and John, archdeacons; master Laurence; Walter, the monk; Theobald of Skelton; master Thomas; Geoffrey of Crambe; Theobald of Mustervilers; Elias the clerk.

(III).

Hugo dei gratia Dunelmensis episcopus, priori sancti Cuthberti et archidiaconis et omnibus eiusdem ecclesie filiis tam clericis quam laicis tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Sciatis nos deo et monasterio sancte Marie Eboracensis et monachis eiusdem loci concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse ecclesiam de Geynesford cum capella de Castello et aliis pertinenciis suis usibus videlicet predictorum monachorum omni modo profutura, salva reverencia et debito matricis Dunelmensis ecclesie (servicio). Testibus hiis; Priore Absalone, et subpriore Henrico, et Alano monacho, et Willelmo filio Tosti, Theobaldo clerico, et magistro Thoma de Sexavaals, et Helia clerico, et multis aliis.

Text: St. Mary's Register, fo. 305 (new foliation).

Noticed: Early Yorkshire Charters, I, p. 440, where a brief abstract is given.

TRANSLATION.

Hugh by the grace of God bishop of Durham, to the prior of St. Cuthbert's, and to the archdeacons and all sons of that same church, both clerks and laymen, both present and future, greetings. Know that we have granted to God and the monastery of St. Mary's, York, and to the monks of that place, the church of Gainford with the chapel of (Barnard) Castle, and with its other appurtenances, for the entire use, that is to say, of the aforesaid monks in the future, saving (only) the reverence and service due to the mother church of Durham. Witnessed by these; Absalon prior; Henry the subprior; Alan the monk; William, son of Tosti; Theobald the clerk; master Thomas of Thixendale; Elias the clerk, and many others.

(IV).

H(ugo) dei gratia Dunelmensis episcopus, omnibus officialibus suis episcopatus Dunelmensis et universis ballivis suis, salutem. Sciatis nos suscepisse sub protectione nostra et manutenemento, dominum . . abbatem et monachos Eboracensis tanquam speciales amicos nostros et omnes homines et res et possessiones suas quas in episcopatu nostro possident, maxime ecclesiam de Gaynesford cum suis pertinenciis, ita quod qui eis forisfecerit vel de ecclesia de Gaynesford, vel de aliquibus pertinenciis suis, vel de aliquibus que eos contingunt, nobis factum esse reputabimus. Unde vobis mandamus et precipimus quatinus predictos . . abbatem et monachos, et omnia que in episcopatu nostro eos contingunt sicut nostra dominica juvetis, manuteneatis et protegatis, et maxime monachum et homines eorum qui loco eorum sunt in ecclesia de Gaynesford. Nec sustineatis quod aliquis eis vel suis molestiam inferat vel gravamen. Valete.

Text: St. Mary's Register, fo. 305 (new foliation).

Translation.

Hugh by the grace of God bishop of Durham, to all his officers of the bishopric of Durham, and to all his bailiffs, greetings. Know that we have taken under our protection and support the lord . . abbot, and the monks of York, as our special friends, and (also) all the men, goods and possessions which they have in our diocese, especially the church of Gainford and its appurtenances, so that whosoever shall do them any wrong, either concerning the church of Gainford or any of its appurtenances, or concerning anything else which affects them, we shall consider (that wrong) to have been done to ourselves. Wherefore we order and command you that you help, support and protect the aforesaid abbot and monks and all (that) affects them in our diocese as (if they were) our demesne, and especially the monk and their men who are in their place in the church of Gainford. Nor shall you suffer anyone to cause either them or their men (any) annoyance or injury. Farewell.

NOTES ON SOME WINDOWS IN THE CHOIR AND LADY CHAPEL OF YORK MINSTER.

By John A. Knowles, F.S.A.

Some fifteen years or so ago, the writer, whilst studying the glass in the Lady Chapel, was forcibly struck by the extreme refinement and delicacy of some late XIV cent. glass in the south clearstory representing the *Flight into Egypt* and other subjects. This led to further inquiry, of which the following paper, imperfect as it is, is the result.[1]

The windows we propose to consider are :

(a) The westernmost window in the south aisle of the choir,[2] containing figures of Prophets and scenes from the life of Our Lord.

(b) The second and third windows from the east in the south clearstory of the Lady Chapel, containing figures of saints and scenes from the history of Our Lord and of the Blessed Virgin.

(c) The bottom panels of the centre lights of the east windows of the north and south aisles of the Lady Chapel, each containing a figure of an Apostle.

As all the above glass is uniform in design and execution, and has originally formed part of one window, or series of windows, it will simplify matters to consider it as a whole, and bring all subjects, single figures, and canopies together into one pool.

Subjects.

Firstly we have sixteen subjects all of one size and workmanship, from the history of Our Lord and The Blessed Virgin. These are :—

	Background		Background
? Annunciation		*? Flagellation*	
—*? Nativity*		—*? Crucifixion*	
Epiphany	green		
Presentation in the Temple	green		
Flight into Egypt	ruby	—*? Resurrection*	

[1] Works which will be referred to in the following paper are : Browne, J., *Representations and Arms on the glass in the windows of York Minster.* 1859 but not published until 1917. Benson, Geo., *The Ancient Painted Glass Windows in the Minster and Churches of York.* Yorks. Philosophical Soc's. Report. 1915. Harrison, Rev. Chancellor, *The Painted Glass of York.* London S.P.C.K. 1927.

[2] Since the following notes were taken, the window was in 1953 re-leaded and fixed in the north aisle of the Lady Chapel. But as previous writers such as Browne, Benson, and Chancellor Harrison, all refer to it as being in the above situation, it would be needlessly confusing to alter their description.

	Background		Background
Massacre of the Innocents	ruby	Appearance to St. Mary Mag.	ruby
Sermon on the Mount	,,	Ascension	blue
Entry into Jerusalem	,,	—? *Descent of the Holy Ghost*	
		Angel announcing to the Virgin her impending death	green
Betrayal	,,	Death of the Virgin	ruby
Last Supper	,,	Funeral of the Virgin	green
		? *Entombment*	
Washing Disciples' Feet	blue	—? *Assumption*	
Agony in the Garden	green	Coronation of the Virgin	ruby

In the above list, four subjects essential to the history of Our Lord, viz. the *Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion,* and *Resurrection* are missing. But, as will be shown later on, a portion of the last of these, viz. the reclining figure of a soldier (d. Fig. 1), is extant. Two others which are generally included, viz. the *Flagellation* and the *Descent of the Holy Ghost,* are also missing. If these were included the number of panels depicting the History of Our Lord would be eighteen.

At the end of the list, two subjects necessary to complete the series appear to be missing. One of these, the *Assumption,* can be suggested with certainty. The other would most likely be a continuation of the series connected with the death and assumption of the Virgin such as the *Entombment.*

Single Figures.

There are twelve single figures of apostles and later saints, all the same height, viz. 3 ft. 10 ins.,[1] six facing right, and six left. These are :—

Facing Right	Background	Facing Left	Background
St. Simon with shell	[missing]	St. Jude with ship and club	ruby
St. Thomas with lance	green & ruby in squares	Saint with sword on shoulder	ruby
St. Paul	green	St. Andrew	ruby
St. John Ev.	green	St. Batholomew	green
St. Margaret	ruby	St. James Major	(missing)
St. Helen	ruby	St. Matthias with halbert	green

[1] The measurement is given in J. W. Knowles's MS. York Public Library.

There are also six prophets and kings.

Facing Right	Background	Facing Left	Background
David	ruby	Zechariah	ruby
Joel	ruby		
Fragmentary (probably Solomon)	ruby		
Malachi	ruby		
Jeremiah	ruby		

It will be noticed that Isaiah,—the Prophet who above all others foretold the coming of Christ,—and Ezekiel, are missing. Also that in the above list five of the Prophets are looking towards the right and only one towards the left. It is very probable that there were six more figures including Isaiah and Ezekiel and that five of them turned towards the left and one towards the right.

CANOPIES

The six Prophets and Kings and the twelve Saints are under tall canopies which are finished at the top, not with turrets and pinnacles, but with a flat cornice to support a square panel above, containing one of the subjects. Those to the Prophets are of one pattern, and those to the saints another.

The canopies of the Prophets are supported on side-shaftings or buttresses which have been drawn in perspective to give them an appearance of projection (b Fig. 1).

The side shaftings of the twelve saints are all alike and flat.[1] The cusped arch and the crocketted gable over the saints are also alike, but the background to them varies. In four of them the central part behind the gable is shown with a broad front, and two small sides which slope backwards, so that they look like the bay window of a house. These canopies with projecting oriels would belong to centre lights. Six more are flat, but are finished with a battlemented cornice of the same pattern as the four projecting ones. (a. Fig. 2). The design of the other two cannot be determined as they have been cut off across the top.[2]

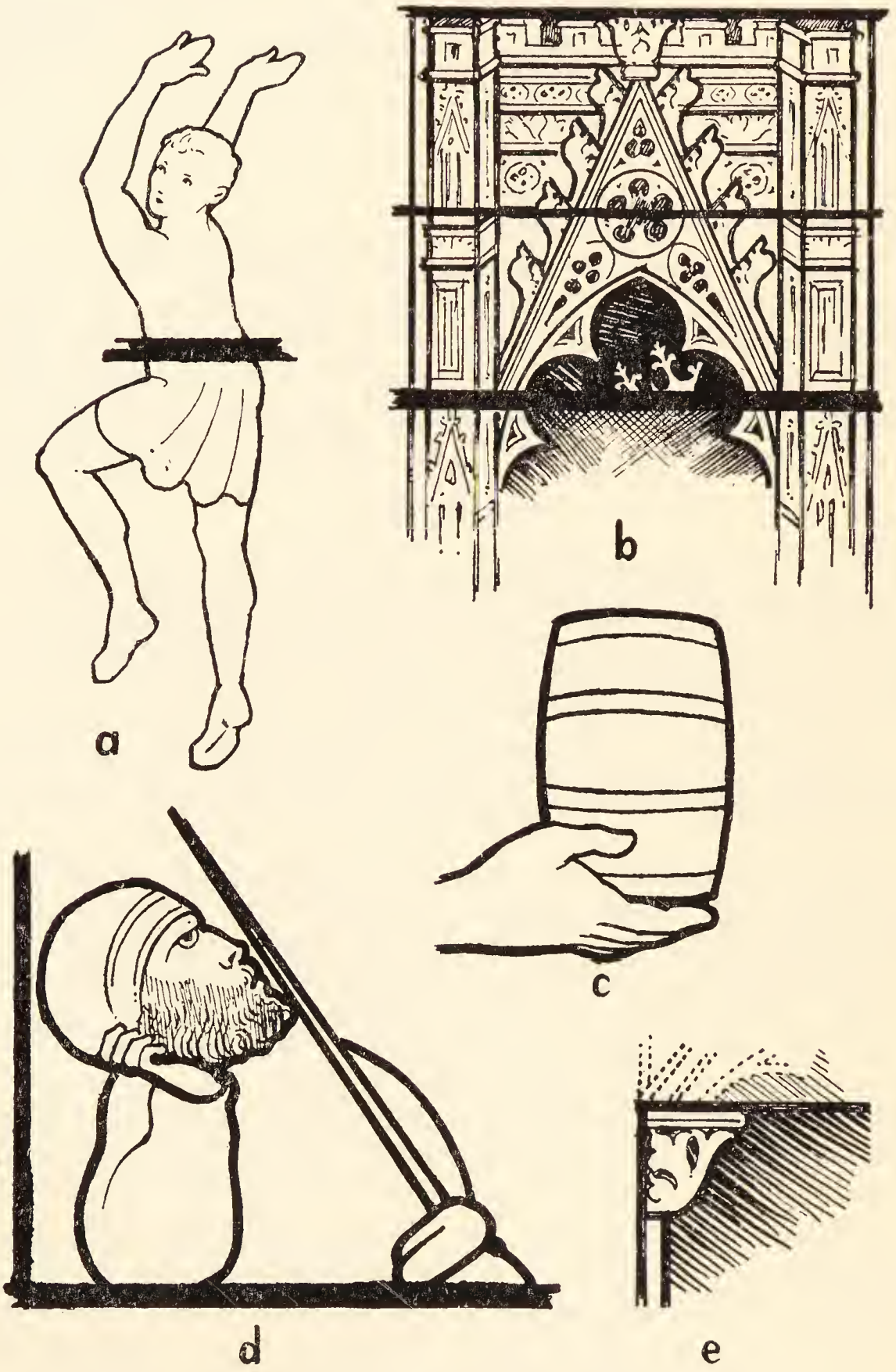
Unlike the Prophets, the Saints stand on architectural bases or platforms similar to a row of railway arches, drawn with an attempt at rendering them in perspective. (Fig. 2. *d* & *e*).

Over the subject panels are dwarf canopies designed to fit the original stone cusping at the top of the lights. There are two different patterns. In the Prophets window (westernmost, south aisle of choir) three of the first type still exist. But that the other three subject panels, (which have had their canopies cut off to shorten the lights) were similar, is shown by the fact that the

[1] To confirm this it will be sufficient to compare one small detail such as the pavement with the lattice pattern in the bottom corners of each. (e. Fig. 2).

[2] These are in the centre lights of the north and south windows in the east end of the Lady Chapel.

FIG. 1.



a The Jew Belzeray whose hands stuck to the side of the coffin of the Blessed Virgin.

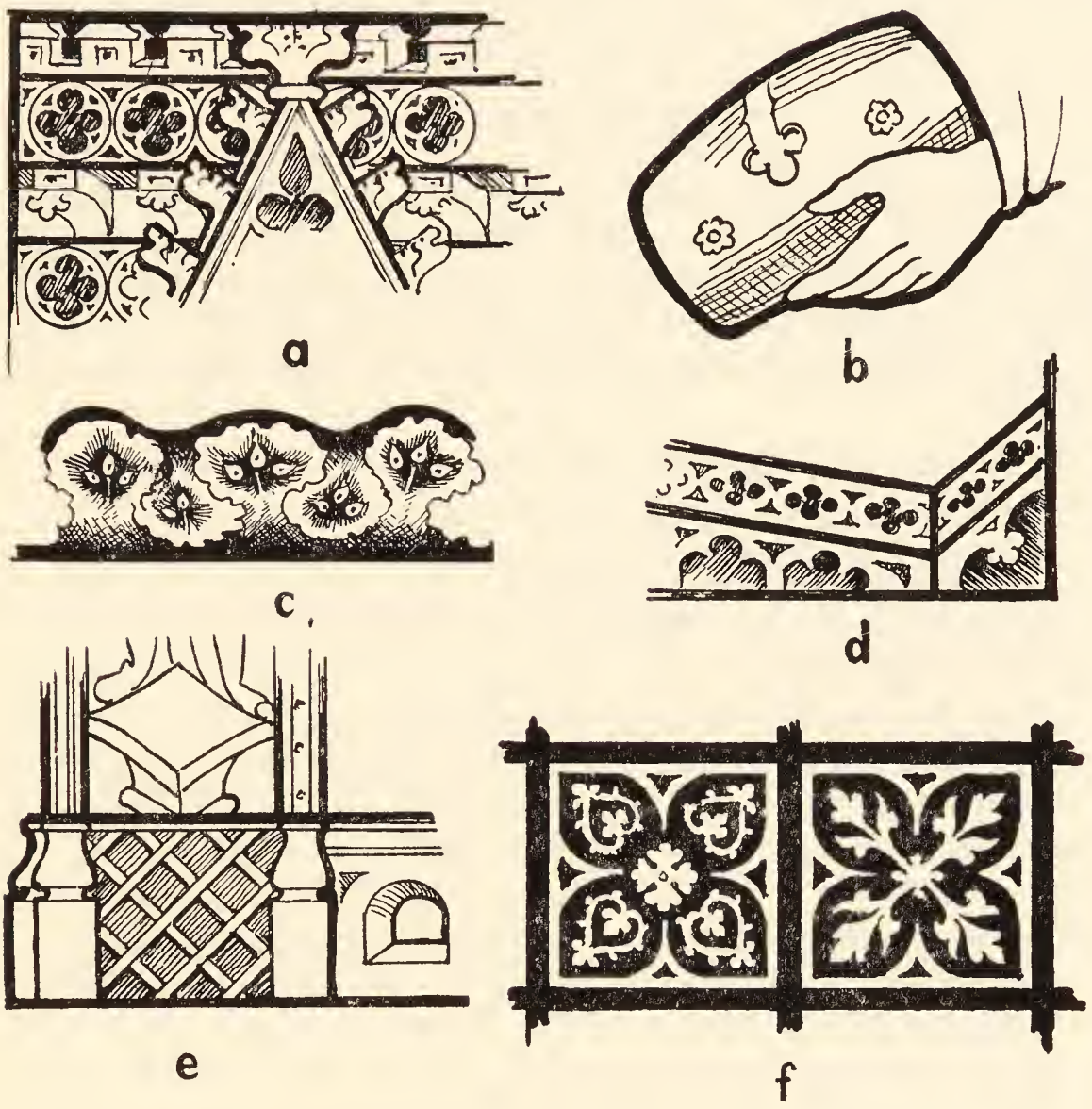
b Portion of a crown showing that the figure beneath was originally that of a King.

c The alabaster pot of ointment held by Saint Mary Magdalen in the *Noli Me Tangere* subject.

d Reclining soldier from the base of the *Resurrection* subject.

e Corbel showing that originally there was a canopy above.

FIG. 2.



a Canopy to figures of Saints with battlemented cornice to take square subject panel above.

b Money box held by an Apostle in *Agony in the Garden* subject.

c Treatment of tufts of herbage in foregrounds.

d Bases to the figures of saints.

e Bottom corners of side shaftings to figures of saints.

f Backgrounds cut into squares, with diaper patterns similar to encaustic tiles.

side shaftings are identical. Also in the top corners of the *Entry into Jerusalem* panel, can be seen the original corbels from which the arches of the canopy formerly sprang. (e Fig. 1).

The other pattern of dwarf canopy is over top subjects in the second and third windows in the south clearstory of the Lady Chapel. There are eight of these. Two of the subjects have canopies which do not belong to them, as they are of a different type of design, and appear to have been designed to fit over figures or subjects in narrower lights.

SUBJECT PANELS

It will be unnecessary to describe each one of the sixteen subject panels in detail. For the most part they follow the traditional renderings familiar to all students of medieval art, but there are nevertheless some interesting innovations. Therefore only points and details which call for special mention need be noticed.

Clearstory Lady Chapel, Second from East. Five lights.

(Brown, p. 236. Benson, p. 85. Harrison, p. 79).

I. Adoration of the Magi.
The head of the Negro King, Balthaser, is cut out of a pale blue glass.

II. The Massacre of the Innocents.
Herod, from a throne, personally directs the massacre which is being carried out by four soldiers. Two in the background have each a naked infant impaled on the end of their lances.[1]

In the foreground two kneeling mothers embrace their offspring. One of the infants is in a highly ornamental cradle.

III. Presentation in the Temple.
This composition would repay closer study than was possible from the floor. The draughtsmanship *for its period* is very superior. The way the Blessed Virgin is shown as having drawn herself up with head erect to bear the weight of the Infant in her arms is admirable. Such close observation of nature is remarkable in English glass. The drawing of the altar is worthy of attention. It appears, as far as can be seen, to have a base or plinth ornamented in a manner unusual in XIV cent. glass. M. Jean Lafond describes a panel of glass of the same period at St. Ouen, Rouen, in which "Saint Mathieu baptise le roi d'Ethiopie dans des fonts ornés d'une puissante corniche italienne".[2]

[1] In the same subject in the tracery of the East window of the South aisle of the Lady Chapel, the soldiers are shown bearing aloft infants impaled on the end of their spears.

[2] L. Lefrançois Pillion et J. Lafond *L'Art du XIVc siècle en France, p.* 196.

IV. THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. (Plate II).
The ass is piebald. There is a piebald horse (white) in a medallion of late XIII cent. French workmanship representing the month of May in Lausanne Cathedral.[1]
Another good example is in the Legend of St. Julian window (c. 1230) in Rouen Cathedral.[2]

V. THE ANGEL GABRIEL ANNOUNCING TO THE VIRGIN HER IMPENDING DEATH. (Plate II).

This subject has been described as an 'Annunciation'—a very pardonable error and a mis-apprehension under which the present writer himself laboured when drawing the diagram of the window, which in this particular, is incorrect. That the scene represented is that mentioned above and not the *Annunciation* is shown in several ways. The figure of the Virgin is shown on the left and the angel on the right, as in the sculpture of the same subject by Orcagna (d. 1389) in Or-San-Michele at Florence.[3]

This was probably done in order to prevent observers from mistaking the subject for the *Annunciation* where the two figures are invariably shown the other way round. The scene is in the open air and not in an apartment.[4] The Virgin kneels holding an open book in both hands. Her head is turned to look at the angel who appears behind her.[5] There are none of the usual accessories of an Annunciation subject, such as the desk, lily-pot, or angelic greeting. Above the Virgin's head (where in an Annunciation the Sacred Dove would be shown), the hand and arm of the Almighty stretches out from Heaven. The angel holds a red palm branch in his left hand and not a sceptre tipped with a fleur-de-lys or a lily. This was the shining palm carried by the angel Gabriel[6] in announcing to the Virgin her impending death. In the York Mystery Plays, from

[1] Illustrated in *Old Stained Glass in Switzerland* pub. by Swiss Nat. Tourist Office, 1953. Plate 3. Vide also Jean Lafond. *Les Vitraux Anciens de la Cathedrale de Lausanne,* in Congrès Archéologique de France CXe Session 1953, p. 119.

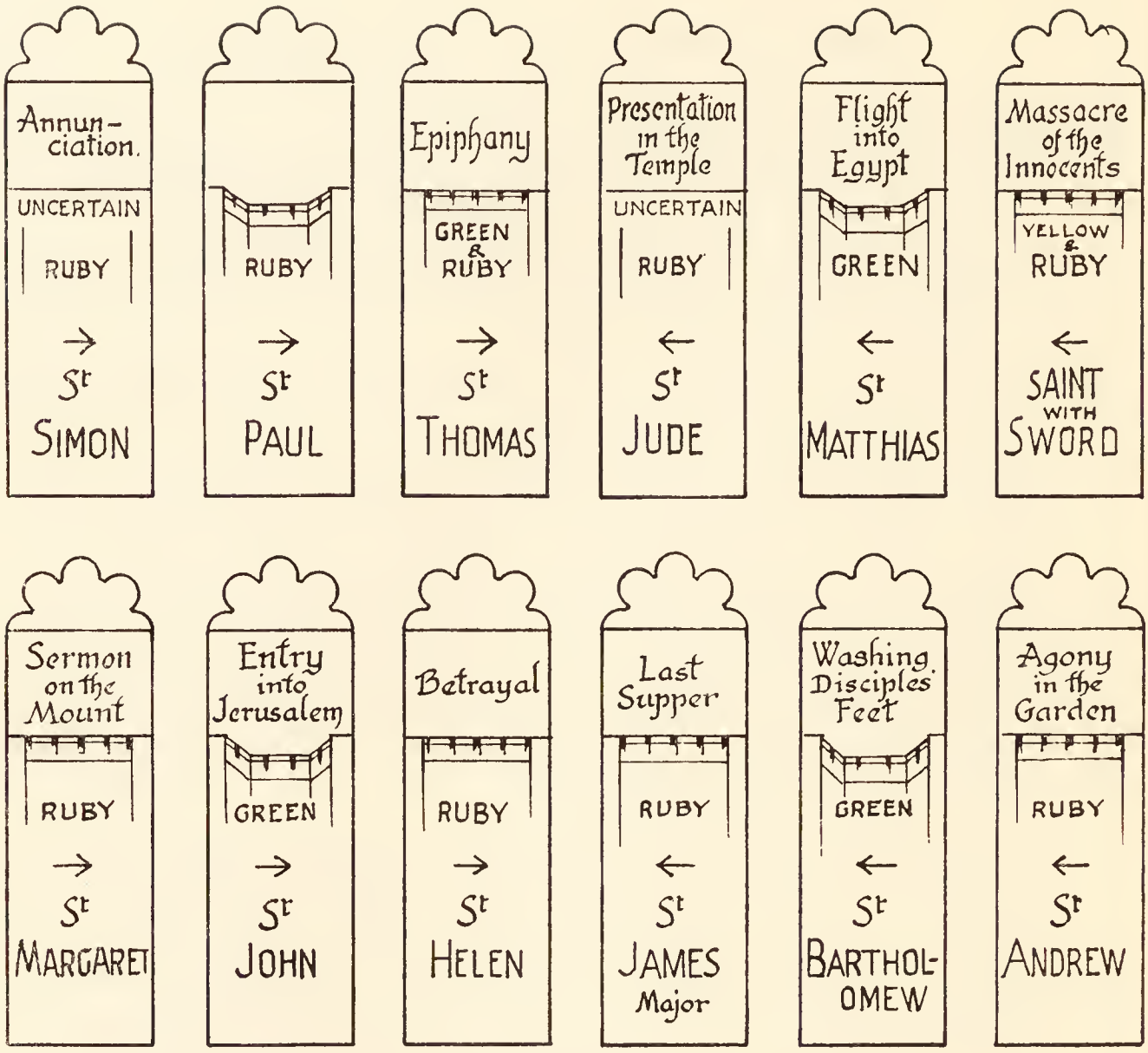
[2] The writer is indebted to M. Jean Lafond for kindly drawing his attention to this example.

[3] Illust. in Mrs. Jameson. *Legends of the Madonna,* p. 310.

[4] In the Greek version of the Assumption, the appearance of the angel took place at the sepulchre, in the Latin version, in an apartment. (*Apocryphal New Testament,* ed. by M. R. James, (1924) pp. 201, 210).

[5] G. McN. Rushforth (*Medieval Christian Imagery,* p. 277) remarks that this attitude "seems to have been invented by a Flemish artist, perhaps one of the Van Eycks, for it appears on the outside of the wings of the great triptych at Ghent" (1432). As the York panel antedates the triptych by fifty years or more, it must be the earliest example of the treatment known.

[6] Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna,* p. 309, says· "The announcing angel is usually supposed to be Gabriel, but is properly Michael, 'the angel of death'." This must be an error. The incident is described in only two of the early texts, the Latin and the Greek. In the latter he is named Gabriel. (*Apocryphal New Testament*) ed. by M. R. James (1924) pp. 201, 210.



The panel in the top row marked the *Annunciation* should be brought down to the bottom row and entitled : *The Angel announcing to the Virgin her impending death.*

which many details were copied by glass-designers and carvers, Gabriel salutes the Virgin and tells her that she has "thre dayes here lefte" and gives her "this palme oute of Paradise in tokenyng that it schall be trewe".

According to the legend "the palm branch shone with exceeding brightness" and it was given to St. John (because he alone amongst the Apostles was a celibate) to carry in front of the coffin at the Virgin's funeral, as shown in the East window of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich[1] and in foreign glass in Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey.

There is no mention of the palm branch in the York Mystery Plays, but in the *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* play at Coventry, the angel instructs the Virgin that "before youre bere, god biddeth it be bore".[2]

Clearstory Lady Chapel—Third from East. Five lights.

(Browne, p. 238. Benson, p. 85. Harrison, p. 79).

Browne described the following five subjects as the *Death, Assumption, Glorification, Supplication and the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin* and Benson followed blindly. Taking the panels in the same order, the scenes actually represented are the *Death of the Virgin, the Funeral of the Virgin, Coronation of the Virgin, the Ascension of Our Lord, and Our Lord's appearance to St. Mary Magdalen in the Garden.*

I. Death of the Blessed Virgin. (Plate II).

Eleven apostles are grouped around the bed. Four of these are seated on the ground on the near side. Three of them rest their heads in their hands in the attitude of grief. The hands are clenched and not open, in a manner similar to those of the sleeping Apostles in the *Agony in the Garden* to be described later. At the foot of the bed stands an Apostle, probably St. Peter, who appears to be reaching forward towards the feet of the Divine Mother. The Byzantine Guide to Painting instructs that in this scene "St. Peter incenses the feet of the Holy Virgin with a censer" but whether he is shown doing so in the present case, it is, without closer inspection, impossible to say. St. John leans over the bed and another disciple rests his hand on his shoulder. Behind the bed stands Our Lord. The head is sadly broken and defaced, and it is impossible to say whether the figure had a nimbus or not. He is in the

[1] Illustr. in *Fifteenth-cent. glass in St. Peter Mancroft Norwich.* Canon F. J. Meyrick, plate XVIII.

[2] *Ludus Coventriae.* E.E.T.S. 1922, p. 359.

act of blessing with the first two fingers of the right hand.[1] In His left hand He holds what appears to be, [as far as can be seen from the floor], a chalice held by the foot through the folds of a *vexillum* or veil, but this is uncertain. "The custom of representing Christ," wrote Mrs. Jameson[2] "as standing by the couch or tomb of his mother, in the act of receiving her soul, continued down to the fifteenth century, at least with slight deviations from the original conception.[3]

At Chalons-sur-Marne (Notre Dame-en-Vaux) in the Assumption window—one of the finest examples of sixteenth-cent. glass in France—instead of the figure of Christ there is an angel, who, according to M. Barthelemy, came to carry the Virgin's robe to St. Ildefonsus, Bishop of Toledo [A.D. 657—667] as a reward for having written a book on her spotless virginity. Mrs. Jameson makes no reference to this legend.

II. Funeral of the Virgin.

Mrs. Jameson remarks "This is a very uncommon subject". In the present instance the coffin, with a pall hanging in folds over it, is being carried by four of the apostles with poles over their shoulders like a stretcher. In the centre at the top of the panel is a little figure who appears as if swinging from a trapeze up in the air. (a Fig. 1). This represents the Jew Belzeray, whose hands stuck to the coffin when he attempted to prevent the funeral rites being carried out. According to the legend, St. Peter declared that if Belzeray would be converted he should be freed. He believed and was unloosed.

Texts of the legend exist in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Arabic, as well as in many vernacular medieval versions, such as that in the *Cursor Mundi* (XIII or early XIV cent.). Dr. M. R. James stated "My own belief is that the legend was first elaborated, if it did not originate, in Egypt."[3]

The Greek version, [which is attributed to St. John] reads "and behold as they bare her, a certain Hebrew named Jephonias, mighty of body, ran forth and sat upon the bed, as the apostles bare it, and lo an angel of the Lord with invisible power, smote his two hands from off his

[1] The position of the fingers in the act of blessing, so as to represent the letters XC, is minutely described in the *Byzantine Guide to Painting*, which dates from the XII cent. But the copy which Didron saw at Mount Athos was he thought not earlier than the XV or XVI. Didron—*Christian Iconography*, vol. II, p. 395.

It "is now considered to be by an early 18th cent. writer Dionysiat of Fuma whose main source book was written by an anonymous painter c. 1566 and may have incorporated earlier texts." M. D. Anderson *Imagery of British Churches* (1955), p. 64 quoting O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (1911), p. 649.

[2] *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 313.

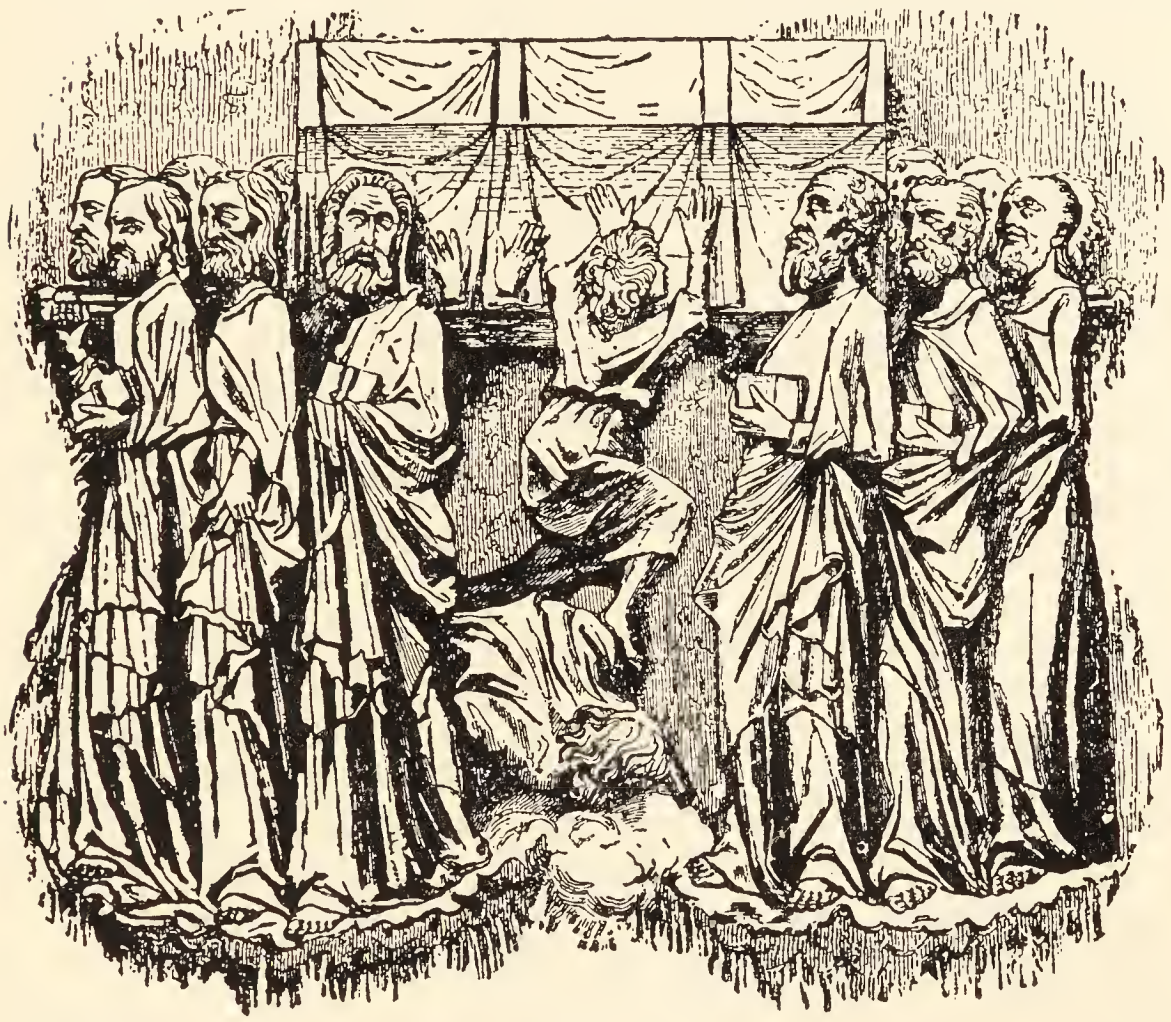
[3] For early Greek and Latin versions of the legend, see *Apocryphal New Testament* edited by M. R. James, pp. 207 and 212.

shoulders with a sword of fire, and left them hanging in the air about the bed. And . . . at the word of Peter the hands that did hang beside the bed of our lady went back and clave unto Jephonias, and he also believed and glorified Christ."[1]

A MS. in the Bibliotheque Nationale[2] of the text and stage directions for the performance of the mystery play representing the *Burial of the Virgin* describes the scene and action exactly.

"Bellezeray, prince des Juifs, et autres se meetent en chemin pour aller empescher que le corps de lad(icte) dame ne soit mis au monument . . . Belzeray meetant les mains a la lectiere ou l'on porte la Vierge Marie et ses mains demeurent attachees a lad(icte) lectiere . . . Les mains de Bellezeray doivant estre detachees et rejoinctes a ses bras."

The above scene is represented in a XIII cent. carving on the wall of Notre Dame between the south transept and the apse.



Two incidents are incorporated in the one scene. First Belzeray is shown with his hands sticking to the pall, secondly he has fallen to the ground, his hands being cut off at the wrist, and attached to the side of the coffin.[3]

[1] *Apocryphal New Testament.* Trans. by M. R. James. (1924), p. 208.
[2] Printed in *Annales Archeol.*, vol. XIII, p. 135.
[3] Didron, *Christian Iconography*, vol. II, p. 241. The writer is indebted to the eminent authority on glass, M. Jean Lafond, for two more examples in France, viz. a fine window in Notre-Dame-en-Vaux at Chalons sur Marne, to be noticed later, and in sculpture, the tympanum of the S. Transept portal of St. Ouen, Rouen.

In the York cycle of Mystery Plays, the script of the scene of the *Funeral of the Virgin*, is unfortunately lost, but the title of it has been preserved in a catalogue of the plays made in 1415. In it the name Fergus has been given to the sacriligious Jew.

"Quatuor apostoli portantes feretrum Marie, et Fergus pendens super feretrum cum aliis Judeis, (cum uno angelo)".[1] In the Coventry Mystery Play the stage direction reads :—

'Hic saltat insanus af (sic) feretrum Marie, et pendet per manus'.

and the Jew cries :—

"Allas my body is ful of peyne
I am fastened sore to this bere
myn handys are ser. bothe tweyne"

Ludas Coventriae E.E.T.S. 1922, p. 369.

There is another example in English glass, of the Funeral subject, in the XV cent. east window of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich.[2] There, two soldiers are shown (in this case in XV cent. armour), one is suspended by his hands attached to the coffin, and the other has fallen to the ground. But the designer has failed to understand the subject properly, and did not represent the second figure with the hands severed from the body. At Chalons-sur-Marne, in the *Assumption* window referred to previously, there are two soldiers also, lying on the ground, their hands attached to the side of the coffin. The subject is also represented in English glass at Cresford (Denbighs), North Moreton (Berks) and in a fragment in the south transept at Lincoln.[3]

Other English examples, (though not in glass) are to be seen in wall paintings in Pickering Church, Yorks., Croughton (Northants) and Eton. There is also a panel of Flemish or Rhenish XVI cent. glass representing the subject in Stoke D'Abernon Church, which was formerly in the collection of Sir Thomas Neave at Dagnum Park, Essex.[4] In carving it appears at Dorchester (Oxon.) and on a grave cover of the 8th cent. at Wirksworth (Derbs.).[5]

III. The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. (Plate II).

This is represented in the usual manner, except that an angel over the head of the Virgin, appears to assist Our Lord in placing the crown on her head.

[1] Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, Intro., p. xxvii.
[2] Illustr. in *Fifteenth Cent. Glass in St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich.* Canon F. J. Meyrick. Plate XVIII.
[3] M. D. Anderson, *Imagery of British Churches*, p. 144.
[4] Other scenes from the same series of the Life of the Virgin are at Prittlewell Church, Essex.
[5] Illustr. in M. D. Anderson, *Imagery in British Churches*, Plate 2.

This point can only be substantiated by a closer examination of the glass. This panel would form the last of the series. G. McN. Rushforth[1] points out "the Coronation of the Virgin (was) the regular medieval way of concluding the story of Redemption."

IV. The Ascension.

That this subject represents the Ascension and not the Assumption as stated by Browne, is shown plainly enough by the figure of the Blessed Virgin in the midst of the eleven apostles. Rays of light proceed from the sky. There are no signs of the feet of Our Lord. But the panel has been shortened across both the top and bottom, and a battlemented cornice (upside down) and an ornamental border, have been inserted. Moreover as this panel was presumably a top one, the feet would be shown between the cusped arches of the canopy above.

V. Our Lord appearing to St. Mary Magdalen in the garden. (Plate I).

This panel is most beautiful, and the treatment of the subject is so unusual that it would repay careful study. Our Lord[2] is shown striding forward and reaching out with His right hand and arm to take the alabaster box of ointment which the kneeling Magdalen bends forward and offers Him.[3] (c. Fig. 1).

The box is shaped like a little barrel with four hoops, and is held in the palm of the right hand and steadied with the thumb.[4] The reference is to the text :—

'For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial.' Matt. 26, 12.

The introduction of the box of ointment into a *Noli Me Tangere* scene is very unusual. But in the York cycle of Mystery Plays, although there is no mention of it in the

[1] *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 343.

[2] The head needs examining more closely than is possible from the floor. It is the only one in this series of sixteen subjects with a nimbus. The cross on the nimbus is of a pattern which is unusual in medieval work.

[3] Dr. Hildburgh suggests that the right hand may have been resting on the handle of a spade. The fact that the back of the hand is uppermost and not the palm, tends to support this view. But Mrs. Jameson (*Hist. of Our Lord*, vol. ii, p. 281) says that the first artist to represent Our Lord with a spade in a *Noli Me Tangere* subject was Niceola di Pietro in a fresco dated 1392.

On the misericord of the Dean's stall at Lincoln, the central carving shows the *Resurrection* and the supporters represent the Magdalen with her pot of spices, and Christ wearing a loosely-fitting robe and a large hat and holding an iron-shod wooden spade. (M. D. Anderson—*Imagery of British Churches*, p. 126).

[4] At some later date it has been leaded in on its side, instead of in an upright position, with the hand supporting it from beneath c. (Fig. 1).

dialogue, it was evidently considered a necessary accessory to the scene, for the list of characters reads :—

"*Jesus, Maria Magdalena cum aromatibus.*"[1]

The subject appears to have been somewhat rare in English glass, but Thomas Gent in his *History of York* 1730 enumerates it amongst seventeen scenes from the Life of Our Lord, commencing with the *Marriage of the Blessed Virgin* and ending with the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*, in Christ Church, King's Square (now demolished). It appears also to have formed the subject of a fragmentary panel in St. Martin's Micklegate.

First from West, South Aisle Choir. Three lights.

(Browne, pp. 220-222. Benson, p. 88. Harrison, p. 82).

PROPHETS AND NEW TESTAMENT SUBJECTS.

I. This panel has generally been described as the Tribute Money. The subject however is *Judas Betraying Christ for thirty pieces of silver.*

II. AGONY IN THE GARDEN.

Eleven Disciples are shown. Three of them are shown asleep, their heads resting on their hands. The hands are not open but clenched. Another one has a cylindrical object in his left hand. This is not easy to account for. It appears to be the shape of a small barrel held on its side and has a slit or gap at the top with a small rosette at each side. (b. Fig. 2). It is probably St. Matthew's money box, but why St. Matthew alone should be represented with an emblem, in an *Agony in the Garden* scene, it is difficult to say. At Great Malvern St. Matthew carries his money box on a chain, it appears to be made of wood like a barrel, and bound with hoops.[2]

St. Matthew is similarly represented carrying a money box in glass at Eastington Ch. (Glos.) and on the screen at Cawston in Norfolk.[3]

III. SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

IV. ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

V. WASHING DISCIPLES' FEET.

Eleven disciples are shown.

[1] Toulmin Smith, *York Plays.* Intro., p. XXVI. Since the above was written, another example has been found in a panel of XV cent. French glass in the Costessy collection. It is described as follows :—"Our Lord holds a long cross in His right hand extending His left towards St. Mary Magdalene who kneels before Him uncovering a pot of ointment." Drake. *The Costessy Collection of Stained Glass,* Exeter, 1920, p. 17.

[2] G. McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery,* Fig. 37).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

PLATE I.



Our Lord appearing to Saint Mary Magdalen in the Garden.

St. Helen



Presentation of the Saviour in the Temple.

St. John Ev.

Lady Chapel Clearstory, third and second from East.

(*Telephotographs*)



The Angel announcing to the Blessed Virgin her approaching death.



The Flight into Ejypt.

Lady Chapel Clearstory, south side, Second from East.



The Death of the Blessed Virgin.



Coronation of the Blessed Virgin.

Lady Chapel Clearstory, south side, Third from East.

(*Telephotographs*)

VI. Last Supper.

The foreground is a very characteristic example of the treatment of glass and herbage in this glass. The traitor Apostle appears to be kneeling amongst breakers on the sea-shore. Clods of grass are similarly depicted in the Rose window in the south transept of Lausanne Cathedral.[1]
This is a work of the northern French school, which Mdlle. Ellen Beer connects with similar work at Laon and Soissons,[2] to which M. Jean Lafond adds Reims.

Single Figures.

Only those whose identity is uncertain need be described in detail.

I. Centre light, east window, south aisle, Lady Chapel. (Browne, p. 188. Benson, p. 76. Harrison, p. 80).

The figure is habited in a yellow outer garment and green under one. This has no significance. Four of the figures of saints, companions to this one, in the second and third windows of the south clearstory of the Lady Chapel, and two of the Prophets, are also in yellow and green. The figure carries a clasped book in his right hand and a large shell in his left. The figure has been described as that of a pilgrim, but as he has no hat, no staff, and is barefoot, that description cannot be accepted. The bare feet and the book show that the figure is one of the Apostles. The fifteenth-century dialogue *Dives and Pauper* states "Commonly all the apostles ben paynted barefote in token of innocence and penance."[3]

The book is an allusion to Our Lord's instruction "Go ye and teach all nations." (Matt. 28, 19). A large shell is sometimes given as an emblem to St. Simon, as in an alabaster carving of the Ascension from Dr. Nelson's collection, now in the Victoria and Albert museum, where St. Simon holds a large scallop shell.[4] In this instance there can be no question of confusing him with St. James Major, who, in the same carving, is shown with his emblem of a bourdon or pilgrim's staff.

II. Centre light, east window, North aisle, Lady Chapel. (Browne, p. 171. Benson, p. 78. Harrison, p. 85).

[1] One of the circular panels of this window representing the month of May is illustrated in *Old Stained Glass in Switzerland*, pub. by Swiss Nat. Tourist Office—1953. Plate 3.

[2] *Die Rose der Kathedrale von Lausamne und der Kosmologische Bilderkreis des Mittelalters* Berne 1952. M. Jean Lafond remarks "C'est un ouvrage absolument remarquable, vrai monument d'érudition qui, non seulement éclaire les sources lointaines, et l'évolution des thèmes, mais encore jette une lumière toute nouvelle sur l'origine des roses monumentales en général" *Les Vitraux Anciens de la Cathedrale de Lausanne* in Congrès archéologique de France CXe session, 1953.

[3] *Dives and Pauper*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1496).

[4] *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. IXXV (1918) Plate IX. Also *Cat. to Soc. of Antiquaries Exhibition of Alabaster Carvings*, Plate XI, No. 8.

ST. JAMES MAJOR.

Whilst the canopy and side shaftings are identical with those in the second and third windows of the south clearstory, the background has disappeared and has been replaced with quarries painted with spirited representations of Bellerophon and the Chimaera, Musicians, etc.

At the bottom of the panel near the feet of the saint is a little figure of a soldier with a sword, reclining on the ground and gazing upwards. He appears to have awakened from sleep. (d. Fig. 1). His head is resting on his hand, not the open palm, but the clenched fist exactly like the hands of the three Apostles in the *Agony in the Garden* subject and the disciples in the *Death of the Virgin.* This little figure has evidently formed part of the missing *Resurrection* panel in the series representing the Life of Our Lord.

Clearstory, South Side, Lady Chapel, second from East. Five lights. (Browne, p. 236, Benson, p. 85. Harrison, p. 79).

I. A figure in a yellow outer garment and a white inner one holding a halbert in his left hand, whom Browne, probably correctly, names St. Matthias and adds that the halbert is "his usual symbol". He is, indeed, thus represented on the screens at Cawston and at Frilton in Norfolk. But it was not invariably so. Mrs. Jameson says :[1]

"In the Italian series of the Apostles, he (St. Matthias) bears as his attribute the lance; in the German sets more commonly the axe," and she gives an illustration of a figure of St. Matthias with a lance by Raphael. In a series of the Apostles, who are all named, at Melbury Bubb Church (Dorset), St. Matthias is represented with a scimitar or falchion, and the halbert is given to St. Simon.[2]

St. Matthias is not usually shown amongst the Apostles when St. Paul is included, but at Cawston in Norfolk, they are both represented, thus making thirteen Apostles in all.[3]

II. A saint in a green outer garment and a yellow inner one. On his left shoulder rests a sword with the pommel at the top—a most unusual position. There are no signs of the hands of the figure, but these may have been cut off in order to fit the panel between the T bars. Browne names this figure St. Paul, but as St. Paul generally holds his sword upright with the point to the ground and his hand resting on the pommel, and there is such a figure in the first light of the 3rd window, (to be described shortly), this figure must represent some other whose identity is uncertain.

[1] *Sacred and Legendary Art,* vol. 1, p. 254.
[2] G. McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery,* p. 101 and note.
[3] Dr. M. R. James, *Norfolk & Suffolk,* p. 162.

III. St. John Evangelist. (Plate I).

IV. St. Andrew.

V. St. Bartholomew.

Clearstory, South side, Lady Chapel, third from east. Five lights. (Browne, p. 238. Benson, p. 85. Harrison, pp. 79 & 80).

I. St. Paul.

II. A figure, possibly that of a man (but this is uncertain) holding in the left hand a long staff, wand, or lance. This might be St. Thomas, though his usual emblem is a builder's square. Mrs. Jameson[1] remarks "Albert Durer, in his beautiful print of St. Thomas, represents him holding the lance, the instrument of his martyrdom : but this is very unusual." Raphael gave the emblem of a lance to St. Matthias.[2]

III. A figure, most probably a man, holding in his right hand a ship, and in the left a club shaped like a hockey stick. A female head has been added, no doubt by Peckitt of York (1731—1795). This figure has always been named St. Ursula, but on what grounds it would be difficult to say. He is shown as striding forwards, and not in the attitudes of repose of the three female figures in this window. Moreover, Torre, the antiquary, who wrote a description of the glass towards the end of the eighteenth century, describes the figure as that of a 'Holy Man'. Torre's descriptions are not always correct, and many panels of glass have been moved about since his time, but in this instance, as his descriptions of all the other single figures and the subjects in this window agree with the arrangement as it is at present, there is no need to doubt his opinion in this case. Neither the ship nor the club were the emblems of St. Ursula. She is always depicted in art with "the crown as princess, the arrow as martyr, and the pilgrim's staff, surmounted by the white banner with the red cross, the Christian standard of victory. She has also a dove."[3]

At Great Malvern a ship is the emblem of St. Jude, and at Melbury Bubb, (Dorset) he has a club. It is possible that in this case, both these emblems were given to him, though the club, shaped like a hockey stick, is more like a fuller's bat, the usual emblem of St. James the Less.

The emblems of the Apostles St. Simon and St. Jude, were frequently interchanged. On screens at Bridford and Ipplepen (Devon) and on XV cent. glass in the chapel of Launde Abbey (Leics.) a ship is the emblem given to St. Simon.[4]

[1] *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. i, p. 250.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 254.
[3] Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. ii, p. 509.
[4] G. McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 102 note.

IV. St. Margaret.

V. St. Helen. (Plate I).

Westernmost Window, South Aisle, Choir.
(Browne, p. 220. Benson, p. 88. Harrison, p. 82).

Old Testament Prophets

The Prophets hold phylacteries inscribed with texts, most of which refer to the coming of the Messiah, and gaze upwards as if to see the fulfilment of their prophesies in the New Testament scenes above.

I. Zechariah.

The prophet (named) is shown gazing upwards towards the right, and holding a scroll inscribed :—

ECCE REX TUUS VENIT TIBI MANSUETUS

Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek.

(Matt. XXI 5) a quotation, slightly differently worded, of the original prophesy (Zech. IX 9).[1]

II. David.

(named) shown gazing upwards towards the right. He holds a scroll with a mutilated inscription, an abbreviated version of the text:

BEATI QUI CUSTODIUNT JUDICIUM, ET FACIUNT JUSTITIAM IN OMNI TEMPORE. (VULGATE Psalm, CV. 3).

Blessed are they that keep judgment and he that doeth righteousness at all times. (Authorised version Psalm. 106, 3).

III. Malachi.

A finely-drawn and dignified figure (named) facing right, but with head turned to gaze upwards towards the left. He bears a scroll :—

STATIM VENIET AD TEMPLUM SUUM DOMINATOR QUEM

(Malachi, III, I).

The Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple.

IV. Jeremiah.

named and facing left. Browne gives the inscription as :—

POST SECUM TERRA VISUS EST

[1] ECCE REX TUUS VENIET TIBI JUSTUS.
As there can be no uncertainty about the identification of these texts, there would be no point in giving them in their mutilated condition. For these the reader is referred to Browne, pp. 220, 221.

but the late J. W. Knowles does not give the word SECUM. The text is not in Jeremiah, but is taken from Baruch, iii. 38.[1]

POST HAEC IN TERRIS VISUS EST.

Afterward did he show himself upon earth.

V. Fragmentary, the lower half of the panel showing the mutilated remains of a figure. But before the window was re-leaded there was, above the T bar, part of a crown (b. Fig. 1) of exactly the same pattern and tilted backwards at precisely the same angle, as that of David above. Moreover Thomas Gent in his *History of York*[2] published in 1750 says the figure was that of a King, whom he described as "DAVID *with his Harp*". But he had previously stated that the king immediately above this one, represented "*King* DAVID *in full Proportion*", and as there could not be two figures of David in the same window, there can be little doubt that the second King was Solomon, and Gent probably mistook his temple for a harp. The text would no doubt be that usually associated with him :—

MORTE TURPISSIMA CONDEMNEMUS EUM
Wisdom, ii, 20.

Let us condemn him with a shameful death.

VI. JOEL.

(named) facing left but with head turned towards the right. Browne states "Through his hands has passed a white scroll containing in black letters some sentence or expression which is now much injured and rendered unattainable". The inscription referred to formed no part of the original window. All the coeval inscriptions are of white letters scratched out of a black ground. There is, however, a small portion of the original partly covered by a bar, in which the late J. W. Knowles thought he could make out the letters :—MF EVAN. The last was probably a mis-reading of MEUM and the F suggests that it was part of Joel's usual text :—

EFFUNDAM SPIRITUM MEUM SUPER OMNEM CARNEM. Joel ii, 28.

I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh.

[1] Similar mistakes were not infrequent. In an illuminated MS in the British Museum (Arundel 83) representing the *Tree of the Cross* believed to date 1310, (Illustrated in Mrs. Jameson, *Hist. of Our Lord.* vol. II, p. 195) Zephaniah, Ezekiel, and Habakkuk have all been given texts which rightly belong to others. And in the *Tree of the Cross* window in Saint Nazaire at Carcassone, the prophet Joel holds an inscription which belongs to Daniel, and Baruch one taken from Zechariah. (*Monographie Religieuse de L'Eglise de la Cite de Carcassonne*, 1875, p. 65. For other examples see Woodforde, *Stained Glass of New College, Oxford* (1951), p. 69.

[2] p. 156.

From the above it will be gathered that the subject of the window was the *Redemption*. The teaching of the mystical connection between the prophesies and scenes from the Old Testament and the events of Our Lord's Life, was extended during the XIV Century by theological writings and illustrated MSS such as the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and familiarised by representations of it in stained glass.[1]

The same subject is represented in a very fine window, dating between 1320 and 1330, at Saint Nazaire, formerly the Cathedral at Carcassonne, in which are shown the *Fall of Man*, the *Crucifixion* and Prophets holding scrolls with texts relating to the coming of the Messiah and the death of Our Lord.[2]

To determine what was the original arrangement of the above panels is a very difficult matter. What follows should therefore be taken as in no way presented as a final solution, but rather as a starting point for further research, and as indicating in what direction a completely satisfactory arrangement may eventually be found.

Before any arrangement could be accepted as the original one, it would have to fulfil certain conditions.

(a) The subjects must follow each other in their chronological order.
(b) Single figures must face inwards, e.g. in a row of six figures three of them would have to face towards the right, and three to the left.
(c) Canopies all of one pattern must be together.
(d) Canopies with projecting 'bay window' brackets or bases are centre ones.
(e) The coloured backgrounds must alternate (counterchange) either up and down, or across the lights.

In the present instance the window appears to have been one of six, (or possibly seven), lights wide, in four tiers or stories, separated by transoms. The two top stories were probably filled with twelve figures of apostles or saints all of which are intact. The two bottom stories were probably filled with figures of Prophets six of whom are missing. The backgrounds of all of these were ruby. Over each figure was a scene from the Life of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, twenty-four in all, eight of which are missing.

Unfortunately, it has been found impossible to reconcile the above with any orderly arrangement of coloured backgrounds, which shows that whilst the theory here offered may be suggestive, it is by no means the final and correct solution. But no matter how the panels were formerly arranged, the window in its original

[1] The windows of Saint Etienne, Mulhouse (Alsace) dated 1350 were derived from the *Speculum* in illustrated MS form. (G. McN. Rushforth *Medieval Christian Imagery* p. 44).

[2] Viollet-le-Duc described this window as "une des plus remarquables par sa composition, les choix des tons, et le dessin ferme, solide, très-modelé, digne des verrières les plus belles du XIII siècle".
Dict. de L'Architecture, art. Vitrail Vol. IX 1868. *p.* 440.

state must have been a very large one. From measurements by the writer's father, the late J. W. Knowles "taken from outside May 4 '94"[1] each light with its single figure, subject, and canopy above, would measure approximately 11 ft. 6 ins. in height. Allowing 1 foot for the stone transoms and 18 feet in height for the tracery, this gives a total height of 68 feet. Whilst no exact measurement of the width of the lights is available, they would be about 2 feet 6 ins. wide. Allowing approx. 9½ inches each for the five mullions, this would give a total width of 18 feet. The window would therefore be about the same size as the St. Cuthbert and St. William windows.[2] When first erected the window must have cost a very large sum, in view of its size, and the scrupulous care taken in its execution.

In the Middle Ages, as at the present day, you got what you paid for, and here there is no indication that a limited sum of money had to be spread, to the best advantage, over a large area. There is obviously only one position a window of such size and quality and executed at that particular period, can have occupied, and that is where the present east window, erected in 1408, now is.[3]

Nearly thirty years ago the Rev. Chancellor Harrison in his book on the York glass[4] suggested that there might have been an earlier window if only of plain glass. He founded his opinion on the fully-developed Perpendicular design of the stone work and tracery, where all else in this portion of the building is of Decorated or Transitional character. As the present writer has elsewhere pointed out[5] there was, at that time, a passion for bigger and yet bigger windows, and replacements and enlargements of existing work were common. Gloucester appears to have set the fashion, about the middle of the XIV cent. with an East window fourteen lights wide, which is still the largest in England.[6]

[1] MS. in the York Public Library.

[2] The St. William window is 70 feet high and 15 feet 6 ins. in width. The East window at York measures 78 by 33 ft. and the East window at Gloucester 72 x 38 feet.

[3] The fourteenth century historian, Thomas Stubbs, who was alive in 1381, states that Archbishop Thoresby, before his death in 1373, "finished a chapel in honour of Mary the Mother of God with admirable sculpture and painting" in which the Archbishop and several of his predecessors were buried, and John Leland, who was in York in 1534, corroborates the latter half of the above statement. As, apart from the Lady Chapel, no part of the present choir then existed, Stubbs would be justified in referring to it as if it were a separate building. It is only fair to add that Browne in his *History of York Minster* and *Fabric Rolls* stoutly combated the above statement. His arguments are too long to give here. But if the theory that this glass formed part of a former East window, is accepted, it would go far to bear out Stubb's statement.

[4] *The Painted Glass of York*, p. 119 (1927).

[5] *York School of Glass Painting*, p. 152.

[6] It is, however, not completely glazed, as at York.

At Exeter in 1389, although the East window had been fixed less than seventy years previously, it was looked upon as too small and was made larger.[1]

At York sometime between the years 1437 and 1443, the stonework of the St. William and St. Cuthbert windows on either side of the choir, was carried up to the full height of the roof of the centre aisle, thus making them twice the height of the originals, and providing room for a window 73 ft. high, which was paid for by Cardinal Langley.[2]

At Eton College in 1445-46 John Prudle was paid for "various subjects for enlarging the west window of the Chapel",[3] yet in thirty years time this too was considered out of date, and Thomas (? Bye), glass-painter to the King and 'my lord of Winchester' (William Waynflete) was called in to take measurements for new windows in a new chapel.[4]

There was possibly a certain amount of rivalry between York and Gloucester as to which could have the largest East window. Gloucester was first in the field, and they did it by splaying outwards the last bay of the choir, thereby getting in a window wider than the central aisle. Wind pressure was counteracted by making the window in the form of a bay. In this way they got in a window thirty-eight feet wide and of no fewer than fourteen lights. All this had to be devised before the foundations were in. But at York this was not possible. As they were unable to increase the width, they added to the height, by tilting up the groined vaulting of the last bay, thereby getting in a window which is actually higher than the Lady Chapel ceiling.

The above is pure supposition, and actually there may have been no intention whatever to emulate the Gloucester window in size only. The height was most likely dictated from aesthetic reasons of architectural proportion. For making the ceiling slope upwards so as to get in a higher window was no novelty, as it had previously been done in both the North and South Transepts, long before the east windows of either York or Gloucester were thought of.[5]

[1] It was widened from six to nine lights. As usual, this was made possible by a donation of 100 marks towards the cost. *East Window of Exeter Cathedral* by Frederick Morris Drake. Trans. Exeter Dioc. Architect. Soc. 1909.

[2] The cardinal died in 1437 making no mention of the window in his Will. It must therefore have been paid for during his lifetime. The window shows Archbishop Kempe as a cardinal and he did not attain that dignity until 1443.

For the evidence for the enlargement of the two windows, see the present writer's *Technical Notes on the St. William Window, in York Minster, Yorks. Arch. Journal,* xxxvii, 1949.

[3] Willis & Clark, *Architect. History of the University of Cambridge,* Vol. I, pp. 393-4.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 408 note.

[5] The top of the rose window in the South Transept is approximately ten feet higher than the groined ceiling. Vide Britten's *York Cathedral* 1819. Plate XIV.

Though the Gloucester east window is the largest, it is—considered as a glass-painting—but a very indifferent piece of work. It was probably the work of an old man, a survivor of the Black Death.[1]

Winston, who never allowed his enthusiasm to over-ride his judgement, after praising highly the glass upon which the window is painted, wrote :—

"But here our admiration should stop. Like all other medieval works in painted glass, the present is open to the gravest criticism. The figures are ill-drawn, ungraceful and insipid" and he considered the painting of the glass to be "rough and imperfect".[2]

Turning to technical matters, what strikes the student most forcibly about this glass at York, is the extreme pains which have been taken, not only by the Ecclesiastical authorities in the general scheme, the choice of subjects, and the way they should be delineated, but the scrupulous care which has been lavished by the glass painters upon the smallest details even into the farthest corners.

The composition of the subjects and the figure draughtsmanship, *for its period and style,* is of a very superior order. The way the draperies have been made to sweep round so as to fill the bottom corners of the panel, and thereby frame and emphasize the subject, is noteworthy. To appreciate the high level of attainment in composition one has only to compare the panel representing the *Flight into Egypt,* with a very similar subject *St. Martin dividing his cloak,* formerly in St. Martin's, Coney Street, Church.[3] The former is clear and distinct and the figures beautifully grouped, the latter is the most miserable jumble imaginable, though it is sixty or seventy years later in date. In the present case, the figures are correctly proportioned, evidently seven-and-a-half or eight heads high, and the stock XIV cent. posture, or pose of the figure, similar to an S, which, though employed mechanically, gave to a certain degree the appearance of grace, has been discarded. The draperies appear to be somewhat in advance in design of the canopies. The earlier hanging and festooned type of drapery, has been abandoned, and the folds

[1] The plague appeared in England in 1348.
Winston (*Memoirs,* p. 307) considered that the Gloucester east window was completed "most probably not later than 1350". Westlake, whose judgement in these matters was rarely at fault, wrote "my own idea is that it is as late as 1360 in execution". (*History of Design in Painted Glass,* Vol. II, p. 40).

[2] "*Memoirs Illustr. of the Art of Glass-Painting,* pp. 309-310.

[3] Illustrated in *Yorks. Arch. Journal,* Part 150 vol. XXXVIII 1953, p. 162.

are square and angular. The canopies and side shaftings on the other hand, show but few traces of transition from Decorated to Perpendicular.[1] These are perfectly flat, and not set at an angle so as to show two sides. They are slender and delicate, unlike the sturdier and more robust shaftings usual in York work. In this they probably followed the London school of architecture which was (according to Prof. E. S. Prior) characterised by 'a rather lean elegance' as opposed to the more 'florid and opulent Yorkshire style'.[2]

They are carefully executed with the most elaborate detail. The little figures in the side shaftings, whilst there is some repetition, appear to have been individually designed, unlike the stock pattern little old men in later York work. Some of them have nimbi and may represent Apostles. Others have swords with the point resting on the ground. The utmost care seems to have been taken in their execution.

The writer may be wrong, but in his opinion there appears to have been some development in design as well as difference in technique between the canopies and shaftings to the Prophets at the bottom of the window, and the saints and subjects above. But that they all formed part of the same work is shown by a comparison between small details, such as the peculiar and very characteristic treatment of the foregrounds (c. Fig. 2) which are alike in both. The side-shaftings to the Prophets are heavier in design and less delicate in treatment than those to the Apostles. Moreover, there are no bases or pedestals to the Prophets. They stand on the cill in the usual manner of the XIV cent. These differences might be accounted for under the supposition that the work was put out to different firms, as in the case of the St. William window at a later date.[3]

There appears to have been more than one draughtsman at work on the subject panels, as we should expect in a window of this size. Some, such as *Christ's appearance to St. Mary Magdalene*, and the *Presentation in the Temple*, show more artistry, refinement, and accomplishment in draughtsmanship and composition, than others. Some mistakes, however, in the way some of the scenes have been depicted have been made. Tufts of herbage grow around the base of the altar in the Temple, and on the floor of the Upper room.

Much care and attention has been paid to the backgrounds. They are carefully diapered. Some of them have been cut up

[1] The battlements and the corbels supporting the parapet across the top of the canopies are in XV style and are shown in perspective, also the bases or pedestals on which the figures stand (a. & e. Fig. 2).

[2] *Cathedral Builders of England*, p. 77. The sole existing example of the London School of Medieval Church Architecture is the church of St. Ethelburga in Bishopgate Street, which survived the fire. The pillars are more slender than those of churches of contemporary date in York.

[3] Vide *Technical Notes on the St. William Window in York Minster*, J. A. Knowles. *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, Part 146, Vol. XXXVII, 1941.

into diamonds, others into squares, for which carefully designed and executed patterns, very similar to the designs for encaustic tiles, have been applied (f. Fig. 2). These tile-like squares, together with the lavish use of green glass in backgrounds, is very like work of the same period at St. Ouen, Rouen.[1]

The scene of the *Funeral of the Blessed Virgin,* as distinct from the *Death* and the *Interment,* is very interesting, as it is rarely seen in English glass, and probably in French glass also. The Byzantine *Guide to Painting*[2] gives descriptions of the way the scenes representing the Death and the Entombment of the Virgin should be depicted, but not the funeral. The *Biblia Pauperum* does not give it. Indeed the only subject, apart from the Annunciation and those connected with the life of Our Lord in which the Blessed Virgin appears, is the Coronation. The subject was too rare to appear in the block books or in illuminated MSS such as the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.*[3] Nor was the scene one which glass-painters could represent by using a cartoon of some similar subject after making a few alterations. An entirely new composition would be required, drawn by someone thoroughly acquainted with the details of the subject, or by one who had been given a minute description of them to guide him in his work. The subject must, however, have been a fairly familiar one in France, through the representation of it in the Mystery Plays, and at York also, where several references to the play Fergus, as it was called, seem to point to the fact that it enjoyed considerable popularity.[4]

In the writer's opinion, the window is not York work. He may be wrong, but it appears to him to be too delicate in feeling, too accomplished in draughtsmanship, and too highly finished to have been produced in the Northern school. There are certainly no other remains of similar work to be seen anywhere else in the Minster or elsewhere in York.[5] Workmanship of this high order, is such as has always been associated with the metropolis.[6] One might even be tempted to suggest, in view of the many French characteristics shown in the design, together with

[1] The finding of the relics of St. Etienne Window.

[2] Didron, *Christian Iconography,* II, 349.

[3] Margaret Stokes who edited Didron's notes for the second volume of his *Christian Iconography* wrote of the above-mentioned works "these books were followed in the mural paintings, the stained-glass windows, the sculpture and the religious drama of the Middle Ages". *Op. cit.,* p. 206.

[4] Toulmin Smith, *York Plays,* p. xxvii.

[5] The most highly finished glass of the period (though earlier) is the East window of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church, which there is no reason to believe was executed elsewhere than in York.

[6] There are no remains in London XIV cent. glass extant. But fragments of the glass from St. Stephen's Chapel executed in 1351 illustrated in Smith's *Amtiquities of Westminster* show that it was of a very high order of accomplishment. Moreover innovations, such as staining a pale blue glass yellow so as to obtain green, which do not appear in northern work until much later, were regularly employed.

the fact that at the time the window was made the Dean of York was one Ange de Grimoard de Grisac, (1364-1381), that the window is an imported work.[1]

There are no details of treatment in York work similar to :—

(a) The head of the Negro King, Balthaser, in the *Adoration of the Magi*, and the head of Belzeray in the *Funeral of the Blessed Virgin* cut out of a pale blue glass and a pale ruby respectively.[2]

(b) The naturalistic treatment of animals such as the piebald ass in the *Flight into Egypt*. All the horses in York glass are white.

(c) No nimbi to Saints and not even to the figure of Our Lord.

(d) The curly treatment of tufts of grass in the foregrounds, very similar to the conventional rendering of clouds. (c. Fig. 2).

(e) The lavish use of green glass and the very sparing employment of blue.[3] In the Gloucester east window, which is only a few years earlier in date, and undoubtedly an English work, the backgrounds are red and blue alternately. There is practically no green glass.

(f) Subjects at the top of the lights and above the heads of the principal figures. There are very few examples of this in York work.[4] In the north aisle of the Lady Chapel, the east window of the south aisle, and the

[1] Westlake was strongly of the opinion that much of the XIV cent. glass at York was influenced, or actually derived from France. Speaking of windows at Mantes he said :

"It is difficult to surmise whether all these windows were executed in England or France". He noted the resemblance between "the York and Exeter work, and as the latter" he said "is reputed to have been imported from Rouen, my surmise that the York work was by Frenchmen receives support". *Hist. of Design in Painted Glass*, Vol. II, p. 102.

[2] This realistic treatment of heads appears to have been not infrequent in the South. At Salisbury Cathedral a head of St. Stephen in a Martyrdom subject was cut out of ruby, and at West Horsley, Surrey, in a XIII medallion representing the angel rescuing St. Catherine from torture, the heads of two of the executioners who have been struck down by the angel, are painted on red glass. (Winston, *Memoirs*, p. 107 note). This appears to have indicated a distasteful or repellant character. In a panel of German glass illustrated in Winston's *Memoirs*, Plate X representing the *Last Supper*, the head of the traitor apostle appears, (as far as can be judged from the illustration) to be cut out of a pale ruby.

[3] York glass-painters appear to have had an aversion to green, but what was the reason for this, it would be difficult to say. In the XV cent. even trees and grass were usually cut out of white glass. This is curious, because the medieval green and pot-metal yellows are both very fine colours and can be easily and cheaply produced. It is for this reason that, at the present day, all cheap wine, beer, and stout bottles, are either green or yellow, never red or blue.

[4] Those in the north clearstory of St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney St., were unfortunately destroyed during the Second World War.

Transitional window (third from east in the south aisle, as well as in later glass of the XV cent. the subject panels were always beneath, and not above the large figures.

If the Dean and Chapter in 1405 were not averse to bringing a man from Coventry to design the Great East window, there is no reason to suppose that some thirty or forty years earlier, they would hesitate to order a window in London, or even further afield, if they thought they could get better work. Cathedrals further removed from the capital than York, went to London when they required the highest standard of design and workmanship. At Beverley in 1292 a new shrine for the relics of their St. John was ordered in London from the workshop of William Faringdon, goldsmith.[1] When, in 1377, the Prior of Durham wanted a marble and alabaster substructure for the shrine of St. Cuthbert, he did not place the order in York, but rode on to London and had the shrine carved there, packed in boxes and sent by sea to Newcastle.[2] In 1441 when Melrose Abbey wanted carved stalls, they went as far as Bruges, and placed their order with Cornelius de Aeltre, citizen and master of the art of carpentry of that city.[3]

In view of the diversity of the dates of the above examples the only reason why Cathedral authorities went far afield for their work was from choice. But at York, in the last quarter of the XIV cent., necessity may have had something to do with it. As the present writer has elsewhere pointed out,[4] the Black Death which appeared in York in 1349, and again in 1361 and 1390, must have crippled some of the smaller crafts, such as the glass-painters, severely.[5] A contemporary chronicler states that "the mortality attacked the young and strong and commonly spared the old and weak"[6] and this led to complete stagnation in the arts, for the young men succumbed to the plague, and the surviving old men would be both out of date and past their work. Therefore it is likely there would be more survivors in London who had escaped the pestilence, rather than in York where glass-painters were fewer.

If we are right in assuming that the window, after being in place for probably thirty years or so, was eventually removed to give way to a larger one, of what happened to it subsequently there is no record. But there is enough evidence to show that although the Dean and Chapter probably looked upon it as

[1] The contract is printed in *Cal. of City of London Letter Books*, A., p. 180.

[2] *Durham Account Rolls* III Surtees Soc., Vol. 103, p. XXIX.

[3] Francis Bond, *Stalls and Tabernacle Work*, p. 68.

[4] *York School of Glass Painting*, pp. 206-207.

[5] Drake in his *History of York* 1785 (small ed. vol. 1, p. 184) says that in York in 1391 the plague carried off 1,000 persons. This is probably two or three times the actual number. But it is perhaps significant, that in 1351 and again in 1400, the names of three new glass-painters were added to the Freemen's Roll, these being the only two instances where more than one name was added in any one year.

[6] *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. by E. M. Thompson.

somewhat out-of-date, they were fully aware of its intrinsic merits, and tried as far as possible to preserve it. Some of it, at what period we do not know, was used to fill two of the five-light windows in the clearstory of the Lady Chapel, and some time during the fifteenth century the Chapter were at the expense of employing a glass-painter to design and paint side shaftings in the style of the period, in order to widen six of the original lights, and make them fit one of the windows in the south aisle of the choir.

Unfortunately, the Dean and Chapter's solicitude was not shared in quarters where we should naturally expect to find it, viz., the glass-painters they employed to carry out the work. The firing has been scamped, with the result that the enamel has shelled off, and nothing now remains but the outline of the leads.[1] Some of the green, yellow and ruby backgrounds in squares, and what appears to have been some parts of the dwarf canopies also, were used to surround some odd figures and made up into "panels intruded 1658 into the Chapter House" according to an inscription on the window[2] in the nave where they now are. Finally, as late as the XVIII cent. sometime between 1700 and 1730[3] two more figures of Apostles, which must then have been stored away for well over three hundred years, were brought out in an excellent state of preservation, and used to fill part of the centre lights of the east windows of the North and South aisles of the Lady Chapel.

[1] The present writer has elsewhere stated "The standard of business morality in the Middle Ages was very low, and glass-painters were no better than others." *York School of Glass Painting*, p. 216. The above is a case in point.

[2] Westernmost window in the south aisle inserted 1951.

[3] Between the death of James Torre, the antiquary, on 31st July, 1699, and the publication of Thomas Gent's *History of York* where they are mentioned for the first time.

WILFRID HOLME OF HUNTINGTON: YORKSHIRE'S FIRST PROTESTANT POET.

By Professor A. G. Dickens.

The subject of our article, though among the most interesting of our Tudor provincial writers, has been accorded little attention by historians. Wilfrid Holme's politico-religious poem *The fall and evill success of rebellion* was written in 1537, but not printed until 1572-3, when Binneman produced two quarto editions.[1] Both have become bibliographical rarities of the first order and, partly on this account, scholars have frequently mentioned the poem, seldom read it and never accorded it serious study. Many of them have doubtless dismissed it as a minor source for the Pilgrimage of Grace, but the superficial character of this view may be statistically demonstrated, since out of a total of 269 stanzas, only about 51 are concerned with the events of the great rising.[2] The bulk of the remainder, while ostensibly dealing with the rebels' demands and the King's replies, broadens out into an elaborate essay upon the political and theological principles at stake during this supreme crisis of the English Reformation. Holme's work does not, in fact, provide an important account of political events; it contains a few details not available elsewhere, yet it is dwarfed by the huge bulk and intimate character of the evidence preserved in the State Papers. Without arrogance, we may claim that we know much more about the Pilgrimage of Grace than did Wilfrid Holme, indeed, that we can supply a fuller and more penetrating analysis of its character than could any contemporary, Robert Aske included! The value of our poem lies rather in the sphere of ideas and opinions, one to which English local historians, in their excessive concern with land and other material things, have hitherto contributed all too little. And it seems likely that the work was considered worth publishing in 1572, not so much as factual history, but as anti-rebellion propaganda in a year when very recent memories of another great northern rebellion were being freshened by the execution of Thomas Earl of Northumberland. Concerning Wilfrid Holme and his family, we knew less than we should like. Modern genealogists have boldly asserted that the Huntington Holmes descended directly from the distinguished merchant family which supplied three mayors to York and can be traced back in the

[1] A copy of the 1573 edition is in the British Museum; the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, has copies of both editions. Cf. Pollard and Redgrave, *Short Title Catalogue*, nos. 13602-3. The present writer has worked mainly with the aid of a photostat of the Huntington first edition, which he found in the Folger Library, Washington D.C.

[2] Of these, 20 are devoted to the actual events of the main rebellion, 6 to its fall and 25 to the rebellion of Bygod and Hallam.

history of the city to the twelfth century.[1] The early pedigrees seem to me inconclusive on this score. For what they are worth, they place the ten recorded generations before Wilfrid at Huntington, while throughout Yorkshire the name was very common. It has been surmised,[2] again without proof, that the manor of Huntington came to the Holmes in 1431, when Robert Holme married Katherine, daughter and heiress of John Kenley of York and Wheldrake. This latter family, itself descended from a York goldsmith, is admittedly known to have held land in Huntington early in the fifteenth century, yet so, in all probability, did the Holmes themselves, and conceivably for centuries before this date. As for Wilfrid's immediate ancestors, though they held 'landis and rentes in the citie of York and suburbis',[3] there is no evidence that they were playing a notable part in civic affairs. Robert's son John, the grandfather of our author, describes himself as 'of Huntington, gentilman' in his will dated 20th December 1490.[4] He had married Isabel, daughter of William Snawsell, goldsmith and alderman of York, and of Bilton. Their son, Thomas Holme, succeeded to the estate in 1491, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Bolton of Huby,[5] made a settlement of the manor on the marriage of his heir Wilfrid with Elizabeth Constable in 1511[6] and died early in 1520.[7] Elizabeth is identified as the daughter of Philip Constable of Skirton Esquire,[8] third son of Sir Robert Constable[9] of Flamborough and younger brother of the famed 'little' Sir Marmaduke, who fought alongside his 'seemly sons' at Flodden.[10]

If these details, combined from various pedigrees, are correct, Wilfrid's wife was hence a cousin of that major 'hero' of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Sir Robert Constable, who expiated his treason by hanging from the Beverley Gate at Hull, 'so trimmed

[1] The most elaborate pedigree is in *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, ed. J. W. Walker (*Harleian Soc.*, xcv, 228-30). But the unresolved problems in this compilation are sufficiently obvious and I am not clear on what basis it ventures to differ so widely from the Tudor pedigrees of Holme of Huntington. For these see J. Foster, *The Visitation of Yorkshire . . 1584-5 . . and* 1612, p. 224 and *Harleian Soc.*, xvi, 162-3.

[2] *Vict. Co. Hist., Yorks., North Riding*, ii, 147.

[3] John Holme mentions these in his will; see the subsequent note. Wilfrid himself had messuages there (*Yorks. Fines*, i, *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser.*, ii, 80). For at least three generations they maintained close relations with the Snawsell family, who brought the name Seth to the Holmes.

[4] *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iv (*Surtees Soc.*, liii), 62-3.

[5] Margaret apparently died about the same time as her husband, her will being proved 18 July 1520 (*Harleian Soc.*, xcv, 230).

[6] *Vict. Co. Hist., loc. cit.* cites Chancery Inq. p.m. ser. 2, lx, 5, ccxix, 81.

[7] Thomas Holme's will was proved 10 May 1520 (*Wills in the York Registry*, 1514-1553; *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Rec. Ser.*, xi, 223).

[8] *Harleian Soc.*, xvi, 163; J. Hunter, *Chorus Vatum* in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24487-92, s.v. Holme.

[9] Cf. *Harleian Soc.*, xvi, 65, 163; one of these pedigrees calls him the second son; the other shows a Robert who died *sans issu* as the second. Cf. also J. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[10] Cf. M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, i, 46.

with chains', wrote the Duke of Norfolk, 'that I think his bones will hang there this hundred years'.[1] Altogether, it is easy to see why Wilfrid Holme regarded himself as of old and well-connected county stock 'in Huntington in Yorkshire commorant patrimonial'.[2] Though a fierce Protestant, he was anything but a *parvenu* of the new age.

If he intended to publish his work, he had little time to seek a printer, for he died within a year of its composition. An inquisition on the death of Wilfrid Holme Esquire, held in the castle of York on 24 July 30 Henry VIII (1538) found that he had died on the previous June and that his son and heir Seth was aged eight years and nine months. Sir Marmaduke Constable and Seth Snawsell his kinsman were then holding lands in Haxby and Huntington belonging to him.[3] The wardship and marriage of young Seth Holme were granted in 1544 to John Genyns, groom of the Privy Chamber.[4] As for the manor of Huntington, it descended from Seth Holme in 1588 to his heir, another Seth, and finally in 1607 left the family by sale.[5]

These dry facts of family history admittedly fail to illuminate the most remarkable aspect of Wilfrid Holme's poem :—its advanced Protestant anti-clericalism, which runs completely outside the conservative tradition of the Yorkshire gentry and seems to stem from such works as Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates* (1530), Simon Fish's *Supplication for Beggars* (1529) and the various tracts of the London extremists. Our author in fact displays himself as an even fiercer anticlerical than Sir Francis Bygod, whose *Treatise concerninge Impropriations* (Godfray, c. 1535) may be regarded as the first Protestant book by a Yorkshireman, and whose final lapse into rebellion is chronicled with intelligible bitterness by Holme. One cannot avoid suspecting that Holme may have spent some time in London and that, were the records of the Inns of Court complete for the early years of the century, his name might well be found among them. Other members of the family are said to have studied the law[6] and, it need hardly be said, a legal education in London was then part of the normal equipment for a young man of Holme's status. It is not impossible to envisage contacts between him and the early

[1] *State Papers of Henry VIII*, v, 91.

[2] The foregoing notes on the Holme family may need revision when the outstanding problems are more closely scrutinised. I do not pretend, for example, to understand the significance of the transaction of 1522 in *Yorks. Fines*, i, 39, where *William* Holme, *late of Huntington*, is deforciant in respect of the manor of Huntington Hall.

[3] J. Hunter, *Chorus Vatum, loc. cit.*

[4] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (later cited as *L. & P.*), xix (1), 610(75).

[5] *Vict. Co. Hist., loc. cit.* gives references.

[6] A note in *Surtees Soc.*, liii, 62 states that John Holme is called *apprenticius legis*.

Protestants in the city of York, but these latter constituted a small group, ostensibly outside his social orbit.[1]

In the common form of contemporary poets, Holme describes himself as 'unlearned'. Nevertheless his literary knowledge must have exceeded that of the average country gentleman in the reign of Henry VIII. He shows an easy acquaintance with classical and English history, cites no less than 250 scriptural texts in his margins, is well abreast of contemporary religious polemics. As usual with our minor Tudor writers, it proves difficult to judge how far his numerous references to patristic and medieval authors may represent any first-hand or prolonged acquaintance with their texts.

A boy brought up so near York around the year 1500 would certainly not lack opportunities to acquire a grounding in the Latin authors, even though it would not be Erasmian in content or approach. So far as Holme's English style and versification are concerned, they derive from the obvious favourites of the early century and from Lydgate in particular. He may well have studied Skelton, possibly the early work of John Bale, and with both those rebellious spirits he shows a temperamental affinity. Like the rest of our versifiers between Chaucer and Surrey, his scansion is of an extremely rough-and-ready character. Another characteristic which he displays in marked though not unique degree is a vocabulary full of latinised neologisms, to modern taste bombastic and frequently ludicrous. Such inelegancies may induce scholars to neglect our early Tudor writers, yet upon the social historian these aesthetic criteria should exercise no inhibitions, since bad poetry may, equally with good, illuminate the minds of our ancestors.

From this point, our subject will best be clarified if we attempt a summary of *The fall and evill success of rebellion*, quoting a few lines where it seems most appropriate.

Holme's own verses are prefixed by five quatrains over the signature R.S., the owner of which I have failed to identify. In the trite Sternhold-and-Hopkins metre by then so fashionable, these lines impress the moral to be drawn in 1572 :

> 'As haultie Holme in loftie stile
> Hath paint their doings trim :
> Oh rebels rue your wretched case,
> And warning take by him.'

The poem itself, written in 8-lined stanzas,[2] takes the medieval form of a dream-allegory, one recently revived by

[1] E.g. the Frees family, who were foreign settlers and printers. *Cf.* R. Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press*, pp. 7-15; G. Duff, *The English Provincial Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders to* 1557, pp. 42 *seqq* supplies some corrections of Davies.

[2] The vast majority of the lines range between 11 and 14 syllables and most have a well-marked caesura.

Skelton[1] and still destined to a long life in English literature. The poet meets a dolorous princess, in this case *Anglia,* who orders him to tell stories of the fate of sedition. In the common form of medieval poets, Holme professes his own insufficiency, 'as a gemme without glosse unpublished to shine', but is inevitably prevailed upon to begin. Having first evidenced the horrors of rebellion from an array of Biblical and Roman examples, he rapidly traverses English medieval history. Impervious, like most Tudor writers, to the charms of Magna Carta, he is

> ' . . . ashamed to pronounce to publish and declare
> The Baronage commotion, against John the King'

and here he may well appear a disciple of John Bale, who, interpreting earlier history in the light of current controversy, had recently in his plays depicted King John as the victim of an aggressive Papacy. Meanwhile, having reached the rebellions under Henry VII, Holme is bidden by *Anglia* to recount the 'late commotion', i.e. the Pilgrimage of Grace.

He begins by describing the wild rumours which preceded the rising : that parish churches were to be dissolved; fasting, prayer and good works forbidden, church fees raised, delicate meats reserved for 'men of estate'.[2] The main events of the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire revolts are then briefly rehearsed. These three stanzas will serve as an example of Holme's jejune narrative style :

> 'Then Hul made a brag but anone it was yeelded,
> Then Yorkshire in general, it was nigh collected
> Yorke received them for there they abode, and builded
> Til the Countreis adjacent with the rumour wer infected
> And as I suppose they had letters directed,
> Whereby was raised all Richmondshire and Tindale,
> The borders of Lancashire began to be suspected,
> Bishoprike rose cleare, with Sedbare, Dent and Kendale.
>
> Sir Henrie Savil,[3] Sir Marmaduke Constable,
> Sir Brian Hastings, Sir John Nevil,[4] the King they assisted,
> Master Evers at Scarburgh to them was agreeable,
> With all his companions, and would faine have resisted.

[1] In his *Treatise upon a Goodly Garland or Chaplet of Laurel,* conceived in 1523 when the poet was staying at Sheriff Hutton. A northern Elizabethan example is Richard Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickedness* (1574), written under the patronage of the Talbots at Sheffield.

[2] Fos. C.iv—C.ii. Cf. for a list of such rumours drawn from other sources, Dodds, *op. cit.*, i, 76-7.

[3] The parts played by most of these loyalists may be followed by reference to the indexes of vols. xi and xii of the *L. & P.* and of Dodds, *op. cit.*

[4] On Sir John Neville of Chevet, who in 1541 was himself executed for failing to reveal a fresh Yorkshire plot, see *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal,* xxxiv, 384 *seqq.*

The Maire of Yorke[1] wold, but the commons he mistrusted,
William Maunsel also, and Knolles of Hull[2] cleere,
With the Archdeacon of Duresme of the same part consisted,
And flee from the Riotors did Leonard Bequet[3] Esquire.

Doctor Stephens, phisitian to Therle of Northumberland
And Ratclif[4] had done wel, if Yorke had bene contented,
The Parson of Castlegate[5] was of the same covinant,
And the Bishop of Duresme of the same part consented :
I know but another which ought to be presented,
But which after spoyler to the commons did resorte :
Yet Sir Thomas Curwen earnestly invented,
With Sir Thomas Wharton to stay their counterporte.'[6]

Anglia 'with an ardent fury' thereupon asks Holme what caused some of the gentlemen to join the rising : he denounces their folly, saying that some were compelled by the commons, but more 'seduced with the Papistes devise'. He then embarks upon the major task of the work : a discussion of the rebels' articles and the King's replies, which, incidentally, had been printed before the end of 1536. Significantly enough, the bulk of this discussion is devoted to Holme's own views, which often move well to the left of the King's position. Under the article 'Of Fayth', he attacks 'our Prelates', the 'blinde Balaams' who believe in salvation by works.[7] No less than twelve stanzas are devoted to the thesis that the Church is not, as imagined by the rebels, 'the lapidous sinagoge proscript and relegate, The great citie I suppose of the whore of Babilon',[8] but the mystical body of Christ and the congregation of all the faithful. He thence continues with a lengthy diatribe against monasticism ('religion') and the use of images :

'But nowe Religion is a vile abomination,
For Peter's name was Cephos which is a very stone,
And we are living stones, by Peter's declaration,
And Christ is the head Capitall, and other head is none,
But they have this reversed and lefte this Church alone,
And have gotten a newe God, even Daniel's desolation,
And have set up Cragges coopert with houses many one,
To cloke their deedes libidinous and incest fornication.

[1] See Dodds, *op. cit.*, index, s.v. Harrington, William.

[2] William Knolles, alderman of Hull, originally surrendered the town to the rebels, but took a leading part in the suppression of Hallam's rising. Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, i. 164, 166; ii, 65.

[3] Leonard Beckwith, later knighted, of Selby. See in addition to the above authorities, the account of his career in W. W. Morrell, *History and Antiq. of Selby*, pp. 134-6.

[4] On the capture of Roger Ratcliff by the rebels, see *L. & P.*, xi, 1042.

[5] Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 285 gives Robert Ashbie as rector at this time. I have not noted any details of his role during the rising.

[6] C. ii—C. iii.

[7] D. ii[v].

[8] D. iii.

They mumble with their lippes, with rich Copes, and Kels,
And chaunting with their chastes like Owles in a frost,
They duck and they sence, and they trumpe up their Bels
And sprynkle water fast, but the red Cowe is lost,
Candles are illuminate and set on every post,
Before a gorgious Idol freshe figured and gylt,
And though it maye be suffered, yet thereby hath ben lost
Many a Christian man, and many a soule spylt'.[1]

However exaggerated his views, it is important to realise that by 1530 a great number of intelligent Englishmen had come to see religious houses in the darkest possible colours; no Puritan of later days could have written in terms much stronger than these :

'For dame Nice and dame Wanton, they set in the quire,
Cheeping, like a Gosling, and looking on Sir John,
They had rather than five pence to have him elsewhere,
If one aske how I knowe it, I will ground on this stone,
They are fat, and fayre of flesh bloud and bone,
And have not receyved the spirit of veritie,
And seing they be carnall, I maye judge them every one,
To be fraile and incontinent with fleshly lubricitie,

None entreth to religion with any true devotion,
For the most part be infantes, and put in by coaction,
And none of freewill, except for promotion,
Or else for dispaire to do satisfaction,
And some for very slouth to do no worldly action,
Professing obedience, povertie and chastitie,
To which three essentialls they make their contraction,
And to many trifles moe the which is but vanitie.

And so for their povertie, ther is neither Knight nor Lord,
Earle, Marquess nor Duke like them in abundaunce :
And as for their obedience, al men can recorde,
They are high Rebellious against true allegiance,
Having both their King and their God at defiance :
And as for their chastitie the visitours knoweth wel,
For Sodome and Gomor had never such ordinance,
Their polution and wayes, I ashame for to tell.

Nowe beleeving in workes is dispaire and carnalitie,
Their vowes are like Jewes vowes, therefore they be vacuate.
For here is Christ, or ther is Christ, and hope not in him only
Is lyke to the devils faith from hope cleerely seperate :
Therefore they may marrie and leave their fond estate,

[1] E. i—E.iv.

Because they were ignorant and make revocation,
For smal availeth baptysm though they be regenerate,
Where after they dispaire in Christes iustification.'[1]

Another discursive passage of some 35 stanzas[2] praises the King for abolishing mortuary dues and other clerical privileges, denies that the clergy are a 'spiritual' estate above other estates, denounces clerical attire, demands personal virtue and simplicity of the clergy, and boldly asserts their right to marry. Holme also denies any scriptural justification for auricular confession and justifies, by various texts, punishment for sin by the temporal authority. He exemplifies the rising bourgeois outlook by applauding the life of the layman, who works hard to support his household : we are not meant literally to take no thought for meat and drink. The clergy suffer further denunciation for misapplying the text in Matthew xxviii :

'And I am with you, sayd he, unto the worlds ende,
That is, with us, say the prelates, for his church can not erre :
That is not so, say I, marry God defend,
For of all creatures there is no men werre (worse)'.

To support these attacks he recalls the familiar scandalous themes from Papal history, including the story of Pope Joan, and concludes :

'For when Christ said, I am with you unto the worlds end,
That was with you, and with such elect to faith prosperous,
My grace by instinction wil I ever send.'[3]

Holme's next section deals very forcefully with the Royal Supremacy. His argument runs along Erastian lines common to both imperialist and royalist thinkers of the Middle Ages, but now increasingly being translated into facts :

'Christes Kingdom was not heere, then who shuld have the power
But the owners of the soiles to keepe truth legal
Be he Marques or Duke, Prince, King or Emperor?'[4]

For the clergy it is left to follow Christ in his humility, 'not in the power of his glorification'. Some will say that the Apostles were not obedient to princes, but to them he puts the following example, 'by way of argument' :

'If the Kings grace shuld send by his minde benevolent,
Twelve discrete persons to the regions of Asia,
To the Turks lands or Sophies to preach Christ omnipotent
And to Prester Johns, and the great Canis of Catha',

[1] E. ii—E. ii^{v}. [2] E. ii^{v}—F. iii. [3] F. ii^{v}—F. iii.
[4] F. iii.

then these missionaries might not have great regard for the laws and beliefs of the heathen potentates, yet might mix them with Christ's laws in order to gain converts the more easily. Once, however, the oriental rulers themselves were converted, the missionaries would certainly not seek to divest them of their temporal powers, but rather urge them to exercise such powers to enforce God's law.[1] In fact, St. Paul was 'all things to all men' and careful to accept as much of the old law as possible :

> 'To the Romaines he saith, let every soule submit
> Him selfe to the aucthoritie of the higher powers'.

Again, the Bible shows how the Kings of Israel gave commands to the priesthood; and if the 'greedy Griffons and vile todes terrestrial' (i.e. the clerical party) 'beleeve expositors more than the truthe caronicall' let them look in Hamo, in Gregory's and Augustine's Epistles (references given), in the *de regimine principum* of Aquinas and in other favourite commentators.[2] Against all these arguments for the subjection of clerical power and privilege, the decisions of Roman General Councils cannot militate. At this stage the author also adduces the customary examples to show that Rome was never universally accepted as unquestioned Head of the Church itself.[3]

Next in order, a short section headed 'Of Holidayes' denounces saints' days on the grounds that we are forbidden to give spiritual honour to any creature except God himself. A similar section condemns the doctrine of Purgatory as detracting from the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice :

> It is plaine how Christe to the woman of Cananie,
> Commaunded to sin no more, other penance gave he none,
> Nor yet to no other, nor to the theife verily,
> But said in Paradise thou shalt be with me soone.'[4]

After this prolonged doctrinal excursus, Holme returns to dispose of the fifth article of the rebels, who had demanded the punishment of seven allegedly heretical bishops. This he compares with a story in Isidore : how Philip of Macedon had demanded that the Athenians should hand over ten wise men to him, and how Demosthenes had told the Athenians the parable of the wolves, which induced the shepherds to hand over their dogs as the price of peace.[5] Thence we reach one of the most remarkable passages of the poem. It shows Holme standing with the men of the New Learning, who ridiculed the old scholastic textbooks, the hair-splitting of metaphysicians, and who gleefully announced the dawn of a new age, when the old cobwebs of superstition were fast being blown away. If we would understand why the Reformation happened in England, we must grasp this curiously exultant mood—for it was perhaps a mood of discovery rather than a philosophy—which seized the dominant groups in England

[1] F. iii^{v}. [2] F.iiii^{v}. [3] G. i.
[4] G. ii^{v}. [5] G. iii.

around the time our author was writing. It has seldom been better expressed than in the following stanzas, which will bear quoting in full. One may doubt whether Holme knew much about the books and the terminology which he ridicules : they are nevertheless chosen with skill to suggest *démodé* obscurantism, idolatrous fraud and ungodly pseudo-science.

'Thus our wolves irat these Duns doctors rixant,
If they had obtayned, would have followed this fable,
Devouring the elect all Chrystes lawes mitigant,
Depriving the truth, to rumpe every sillable
By craftie silogysmes and reasons variable,
With counterfet gloses, and sense tropologicall,[1]
Craftily sophisticate with reasons appliable,
Making them to appeare to seeme anagogicall.[2]

Thus would they have ruffled & rashed in their relatives,
Searching night and day *manipulus curatorum*,[3]
With the exornatory of Curates[4] and many inventives,
As *Dorme securè*[5] and Gesta Romanorum,[6]
With the annal usage of *Ceremones parati*,[7]
And the negotious search of *Sermones discipuli*,[8]
And many mo than these besides their decrees,
With constitutions and decretals, with suche suttle lyes.

'*Albertus de Secretis*[9] with *Phisionoma Scoti*,[10]
With much Arte Magike, as Negromancie
Some would studie Orminancie,[11] and some Piromancie,[12]
Some Idromancie,[13] some Geomancie,[14]

[1] Metaphysical, figurative; a secondary sense or interpretation of Scripture, applied to conduct or morals.

[2] Mystical, with a hidden spiritual sense.

[3] *B.M. Cat.*, s.v. Curates, shows edns. at Venice 1543-4 and 1566. MS or earlier printed edns. occur in English clerical wills.

[4] *Exornatorium* (or *Exoneratorium*) *Curatorum* (W. de Worde, ?1520; H. Pepwell, ?1530).

[5] *Sermones dominicales . . . alio nomine dormi secure . . . eoque absque magno studio faciliter possint incorporari et populo praedicari . . .* appeared in innumerable edns. 1475-1530 (*B.M. Cat.*, s.v. *Sermones*).

[6] Introduced to achieve both ridicule and rhyme.

[7] Properly *Sermones Parati de tempore et de sanctis*; for edns. see *ibid.*, s.v. Paratus.

[8] *Sermones discipuli* (i.e. the Dominican, Joannes Herolt) *de tempore per circulum anni*. A dozen edns. appeared c.1475-1509. The book included a section on the Miracles of the Virgin (*ibid.*, s.v. Herolt).

[9] The suppositious work *De Secretis Mulierum*, of which at least ten printed edns. appeared 1478-1538 (*ibid.*, s.v. Albertus Magnus).

[10] The *Liber Phisionomie* of Michael Scott, transformed by legend into a magician; there had been many printed edns., some bound with the *De Secretis* (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Scott Michael; *B.M. Cat.*, s.v. Scott, Sir Michael; Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, nos. 14542 *seqq*).

[11] Perhaps a corruption related to 'hermetic', i.e. dealing with occult science, especially with alchemy.

[12] Divination by fire.

[13] Hydromancy, divination by water, or the pretended appearance of spirits therein.

[14] Divination by lines and figures, formed by throwing earth on some surface, later by jotting down on paper dots at random.

Some Pedomancie,[1] and some Ciromancie,[2]
Some Palmistrie, with the science Mathematice,
Lacking Christes musike and his geometrie,
With all his astrologie, and all his arsmetrice.

And also with their Metaphisiks, and arts supersticious
Over many to rehearse with their Philosophie,
Would have hindred Gods word to good men meticulous,
But thanks be to Chryst, and the high deitie,
Their purpose is defeted with all their vapiditie,
To the honour of god and our most christened Monarchie,
Our prince imperiall and flowre of Nobilitie,
Which the prelates named an uniust Heresiarchie.

Now therefore let all men which have inspiration
Looke for a sickle, for the harvest dothe approche,
Let them sing alleluia and make iubilation,
For the winter is past, and the sommer doth incroche,
To the Romane Artichrist and all his friends reproche :
Yea the Figtree is greene,[3] both faire and pulchritude,
My selfe of the small buddes a Sallet did incroche,
And me thought it was pleasant, right sweet and dulcitude.

For (thanked be God) sainct Francis cowle is spied,[4]
And sainct Brides head,[5] with sainct Hellyns quicking tree,
Their girdles invented, and their faire hayres died,
With their chaulke oled for the milke of our Lady.[6]
Sainct Sithe[7] and Trenians fast,[8] with works of idolatrie
As sainct Nicholas chair and sainct Anthonies bell,
With S. Katherins Knots, and S. Anne of Buckstones wel.[9]

And S. Wilfred Boorne[10] of Ripon to kepe cattel from pain,

[1] Apparently divination by the foot.
[2] Chiromancy, palmistry.
[3] Cf. Mark, xiii, 28-30; Luke, xxi, 29-32.
[4] Alongside the subsequent passage cf. *L. & P.*, xiii, xiv, indices, s.v. 'Images and Relics'. Some of the references which follow are obscure and some may be inaccurate.
[5] St. Bridget's head, removed from Down at the Reformation, was ultimately presented by Rudolph II to the Jesuits at Lisbon (Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 22).
[6] At Walsingham : 'instead of the milk of our Lady a piece of chalk or ceruse' (*L. & P.*, xiv(i), 402, p. 156; cf. *ibid.*, xiii(2), 101).
[7] St. Osyth, venerated at her monastery at Chich, Essex.
[8] On a St. Trinian's fast undertaken in 1537-8 by a Yorkshirewoman to injure the King and the Duke of Norfolk, see *Y.A.J.*, xxxiv, 381.
[9] Sir William Basset sealed up the wells at Buxton and sent St. Anne's image to Cromwell in August 1538 (*L. & P.*, xiii(2), 244, 256).
[10] *Sic* for bone. On the history of the bones and skull of St. Wilfrid see *Memorials of Ripon*, iii (*Surtees Soc.*, lxxxi), p. xx.

And his needle which sinners can not passe the eye,[1]
With S. John & S. Peters grease for to conserve the braine,
And S. Thomas hoode of Pomfret[2] for migreme and the rie,[3]
And S. Cuthberts standerd of Duresme to make their foes to flye,[4]
And S. Benets bolte, and S. Swithens bell,[5]
And Sainct Patrickes staffe and Sainct Williams head pardy,
And Sainct Cornelis horne,[6] with a thousand mo to tell.[7]

The sixth article of the rebels had complained concerning the King's lowborn ministers. Holme in reply rightly points to the recent character of most nobility and gentry in England :

'And further let them looke upon their owne gentlenesse,
Their estates, their bloud, and their long annositie,
And few of them shal find their own worldly noblenesse
Five degrees constant without mutabilitie.'[8]

And it is not without significance that a writer of ancient birth can go on to accept Fortune's Wheel, which turns

' . . . an Earle to a gentleman of small habilitie,
And a squire to a duke, thus is hir mutation.'

At this point our author becomes conscious that he has wandered much from his main theme and with a rare touch of humour makes *Anglia* intervene :

'Then *Anglia* the Empresse inclusive
Sayde, *Holme*, thy long processe and thy prolixitie,
Hath last so long from our matter fugitive,
That almost am I cast into a liturgie,
And drowned in a dumpe with a tremous extasie,
Therefore I beseech thee in this thing contentious,
To shewe what the commons dyd after this replye,
For the truth greatly to know I am desirous.'[9]

[1] A narrow passage in the crypt of Ripon, supposed to admit only the chaste. This superstition was put down in 1568 (J. S. Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents in the Diocese of York*, p. 164).

[2] The hat of Thomas of Lancaster preserved in the chapel of Pontefract (G. Fox, *Hist. of Pontefract*, p. 290).

[3] Rye-asthma; hay-fever.

[4] Most notably at the Battles of the Standard (1138) and Neville's Cross (1346).

[5] The relics of St. Swithin were kept at Winchester, where he had been bishop. In 1539 it was reported that 'St. Swithun and other reliques, whereabout abuse of hypocrisy was, are laid safe and not burnt' (*L. & P.*, xiv(1), 402, p. 156).

[6] Pope Cornelius is depicted with a horn; I am ignorant as to where it was preserved.

[7] G. iii—G. iiii. [8] G. iiii^{v}. [9] H. i.

She then asks Holme to describe the 'latter commotion',

> 'Doone by Sir Francis Bigot which maketh my heart fremeske
> For he was reconed one of the veritie perculent . . .'

Accordingly with unmitigated scorn he tells the story of Bygod and Hallam, followed by the executions of the leaders of both revolts.[1]

> 'And divers hang on Gallowes in irons well parate,
> And many of their adherentes in sundrie countreyes seere,
> As fugitives and vagabonds they are cleerely fugate.
>
> Ah, ah (quod *Anglia*) thou makest me to smile,
> But I pray thee why showest thou not Lincolnshire rebellion?
>
> Nor yet of Norfolke why doest thou not compile?

But the poet has an alibi; he pleads that these 'shires are very far distant from my habitacion' and that others should undertake the task.[2]

The final section of *The fall and evill success of rebellion* appears to have puzzled those students of the Pilgrimage of Grace who happened to lack acquaintance with its medieval background. It is entitled 'Of the Mouldwarp' and deals with the prophecies attributed to Merlin, which, as the State papers also clearly show, were widely current in the rebellious areas. The reader who wishes to understand these initially mysterious references should begin by reading *The Political Prophecy in England*, by Rupert Taylor.[3] This American work, too little known among us, explains the character and influence of medieval English political prophecy, which derived almost entirely from the *Book of Merlin* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Dr. Taylor did not, however, devote much attention to the Tudor manifestations of the Galfridian prophecy, even though he provided much of the background necessary for its educidation. From this work one might proceed to the first volume of H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS in the British Museum* (1883) which supplies an excellent guide to some actual manuscripts in which the Galfridian tradition of political prophecy came down through the centuries. Finally, T. D. Kendrick's *British Antiquity* (1950), though little concerned with political prophecy, serves to demonstrate the vitality of Geoffrey's influence throughout the Tudor age. Indeed, the succession of a Welsh monarch to the throne had greatly augmented this influence, since it fulfilled Geoffrey's account of the promise made to Cadwallader, last King of Britain, that his people should once again possess the land of their fathers. And Henry VII, naming his heir Arthur, had not failed to capitalise upon the legend.[4]

[1] H. ii^{v}—H. iiii. [2] H. iiii—H. iiii^{v}.
[3] *Columbia University Press*, 1911.
[4] Cf. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-7.

Returning to Wilfrid Holme, we find that he gives no clear explanation of the prophecies, since he can assume his readers to be already familiar with them. The 'Mouldwarp' prophecy, to which he principally refers, is more properly called the 'Prophecy of the Six Kings to follow King John'. Deriving ultimately from the *Book of Merlin*, it appears in manuscripts of various dates, English, Latin and French.[1] It acquired real political importance when it was used by Percy-Glendower faction against Henry IV :

> ' . . . . . Sometimes he angers me
> With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant
> Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies
> . . . And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff
> As puts me from my faith.'[2]

The essential feature of the Galfridian type of prophecy is that it represents historical figures by animals, and the political story by wars and adventures between them. The 'Prophecy of the Six Kings' begins accordingly with the Lamb of Winchester (usually understood to represent Henry III) whose heart is holy, but whose reign is troubled by insurrections. At his death his heir shall be in a strange land; this heir is the Dragon (Edward I, on Crusade at his accession) who shall terrify Wales from north to south and conquer many countries. He will be thought the best knight in the world and die on the borders of another land. To the Dragon shall succeed a Goat (Edward II) whose reign will bring hunger, death and loss of land to the realm. After the Goat shall follow a Lion (Edward III; in some versions typified by a Boar), who after early troubles shall make his people meek, pass through four lands in conquest, and wear three crowns before he dies. After him shall come an Ass (Richard II) with leaden feet, a steel head, a brass heart and an iron skin, who for a time shall relinquish government to an Eagle, after whose death it shall revert to the Ass. Finally a Mouldwarp, or Mole (Henry IV) shall become ruler of the land. His hide shall be as rough as a goat's skin and he shall be cursed of God for his misdeeds. A Dragon shall raise war against him and be joined by a Wolf and then by a Lion from Ireland. These shall drive the Mouldwarp from the country, leaving him only an isle in the sea, where after great trouble he shall die by drowning. England shall be divided into three parts by the conquerors and the heirs of England shall lose their inheritance.[3]

During several risings, variants of this farrago were skilfully manipulated by the astute, and credulously accepted by the simple. Before, during and after the Pilgrimage of Grace, Yorkshiremen found it more than tempting to make Henry VIII the Mouldwarp in place of Henry IV, and otherwise to elaborate the

[1] Cf. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 *seqq.*
[2] Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, pt. i, Act iii, sc. i.
[3] Taylor, *loc. cit.*; the most important text is printed as an appendix to Hall's edition of Laurence Minot's Poems (1887).

story in consonance with the facts of their time. Needless to add, the strong Percy interest involved in the Pilgrimage[1] added much to the significance of the traditional allegories.

What has Wilfrid Holme to say about these prophecies and their role in the rebellion? However modern his condemnation of scholastic learning, he is far from dismissing the Galfridian prophecy as moonshine. He merely argues that it cannot refer to the reign of Henry VIII. He points out that Henry III has always been accepted as the first of the six Kings and that hence Henry VIII must be the twelfth, 'except ye skippe at pleasure'. Moreover his present Grace in no way resembles the prophesied character of the Mouldwarp-King :

> 'The prophesie of the Mouldwarpe declareth he shal be
> A Caitife, a Cowarde, with a helderly skin :
> But is he a Caitife, when playnely we may see
> His protrature and vigor a very Herculine?
> And is he a cowarde the truthe to define,
> When in Fraunce and in Scotlande his noble chivalrie,
> And in many places mo so gloriously doth shine,
>
> That he is accounted a Gemme in activitie?'[2]

After further compliments to the King, Holme cites examples of prophecies which can have a double meaning and gives, as a local example, the curious lines current during the Pilgrimage :

> 'Foorth shall come a worme, an Aske with one eye,
> He shall be the chiefe of that meinye,
> He shall gather of chivalrie a full faire flocke,
> Half capon and halfe cocke,
> The chicken shall the capon slay,
> And after that shall be no May.'[3]

This is Galfridian in type, though not in detail. More distinctly deriving from the original source is the prophecy next discussed by Holme : that after Cadwallader's death 'the Britons shuld never more in Britaine raigne,' until Merlin's prophecies were fulfilled and Merlin's body translated back from Rome to Britain. The falsity of this prediction he regards as proved by the fact that Henry VII

> ' . . . . . Cadwallader's bloud renued
> And the King's Grace (i.e. Henry VIII) maketh Britons
> by number plural.'[4]

Then, after a suggestion that the Mouldwarp could possibly have been Edward IV,[5] Holme produces a purple passage skilfully identifying Henry VIII with a whole range of prophetic types :

[1] R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 133 rightly remarks that 'nearly all the leaders were the fee'd servants of the Percies or one of the abbeys if not of both'.

[2] I. iv. [3] I. iiv. [4] I. iii.

[5] On the ground that he 'soweth his seed fatherlesse in a strange land'. Phrases of this type occur in other senses and relating to other Kings in the earlier texts of the prophecy.

This is the Britishe Lion by Sibilla prophesied
This is the Egle surmounting, which Festome hathe notified,
This is the King anoynted, which S. Thomas specified,
This is the three folde Bul which Silvester magnified,
This is the King which S. Edward in words glorified,
Which shuld win Jerusalem with all the holy land,
And many realms mo, with the crosse of the Christ crucified,
By his abundant fortitude without dint of hand.[1]

Is not his grace a Lion and accompt his andacitie,
And a prodigious Egle high volant in things divine,
And anointed with faith by the spirite of veritie,
And of faith, hope and charitie, a fierce Bul in trine :
He hath obtained Christes crosse as they did vaticine,
With the heavenly Jerusalem above Ezechias,
Repairing the true temple in vertuous wayes to shine,
Maumetrie destroying as the vertuous Josias.

Ye[a] this is he which hath made al the Romain bels to ring
Without pul of hand, their false tongs papistical,
Having oil in his lampe he is a maiden King,
Though they take it otherwise by their senses carnal,
And in the true vale of Josephat the scripture canonical,
There is no doubt but his grace is sepelite.
For doubtlesse all the English prophesies autentical,
Concerning these matters by the King is whole condite.'[2]

Thus the poem proceeds to its close. A stanza of thunderous alliterations condemns the rebels, *Anglia* ascends in a cloud ('Adew, Holme, quod shee') and the poet, having been accorded an apocalyptic vision of the angelic host, ends with a patriotic prayer :

'Beseeching his prohennitie for the Kings magnificence,
That he may have long life, Gods word to fortifie,
And to send us of his body heire male for our defence,
All true espirites *Anglice* for to reioyce and magnifie.
Thus concluding by correction of the Kings maiestie,
And his Counsel honorable, with all those perfidious,
That with firm trust and hope beleveth Christ to iustifie
By his deed and his promise to make us all righteous.

The xiiii day of July componed and compiled,
In the xxix yere of the raigne of the viii Henry royall,
By Wilfride Holme unlearned, simply combined,

[1] For other mid-sixteenth century recollections of these prophecies in Brit. Mus. Sloane MS 2578 see H. L. D. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-4; likewise on the 'maiden King', mentioned below.

[2] I. iii—I. iii[v]. I am not clear whether this metaphorical fulfilment of the old prophecies is Holme's original idea; it seems almost too clever for him!

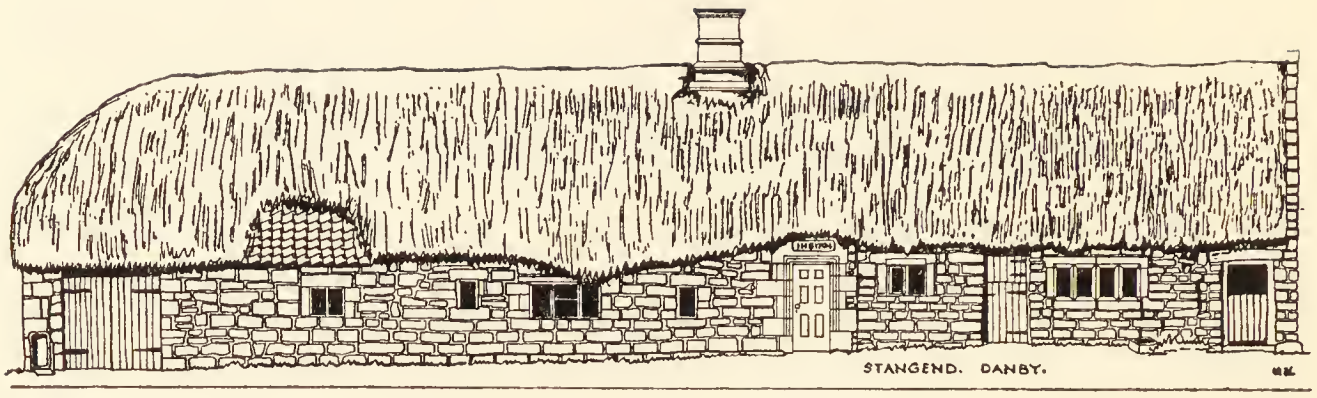
As a Pigme to writing with Hercules for triall,
In Huntington in Yorkshire commorant patrimonial,
Pretending and intending with Gods grace, to endever
My selfe to worship the Lord sempiternall,
Whereby I may be iust to my God and Prince for ever.'[1]

The foregoing summary should serve to indicate that Wilfrid Holme has been among the more unjustly neglected figures of Yorkshire history, and this largely because we have not yet learned to look at literature—and in particular at verse—with a historical eye. Like so much else in the Tudor age, Holme's poem is deceptively antique in form, yet often modern in spirit. If its verses sometimes look back to the age of Lydgate, its sentiments form a classical exposition of Reformation Erastianism, together with no slight anticipation of the Puritan outlook. And that Holme's own influence proved so limited is partly due to the historical inconsistency of those two latter viewpoints. Holme wrote too early to be effective. Had he survived into the last reactionary years of Henry VIII, his devotion to the King might well have been shaken by the stern repression imposed upon people little more 'advanced' in religion than himself.

Among the most striking attributes of our poem is its early date; parallel views were in fact being widely expressed in the reign of Edward VI, but to find them in the heart of Yorkshire ten years earlier underlines the complexity of our provincial life during the crisis of the Reformation. The popular notion that the Pilgrimage of Grace was a struggle between romantic papalists and land-greedy squires will not survive any serious study of the State Papers, even the serious study of Aske's Confession itself.[2] Holme merely provides one more illustration of the falsities entailed by these modern simplifications of the Tudor North. *The fall and evill success of rebellion* seems more than worthy of study against the background of the critical fourth decade of the century. On the other hand, it cannot be claimed as an epoch-making book of the Reformation. Written to glorify Henry VIII as the liberating and gospel-spreading agent of God, it inevitably placed itself in a false position and consequently attained publication only in time to serve as a minor propaganda-piece in the creation of Gloriana.

[1] I. iiii^{v}.

[2] Note, e.g. how Aske's explanation of the commons' grievances, with their economic flavour (*English Historical Review*, v, 335-6) differs from his own idealism, expressed elsewhere in the document.



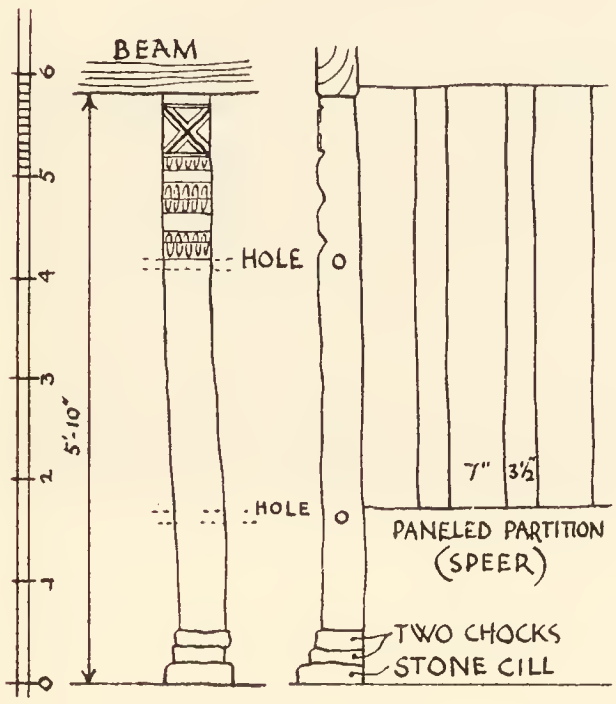
WITCH POSTS AND EARLY DWELLINGS IN CLEVELAND.

By Mary Nattrass, A.R.I.B.A.

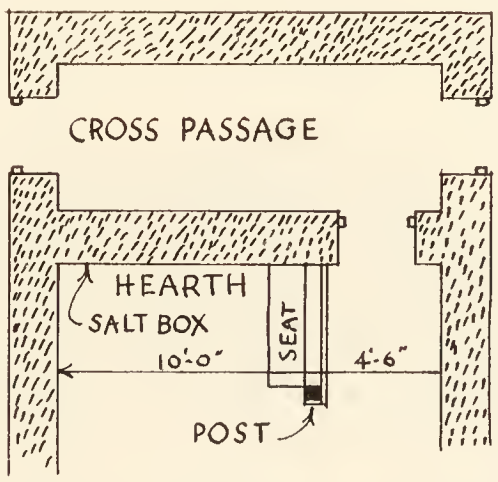
In parts of upper Eskdale, in the Cleveland National Park, there are several surviving examples of early dwellings having witch posts in position. Witch posts are rare. Two examples exist in the Pitt Rivers museum in Oxford, and one in the Whitby museum. All are from the North Riding. In the Whitby museum a note under the example says :—"The witch post was part of the framework of the house, usually fixed under a cross beam of the timber structure. Although wood used for the beams was of oak, the post was made of mountain ash (Rowan tree) and was marked by an incised cross. Its purpose was to prevent witches entering the house and its position was inside the doorway as shown on the plan. It formed the end post of a wooden partition or 'ceiling'. The custom is of very remote antiquity and a remarkable relic of superstition. It is only found in old houses with early timber construction known as 'crutch' framework, and not in all of these, for in some parts of Yorkshire the witch post is quite unknown." The post in Whitby museum was presented by the late Mr. R. Lionel Foster, J.P., when East End Cottage was demolished on his Egton estate. (Plate Ia). The plan of the cottage displayed in the museum by the late H. P. Kendall shows the position of the witch post in relation to the hearth and this is typical of all the examples. The information and the drawing of the post are by permission of the Museum Authorities. I doubt whether witch posts are invariably associated with cruck construction, as the Museum statement suggests. We know that they are clearly associated with the fireplace and therefore form part of the absorbing problem of fireplace and 'firehouse' development in early building types. In Cleveland the witch post tradition is still in the consciousness of builders and stone masons, largely owing to this hearth relationship. We find that Bugle cottage, Egton—originally a thatched cottage on crucks, was re-built in 1927 and the old plan reproduced even to its old witch post,

WITCH POSTS

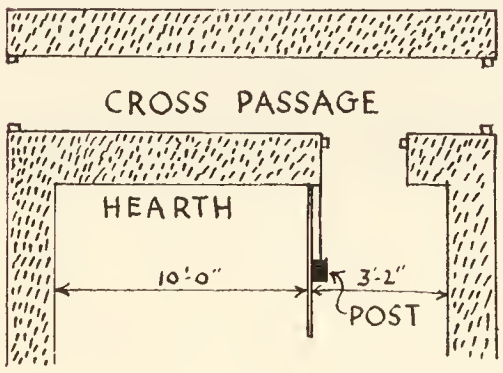
FROM GLAISDALE & EGTON all right hand posts.



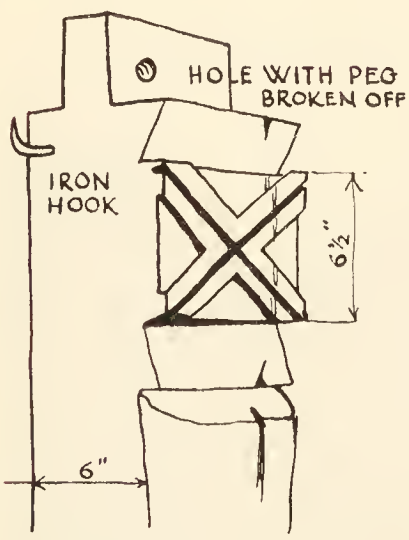
QUARRY FARM GLAISDALE



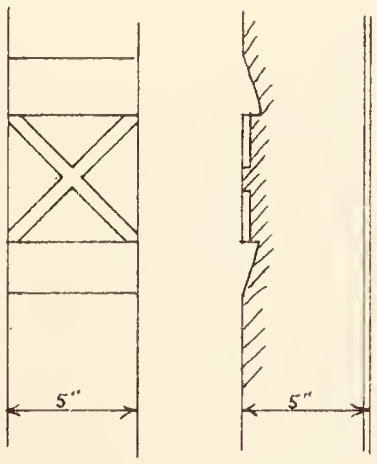
DELVES COTTAGE NEAR EGTON



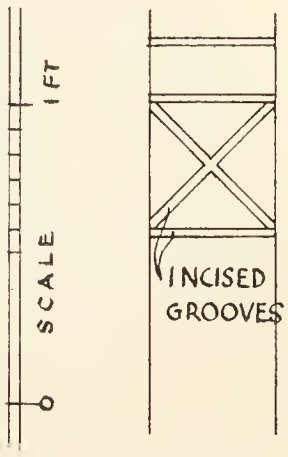
BUGLE COTTAGE EGTON



WHITBY MUSEUM
from
EAST END COTTAGE
EGTON



BUGLE COTTAGE
EGTON



LANES FARM
GLAISDALE

[TWO NEW POSTS REPLACING OLD ONES]

M.N.

FIG. 1.

which was re-made out of a Rowan tree on the Foster estate by the carpenter, Mr. John Agar. Mr. Agar remembers another cruck cottage pulled down near the saw mill which contained a good example of a witch post. Another example is at Lanes Farm, Glaisdale. Mr. George Harland of Glaisdale, stone mason, tells me that during the last war he worked on an alteration job at Lanes Farm and recalls that the old witch post was removed and a new post put in its place and some markings put upon it. I recently had a chat with the farmer who recalled the old witch post. He said it was rotten at the base and added that the cats always sharpened their claws on it. Also at Glaisdale, on the road up the valley, there stands Quarry farm. This house has had the walls raised, and has a new roof now tiled. Forty or so years ago there were earth floors. It contains a well preserved witch post. Measured drawings of the Egton and Glaisdale witch posts are given in fig. 1. A photograph of the Quarry farm post is given in (Plate IIa).

Mr. Harland gave me a clue to this surprising perpetuation of ancient features. He said that the old custom was that when a house was re-built a piece of the old building, preferably the fireplace, must be left incorporated in order to preserve and give proof of the Common rights of the householder. I had already heard of this custom in Danby in this form:— "The salt cupboard in the old man's cottage was proof that it had once been a farm and had Common rights on the moor." Salt cupboards were at the side of the fireplace. It would be natural to preserve the beam and its supporting witch post as a sign of Common rights, and to reproduce well known features. The Common rights are the taking of peat, bracken, stones, etc., from the surface of the moor, and the grazing of sheep.

It was the late Mr. Joe Scales, a stone mason and reader of verse in the Yorkshire dialect, who first gave me a clear account of the function of the witch post. He said that the witch, in order to gain power over a dwelling house, must go through the house and past the hearth. The door and chimney were the only means of access, but she could not pass the witch post with its cross. Hence it was a defence at the hearth or focus. The post was a repository also. Mr. Scales said that a crooked sixpence was kept in a hole at the centre of the post. When the butter would not turn you took a knitting needle, which was kept for the purpose in a groove at the top, and with it got out the sixpence and put it in the churn. This neutralised the witchcraft. Mr. Scales quoted the witches' complaint :—

> "Oh Master, oh Master, we can't do no good
> She's got a witch cross made o' mountain ash wood".

There is a reputed witch post, now boarded in, at Delves cottage on the hill to the south of Egton bridge. The cottage has crucks. It has also a date 1713 on the chimney. The living

PLATE Ia



Photo - Whitby Museum

East End Cottage, Egton.

PLATE Ib.



Photo - Nattrass

The Nest, Danby.

PLATE IIa.



Photo - Nattrass

Quarry Farm, Glaisdale.

PLATE IIb.



Photo - Punch

Stangend, Danby.

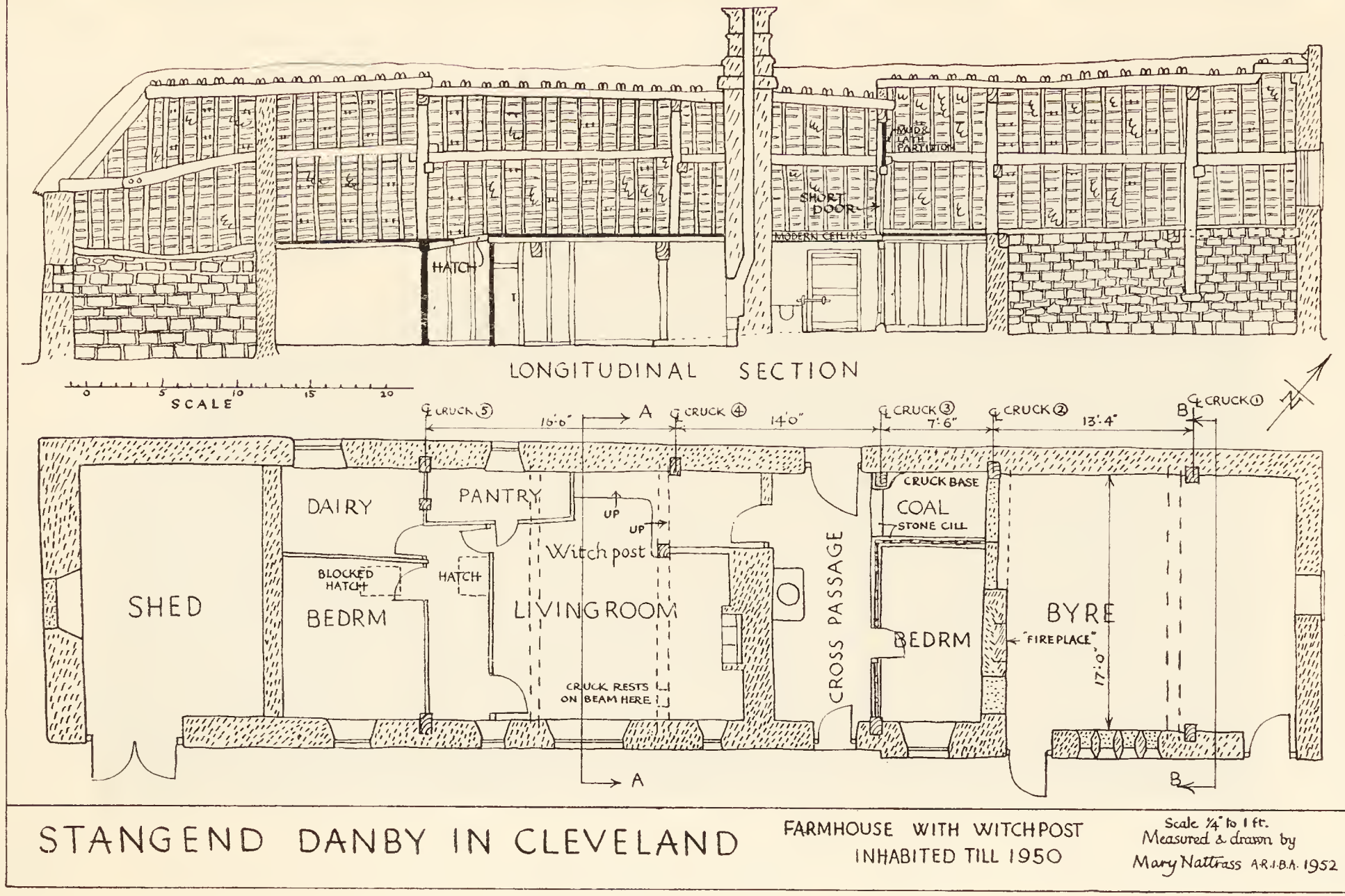

LONGITUDINAL SECTION
HATCH
SHORT DOOR
MODERN CEILING
BOARD & LATH PARTITION
SCALE
0 5 10 15 20
℄ CRUCK ⑤
16'6"
A
℄ CRUCK ④
14'0"
℄ CRUCK ③
7'6"
℄ CRUCK ②
13'4"
B
℄ CRUCK ①
DAIRY
PANTRY
UP
UP
Witch post
CRUCK BASE
COAL
STONE CILL
SHED
BLOCKED HATCH
HATCH
BEDRM
LIVING ROOM
CRUCK RESTS ON BEAM HERE
CROSS PASSAGE
BEDRM
BYRE
FIREPLACE
17'0"
A
B
STANGEND DANBY IN CLEVELAND
FARMHOUSE WITH WITCHPOST
INHABITED TILL 1950
Scale ¼" to 1 ft.
Measured & drawn by
Mary Nattrass A.R.I.B.A. 1952

FIG. 2.

room is now ceiled at the level of the roof collars with the old pew sides from Egton church. It has, apparently, not had, at any time, a sleeping loft, nor a floor inserted, and gives some idea of the space in a small cruck house of the simplest kind.

The house known as the Nest at Ainthorpe, Danby, (Plate Ib) contained a witch post which, according to Jack Weatherell, stone mason, had no carving on it. He told me that it had been chopped up for fire logs and the horrified owner had it clasped together again with bands by the blacksmith. Joseph Ford, stone mason, in his book *Some Reminiscences of Danby Parish and District.* (Horne and Sons, Whitby, 1953) mentions this house as representing what he classified as the earliest extant building type in the district. It was pulled down in 1939 for road widening.

The house in Danby parish known as Stangend, still standing tucked away under Winsley Hill, is a fine example of the house on crucks. The south front (Plate III) can be seen from the railway line just before entering Danby station. It is often spoken of as the old Vicarage. Traces of foundations in the river bank below it suggest that a 'stang' bridge (that is to say a wooden footbridge) may at one time have existed as an approach to the church. But a glance at the plan (fig. 2) shows that Stangend is clearly the early "long house" of the kind occupied for centuries by the yeoman farmer. It has the cross passage with external doors opposite each other; from this passage there was, and is, access to the "house place" on the left, and on the right there was the byre, or alternatively offices of various kinds. This is one of the parental plans found all over England and Wales. Here the successive periods of adding to, or altering, (whatever may have been their sequence), have not in fact obscured it. The screen, the bressumer beam, the witch post and salt boxes, are in their characteristic places. There is no trace of a staircase, but loft floors and a hatch survive, and access may at all times have been by a ladder. In many north country examples the little loft staircases usually incorporated with the fireplace (as in Devonshire and Welsh examples) are conspicuous by their absence. In the house place it may well be that dairy and bedroom, or chamber, are still in their original positions. Turning to the byre end, I am informed by Jacky Cornforth, the thatcher, who lived here for a time, that there was once a partition in the byre under the cross beam, and that cows were kept on one side and beasts on the other.

Interesting points in the construction of Stangend illustrated on my measured drawings (see Figs. 2 & 3) are as follows. The entire length of thatched roof is carried on roof tree and 'side trees' or purlins supported on five pairs of crucks and cross walls. The lofts are supported on beams resting on the side walls independent of the crucks. Access to the main loft, which has been slept in within living memory, is through a hatch. A short door, or 'pop hole' seen in section B.B. gave access from the



Stangend, Danby.

Photo - Clemmitt

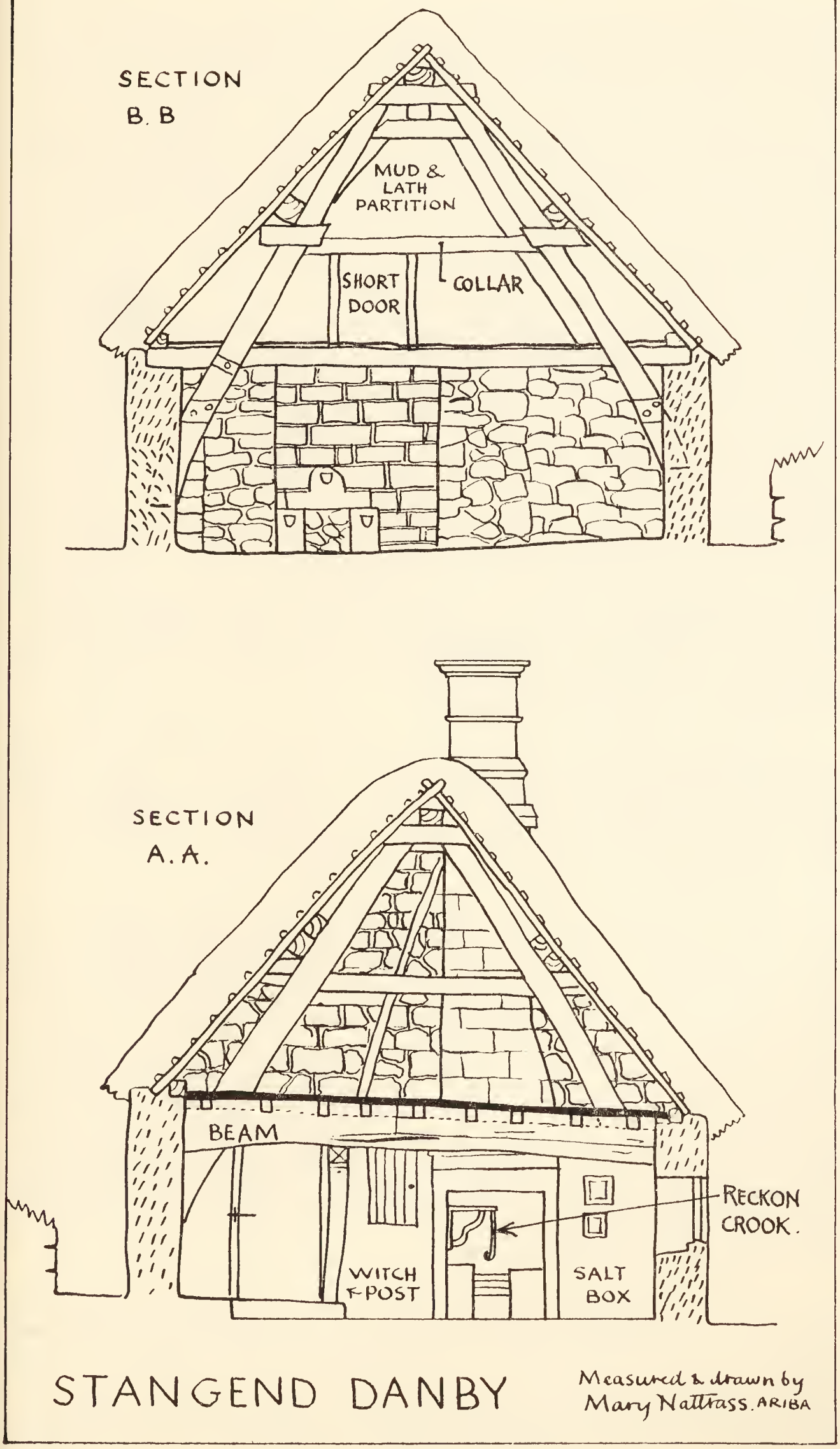

SECTION
B. B
MUD &
LATH
PARTITION
SHORT
DOOR
COLLAR
SECTION
A. A.
BEAM
RECKON
CROOK.
WITCH
POST
SALT
BOX
STANGEND DANBY
Measured & drawn by
Mary Nattrass. ARIBA

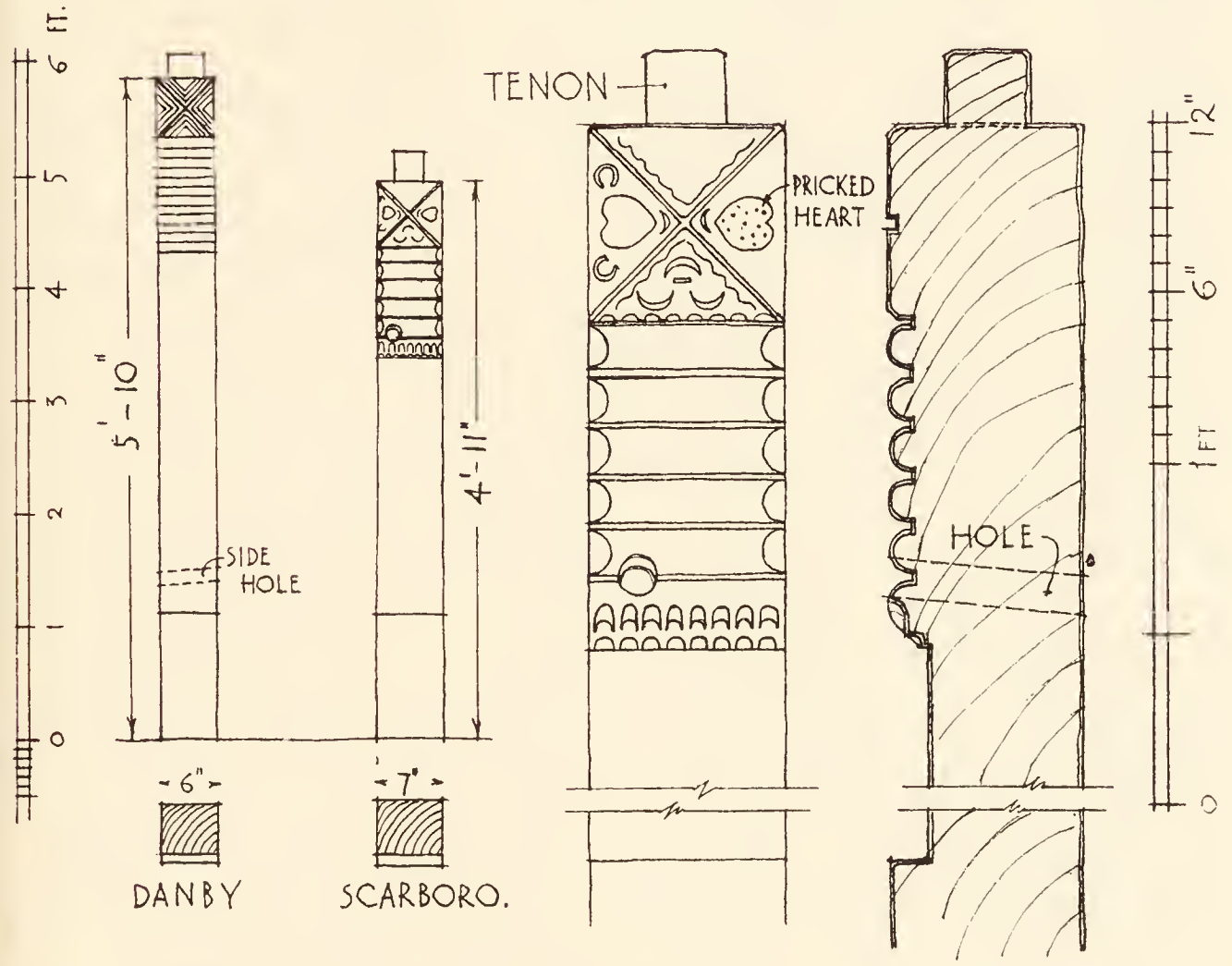
FIG. 3.

cross-passage to the loft in the byre. The crucks may have been originally old timbers re-used and have certainly been altered and collars and cross beams cut about. Transferring the cross beams from a load on the crucks, to a load on a wall plate on a wall, is of course the intruding of the later technique. Wherever crucks continue late in history the two techniques become confused. Also where walls have always been stone or rubble capable of carrying beams (and not merely wattle and daub) there must have been always a pre-disposition to true bearer beams as it were in competition with the cruck and its carrying power. I have numbered the crucks for reference. In No. 4 the right hand blade has been cut away and now bears on the bressumer. Its collar is still in place. In No. 3 the left hand blade rests on seating stones about 15″ high and stands within and not enclosed by the wall. The wall to the byre has been cut and closed up showing doors at different periods. In it there is a curious opening ornamented with three carved heads called locally "the fireplace", although there is no chimney here. The chimney gable in the house is blackened and there may have been a smoke hood against it before the existing Queen Anne chimney was built. The capping of the chimney is formed of two large stones hewn out for the flue as ascribed by Mr. Joe Ford to the earliest chimney type. The side walls appear to be of an earlier walling than gables and chimney, which probably belong to the improvements of 1704 the date over the main doorway.

At Stangend the witch post is also the "eck post" or "heck post" supporting the screen between door and fire. This screen under different local names is a feature of early dwellings. The post has a hole to take peg; an old north country usage was to fix a cow hair in it and clean wool combs on it.

In 1946 the Whitby Naturalists' Club paid a visit of inspection to Stangend and studied the witch post as part of the hearth complex. They drew attention to the double billet under the cross. To quote from their report "No answer was forthcoming when it was asked what was the significance of the billets. Why should one witch post have two, another one, and why should others have as many as six, and even eleven, of these horizontal bands? Might it not indicate the number of persons requiring protection?" And another baffling question also arises. How is it that witch posts seem to be confined to our region? The recent studies in Welsh, Devonshire, and Irish early dwellings reveal the other elements of the hearth complex mentioned here, but so far not the witch post.

In 1893 Canon Atkinson (author of our Dales classic *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*) sent to the Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford a witch post from a "shoemaker's shop" Danby. There seems now to be no record of the exact site of this shop, but there is a sketch by Atkinson in the Pitt Rivers Museum, showing the relation of post to entrance door, to fireplace, and salt boxes.


TWO YORKSHIRE WITCH POSTS IN THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM OXFORD.
6 FT.
5
4
3
2
1
0
5'-10"
SIDE HOLE
4'-11"
6"
7"
DANBY
SCARBORO.
TENON
PRICKED HEART
HOLE
12"
6"
1 FT
0


WITCH POST, HEARTH, & SALT-BOX. AFTER A SKETCH BY ATKINSON IN THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM OXFORD 1896.
BEAM
SALT BOX
WITCH POST
SHOEMAKER'S SHOP. DANBY. YORKSHIRE.

FIG. 4.

This is the normal arrangement. This shoemaker's shop drawing is given in fig. 4. There is another witch post at Oxford belonging to the original Pitt Rivers collection. It came from an old house in Scarborough and the head of this post is the most complete in respect of anti-witch symbols. The Pitt Rivers entry is "Post belonging to a seat on a hearth of an old house in Scarborough. Carved with representations of a cross, heart stuck with pins and different (*query*) phases of the moon, for the purpose of keeping off fairies (altered later to witches)." This witch post has a definite Jacobean character. Measured drawings of the two Pitt Rivers examples have been made by Mr. Hope Bagenal and are reproduced by permission of the Museum authorities. In *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish,* Canon Atkinson gives many references to the power of the Rowan tree in defence against witches but no mention of the witch post. But in the second edition 1891 there is an Appendix H. on "Primitive Dwelling Houses", containing a description of an early deserted house (name and place not given). He finds evidence that this house had no chimney at all before 1656, and that fire place and chimney had been added after that date. Referring to the fireplace addition he says (p. 454) "and the post placed beneath (the beam of the fireplace) in order to support it . . . now hangs suspended from the beam through decay of its lower end, showing some rough ornamental carving on its inner face. From this support . . . there was a panelled screen such as to shut off some of the draught entering the house through the door which opened in the gable wall." This is undoubtedly an example of the hearth complex we are studying and the post may have been a witch post. If Canon Atkinson's dating is correct this places the introduction of the "fire house" with beam and chimney together with eck post or witch post into primitive cottage building in this district in the second half of the 17th century. The term "eck" or "heck" is used in north country dialect for a screen in this particular position. Although the last English trial for witchcraft was 1712, belief in witches continued well into the middle of the 19th century in this district. Mr. Joe Ford (*op. cit.*, p. 95) mentions that the cross was cut on the witch post by the parish priest, and that it was the St. Andrews cross. But whoever made the posts, at whatever time in history, they seem to stand sentinel over hearth and home. A recent relic of hearth cult is to be seen in the popular belief that at a farm known as Haggaback not far from Danby the fire was preserved and not allowed out for a hundred years. A map showing the position of the buildings referred to is given in fig. 5.

I have from Mr. Hope Bagenal a note on witch posts as follows :—

"The persistence of witchcraft seems to be connected also with rural economy. The witch was said to take the form of a hare and suck the cows in the field dry; also she caused disease in the byre, and bewitched the cream in the churn. That is to say she embodied the common hazards of animal husbandry—

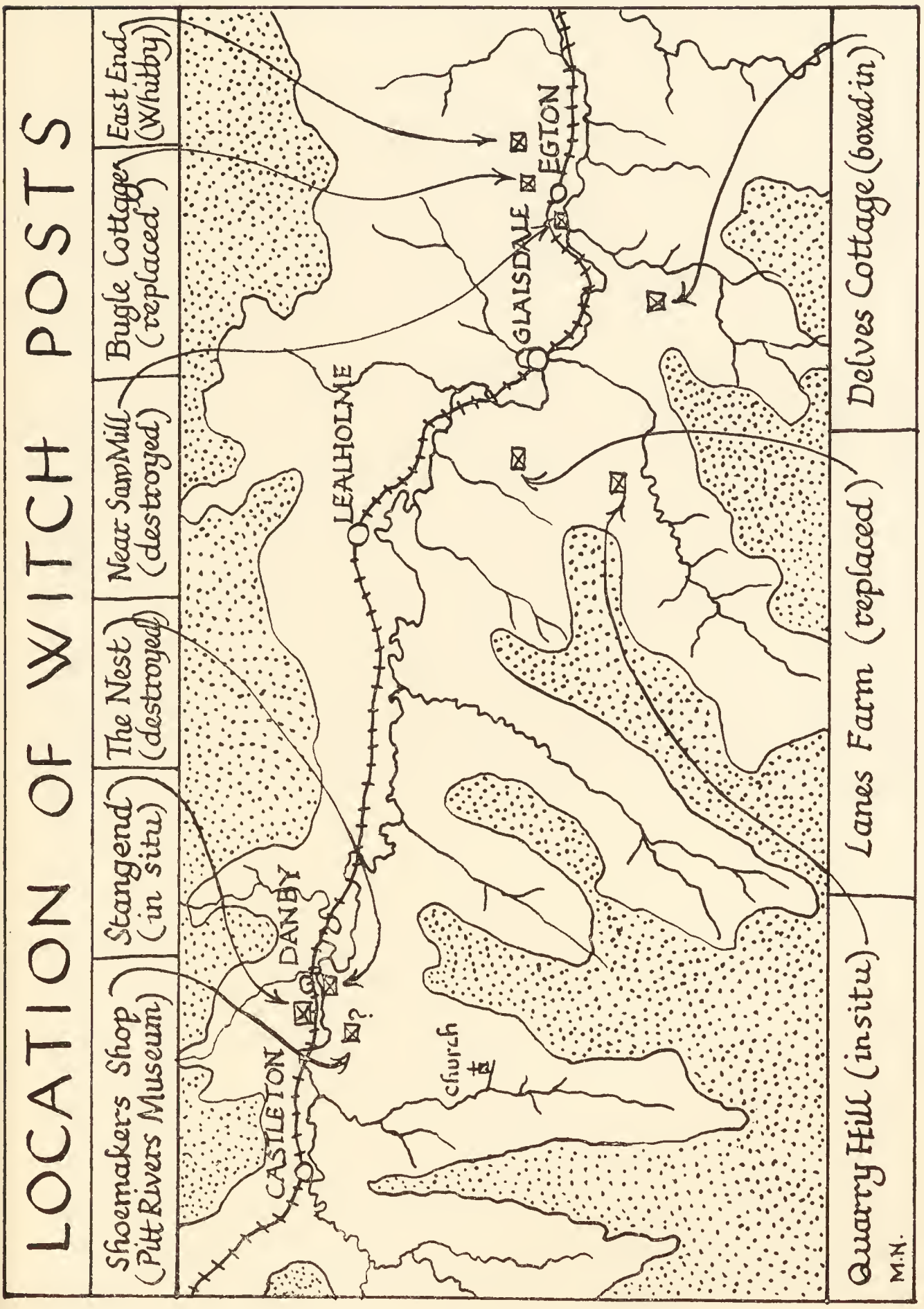

LOCATION OF WITCH POSTS
Shoemakers Shop (Pitt Rivers Museum)
Stangend (in situ)
The Nest (destroyed)
Near Sawmill (destroyed)
Bugle Cottage (replaced)
East End (Whitby)
Quarry Hill (in situ)
Lanes Farm (replaced)
Delves Cottage (boxed in)
LEALHOLME
GLAISDALE
EGTON
CASTLETON
DANBY
Church
M.N.

FIG. 5.

decline of milk yield, contageous abortion in the byre, and the mysteries of successful butter and cheese production. And when capital values in stock increased in the reign of Elizabeth and James, giving the yeoman farmer his chance, and when more beasts were congregated in larger byres it was natural that the health of stock became more important and more hazardous. Then, in the absence of any veterinary science, all cattle disease was attributed to witchcraft and special attention paid to witch doctoring symbols such as the witch post. It was a form of insurance for a vital need. But it also explains the authority of the 'wise man' or amateur vet. The description in Atkinson (p. 108) of the technique of John Wrightson, the Wise Man of Stokesley, closely resembles that of the modern witch doctors of pastoral tribes in Africa. The resemblance is not only in the traditional aids to detection, and in remedies that seem to us fantastic, but also in the organised collecting of information by the wise man through personal channels over a large rural area. The wise man observed and noted. And before we dismiss him and his *juju* let us recall the following : this close watch during the 18th century on animals and on those who tended them, led to the gradual consciousness that the milk maids in the 'long house', living so close to their cows suffered from cow pox, but that those who caught cow pox escaped small pox : and this as we know led to early inoculation and eventually to vaccine treatments."

The writer wishes to thank all those people who have supplied information and photographs, those who gave permission to inspect, measure, and draw, and particularly Mr. Hope Bagenal, F.R.I.B.A., without whose encouragement and help this article would not have been written.

WORSBOROUGH GRAMMAR SCHOOL.[1]

By P. J. Wallis, M.A.

The 1944 Education Act envisaged a great extension of secondary education, but it is often not realised how widespread this was in the past. Worsborough Grammar School is an excellent example of a school which was once well known, numbering 'among its alumni the sons of the principal gentry in the neighbourhood', but which, by the nineteenth century, was only providing elementary instruction.[2] Even today the old school still continues, but local children selected for Grammar Schools attend at Barnsley.

The earliest known local reference to a school is unfortunately undated but probably refers to a period about 1400.[3] In a legal case[4] in 1626, between Richard Elmhirst and the Lords of the Manor, Gervase and Elizabeth Hanson, concerning the feudal rights of the Elmhirst family, one of the questions asked of witnesses was 'whether doth it thereby [i.e. in the Worsborough Court Rolls] also appear that the plaintiffs ancestors or generation or some of them have been reputed or esteemed as villeyns or bondmen of that Mannor or presented or fyned for putting their children to Schoole without licence of the Ladies Prioress of Nunapleton then owner of the said Mannor'. One of the witnesses replied : 'it doth alsoe appeare by the said Courte [Rolls] that some of the plaintiffs ancestors name or generation have been reputed used or esteemed as villeins or bondmen of that Mannor and fyned xl^{d} for putting his sonnes to schoole without licence and his daughters recorded as bondwomen'. The Court Rolls

[1] This article is intended to supplement the account given by Joseph Wilkinson in Chapters XXV and XXVIII of his *Worsborough: its Historical Associations and Rural Attractions*, 1872. See also Joseph Hunter's *South Yorkshire* (subsequently referred to as Hunter), 1828-31, ii, 298.

[2] Wilkinson, 374; *Charity Commission Report* xvii, 1827. 'Elementary' is used as meaning 'non-classical'. For an account of the mathematical teaching about 1820 see R. S. Williamson, "Grammar School Arithmetic A Century Ago, *Mathematical Gazette*, xiv, no. 194, May 1928, 128-33; this article is based on some exercise books presented to Nottingham University Library by Mr. W. G. Briggs who kindly drew my attention to them.

[3] It is possible, but unlikely, that the school referred to was at Barnsley where there was a chaplain, Sir Thomas, Magister Scolarum, in 1370. See E. Hoyle, *History of Barnsley and the Surrounding District*, 1924, Ch. XXXVI, §12. It is difficult to give a precise date for the beginning of most local schools, but the dates following may be associated with the schools named : Cawthorne-1455; Doncaster-1351; Penistone-1392; Pontefract-1075; Rotherham-1430; Sheffield-1275; Tickhill-1348/9; Wakefield-1298.

[4] I am indebted to Dr. Edward Elmhirst for this reference from the P.R.O. C21, E 19 No. 8, and for much other kind help. The case is discussed in his book *Peculiar Inheritance, A History of the Elmhirsts*, 1951, subsequently referred to as Elmhirst. The whole report is transcribed in *Elmhirst Evidences*, two manuscript volumes of family history culled from various sources.

quoted are not now extant so that the quotation cannot be verified. It is interesting that the next question referred to a Roll of 4 Henry IV (1402-3) and that all the dated examples showing the villein status of the family were before 1409.[1] In any case the fine would refer to a date before 1406, when the Statute of Apprentices[2] allowed all men and women to send their children to learn Latin at any school they pleased. During the previous century, and particularly after the Black Death, 'manor-rolls all over the country are dotted with fines for sending boys . . . to schools to become clerks'. Leach instanced an example of a villein at Coggeshall in Essex being fined the same amount, 3s. 4d., 'or some two months' pay of a skilled craftsman', for sending his son to school in 1344 without licence.[3] It is possible that one such escaped villein was Sir William of Elmhirst, who had land in Bolton in 1380, was Vicar there about 1402, and in -1403-15- was acting as a trustee for property in Ecclesfield.[4]

The date of this first reference to a school is significant because it suggests that the early school in Worsborough was probably connected with the chantry of Our Lady founded in 4 Edward I (1275-6); at this time many Lady priests were acting as schoolmasters. It is quite definite that later the school was associated with the Chantry of St. Catherine founded by Sir Robert Rockley in 1409 and confirmed by the Archbishop of York in 1418.[5] This last chantry had a rental of eight marks (£5. 6s. 8d.) which was paid to the Schoolmaster after the Chantry Acts.[6] After an inquisition at Rotherham on 28 Sept. 1613 the Commissioners of Charitable Uses reported :[7] 'Alsoe wee finde that there is a yearly stipend of five pounds six shillings eight pence, w^{ch} hath heretofore been given by his ma^{ties} progenit^{rs} yearly paid by his highnes officers at the Audit houlden for the ho^{nor} of Pontefract towards the maintenance and keeping of a free schoole in Worsbrough and that the same hath continued, and beene yearly paid ever since the time of King Henry the eight and is yet imployed to the said use'.

In 1673 the schoolmaster, Samuel Moore, reported :[8] 'That a stypend of Ciiij^{s} ij^{d} ob was granted in the time of King Edward the Sixt by Letter from Lord paget then Chancellor of the Duchy; & afterwards was payd in the Second & Third years of Phillip

[1] Elmhirst, 44.

[2] A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters . . .*, 1911, 386; J. E. G. de Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*, 1902, 28.

[3] A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, 1915, 206-7.

[4] Elmhirst, 17; *Y.A.J.* xii, 1893, 295; xvi, 1901, 94.

[5] Wilkinson, chap. XXIII.

[6] A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1896; W. Page, *The Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, Surtees Soc., xci-xcii, 1892-3.

[7] P.R.O. C 93/York 7/4B, m7; Leach, *V.C.H. Yorks.*, i, 476.

[8] 'Report given of the State of the ffree=Schoole of Worsborough in the parish of Darfield in the County of Yorke as itt was in 1673', Bodleian Library MS. C.C.C. 390/2/250. This was a reply to an educational questionnaire circulated from Oxford by Christopher Wase, one of the University Bedells. For the questions asked and more information about this important

& Mary to one Will : Wooley Clarke, then Curate of the Chappel of Worsborough, & even since[1] hath been payd to the Schoole= master there for the time being'. 'Not long after (the Mannor being thus holden by the Crown) the Queen's Bayliffe by her Ma^{ties} speciall appointm^{t} did sett out a parcell of Land of the Waste on the North side of the Chappel, whereupon the aforesd. Schoole was built.'

As this settlement was, in effect, the School's charter, it is summarised from the Court Rolls :[2] Worsborough Court of Elizabeth (etc.) held the 12th of June 1560. To this Court came William Elmehyrste and William Broddesworth and begged to be admitted copyhold-tenants, in order to build a school there, of a piece of Waste lying to the north of the cemetery, of approximately 26 yards length, from east to west, and of width 18 yards at the east end and 10 yards at the west end. The two Williams were granted the land, at a rental of 4^{d}, subject to manorial services.

Afterwards, at the same Court, they surrendered it to Robert Rockley, Esq., John Walker, Roger Elmhirst, son and heir apparent of the said William, Roger Castleforth, Thomas Slake, Parcivall Addye, John Cawood, Hugh France, Ralph Medley, John Wygfalle, Roger Gene, Roger Ellyson and William Crokkes for 'Syr William Wolley clarke nowe a Scolemayster . . . at Worsburgh . . . for as longe tyme as the same Syr William shal be able mete and sufficient and also diligent and willinge for to teache Scolers then as he nowe dothe . . .' If the schoolmaster was negligent then, after 'lawfull monyssion & warnynge' and non-amendment, he could be 'amoved & put forth' and another chosen in his place by the trustees.

Nothing is said about the election of new governors although the recurring phrase 'the said Robert Rockley, John Walker and over above-named tenants and their heirs' suggests that the governors were to be from the same families. Further details of these original governors and their relationship to each other can be found in Wilkinson and other local records. Wilkinson also gives, without any reference or date, a list of trustees which includes all those above except that Roger Castleforth is replaced by Thomas (this would appear to be a mistake), the name John

investigation, see the writer's article, *The Wase School Collection—A Neglected Source in Educational History*, The Bodleian Library Record, vol. iv, no. 2, 1952. In his letter to Wase, Moore supported his efforts 'for the prosperity of the Church & advancement of Learning', and obtained the help of one of the School's Visitors because he had only been 'lately elected into the place'.

[1] Leach (*V.C.H.*) also gave the reduction to £5. 4s. 2½d., and reported that it was then being paid out of the Duchy.

[2] A parchment copy is kept in Worsborough Church Vestry. For access to this and for many other kindnesses, I am greatly indebted to the Vicar, the Rev. I. Perry. The document has been photographed and transcribed by Dr. Elmhirst, *Elmhirst Evidences*, i, 67, and printed in the Parish Magazine.

Walker is given twice, and a John Hawksworth is added; the latter may have been Roger Castleforth's son-in-law.[1]

About 1600 the Puritan movement, particularly at Cambridge, had become quite influential. In the 1613 Inquisition the Commissioners were sufficiently impressed to report : 'Also wee find that John Rayney of London hath given the whole workes of M^{r} William Perkins in three bookes to bee & remaine in the chappell of Worsbrough for ever for the use of the preacher Schoolemaister & other well disposed Christians, to read upon, which said bookes are there now remaining & used accordingly'. Perkins was one of the leaders of Cambridge Puritanism and his works were very popular; one of his editors was William Crashaw, a local boy who became a well-known puritan preacher.[2] Apart from encouraging puritan preachers in London itself, the merchants there were anxious to spread their influence all over the country and had schemes for buying patronages and establishing new lectureships.[3] John Rayney was a 'citizen and draper of London', born near Worsborough, who left to the Drapers' Company property to make annual payments of £40 to a lecturer at St. Michael Cornhill, London, £30 for a lecturer at Worsborough, £6. 13s. 8d. for the poor of Darfield, and £13. 6s. 8d. 'for ever hereafter to and for the perpetual better maintenance of an honest, learned, religious, and sufficient grammar school-master in the town of Worsbrough aforesaid, to teach, instruct, and train up children and youth, as well in learning, writing and ciphering, as in the grounds of the religion now established in this realm, in that school-house or place which is now used for a school in Worsborough aforesaid, upon which I have heretofore bestowed some charge for the bettering thereof'.

In a codicil he arranged that if the Lectureship should cease, then the £30 should be split between relieving the poor (£13. 6s. 8d.) and the 'maintenance of a learned and able Schoole Maister' (£16. 13s. 4d.).

[1] Hunter's *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, Harleian Soc., (*F.M.G.*) iii, 901 gives Thomas Hawksworth, but Foster, *Yorkshire Visitations*, 344, gives Thomas or John. As Roger Castleforth was William Brodsworth's son-in-law, it is possibly that the 1560 Governors were the successors of an earlier set, of whom Brodsworth and William Elmhirst were the only ones alive.

[2] For Perkins, see L. B. Wright, *William Perkins : Elizabethan Apostle of 'Practical Divinity'*, Huntingdon Library Quarterly, iii, 171-96, and C. Hill, *Puritans and the Poor*, Past and Present, Nov. 1952, 32. For Crashaw, see *D.N.B.*; W. T. Freemantle, *Bibliography of Sheffield and Vicinity*, 1911, 56; C. M. Stopes, *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton*, 1922; *Notes and Queries*, March 1954, 101.

[3] For interesting details of these lectureships, see *The Life of Master John Shaw*, Surtees Soc., lxv, 1876, in which Bradfield-born John Shaw relates his experiences as a Lecturer in Devon and York before his appointment as Vicar of Rotherham in 1639. Fuller, *The Church History of Britain*, Book XI, 1655 edn., 136-7, gives the names of the leading promoters, the twelve Feoffees for Impropriations, whose activities were ended by Laud's opposition in 1633.

One of the supervisors appointed was Sir Gervase Cutler, who wrote shortly afterwards :[1] 'It was ordered & agreed upon accordinge to his will (for the first quarter after the Intestat death) that for the Schoole, Mr. Shawe should be the Schoole M^{r} there & teach the Grammarians within the Chapelrie of Worsburgh onely for every one of them iij^{s} iiij^{d} a yeare, & the petties there for every one of them 2^{s} 6^{d} a yeare & have his liberty to take for out Schollers at his discretion. And that hee should fynd an Usher at his own chardge yearely, & allow dyet to a skrivener onely for one moneth or vj weekes yearely. All relieved of the Common boxe in Worsbrough subsidymen (?) there to pay nothinge to the Schoole Maister for their children yearely.'

It is interesting that the provisions of Rayney's will were carried out so quickly. The charges made were not unusual but, if they were implemented, they would show that Worsborough was not a Free Grammar School.[2] The stipulation that the Master should find his own usher was quite common and helped to avoid a school being considered as two independent units. It also indicates something of the size of the school as, although exceptions could be quoted, a school with master and usher would have between 50 and 100 pupils.[3] The phrasing used does not show whether an usher had been employed earlier. Cutler's phrase about the scrivener is closely similar to that used by Charles Hoole[4] describing how country grammar schools used 'to entertain an honest and skilful Penman, that he may constantly come and continue with them about a month or six weeks together every year, in which time commonly everyone may learn to write legibly'.

Answering another of Wase's questions, Moore wrote : 'A perfect catalogue of the Masters of the said School can not be had, yet nevertheless thus far we are able to go, as to mention the names of these persons who have succeeded one another from

[1] Extracts from Rayney's will, dated 25 Feb. 1631/2, proved April 1633, are given by Wilkinson in his chapter on the Lectureship. The codicil, dated 25 Feb. 1632/3, and Cutler's regulations (1633) are given in Bodleian Library, *Dodsworth MS.* 53.37.

[2] The school was usually called the Free (Grammar) School; see, for example, Tattershall at the 1682 Visitation, Kighley's account in *Magna Britannia*, and the report of Staniland's death. Cutler's order is a little ambiguous, as it could be read that Shaw was to be paid by the trustees at the stated rates—this interpretation would explain why the school was Free, but would not agree with the terms of Rayney's will. For a recent discussion of the term Free School, see S. J. Curtis, *History of Education in Great Britain*, 1950, 43.

[3] This suggestion agrees with the combined figure for 1743 (see below).

[4] *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*, E. T. Campagnac's 1913 edn., 283. This book was not printed until 1660, but was prepared in the thirties while Hoole was master at Rotherham Grammar School. This school was one of the earliest which is known to have made provision for writing. In his college Archbishop Rotherham arranged for a Third Fellow, learned in the art of writing and accounts, so that the boys might 'be better fitted for the mechanical arts and other worldly concerns'. [Y.A.S. xxxiii, 108. (The reference Y.A.S. is used for the various volumes of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series.)]

1600 till this present time, most of them Graduates, whose names are here subscribed : Hartley, Norton, Brownell M.A., John Bonner, William Ellison B.A., William Shaw, Thomas Walker M.A., George Longley M.A., Humphrey Shaw M.A., Ward, Richard Hanson B.A., Joseph Everard B.A., Thomas Audsley, Samuel Moore B.A.' From this and other sources we obtain the following list of Grammar School Masters.[1]

Wilkinson[2] prints from Torre a list of priests at St. Catherine's Chantry and it is probable that they all taught at the school; there is only definite evidence, however, for the last :—

1535-48- James Mallinson[3]
Presented by Sir Roger Rockley on 6 April 1535. Described as cantarist 1536/7. Continued as master in 1548.

-1558-64- William Woolley[4]
Also Curate of Worsborough. There was a Richard Hinchcliffe alias Woolley at Monk Bretton, who helped to write the chartulary c. 1530, and who occupied a chamber at Worsborough in 1558, having there some of the Priory Library, including books on physic and grammar. Richard was executor for the last Prior, William Brown, who died in 1558, and was associated with another ex-monk in 1559. The Master was summoned to York on 5 July 1564 but did not appear, possibly being dead.

(-1594-) . . . Hartley[5]
Possibly William, who was the first witness to a 1594 Worsborough deed, and may have matriculated at Pembroke College, Cambridge at Easter 1585, possibly coming from Ecclesfield, and marrying Hester, daughter of John Waterhouse of Cross Hill, near Halifax.

-1599- Francis Norton[6]
Probably of the Kettlethorpe family. Matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge c. 1591. Witnessed Worsborough feoffment and had a daughter baptised in 1599.

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[1] The list is not continued into the nineteenth century when the incumbents nominally held the position. Many of the details given are extracted from Foster's and Venns' university Alumni and from the registers of individual colleges—further references to these will not be given in the separate notes although extensive use has been made of them. Much help has been obtained from the deeds in the Worsborough Muniments (W.M.) at the Sheffield City Library; some of these have been printed in T. W. Hall's *Catalogue of the Edmunds Collection*, 1924, which will be briefly described as Hall. Like all other users of the York Diocesan Registry, I am greatly indebted to the help of the Rev. Dr. J. S. Purvis. The dates given have not always been proved absolutely, but seem to follow from the evidence quoted.

[2] 274. There are several other priests mentioned in Worsborough Deeds. Wilkinson (287) gives an early 16th century reference to 'John Hally, chaplain and . . . Roger Rockley his scholar'.

[3] Wilkinson, 272-4; Hall, 17-8.

[4] See above; *V.C.H. Yorks.*, i, 476; Wilkinson, 382; *Y.A.J.* xxxvii, 70; Hunter, ii, 275; Y.A.S. ii, 228; lxvi, 5; York R. vi, A.1, 85v.

[5] W.M. 287, 288; A. S. Gatty, *Ecclesfield Parish Register*, 85n, 120n, 126n; *F.M.G.* iii, 850n. William Hartley, M.A., was Master at Pontefract from 1594 until 1620 at least.

[6] *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, ii, 297; Hall, 27, where the name has been misread as Francis of Norton.

-1604 ROBERT BROWNELL[1]

Baptised Norton, 12 Jan. 1577/8, youngest child of Robert, scythesmith, of The Oaks, and his 2nd wife Dorothy (Parker). Matriculated as a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge c. 1597, B.A. 1600/1, M.A. 1604. Witnessed Worsborough grant in 1603, and wrote the Townend Trust Deed in 1603/4. 1604-14-, Curate and Master, Fillingham, Lincs. Ordained deacon 1608/9 and priest 1610, Canterbury. Probably Rector of Offham, Kent, 1632 to death, buried 20 May 1647.

-1609-14- JOHN BONNER[2]

He does not appear to have gone to the university and must not be confused with Thomas Bonner of Trinity College, Cambridge, who taught at Laughton, Rotherham and Chesterfield before his death in 1635. He may have been Thomas's elder brother and baptised at Rotherham 6 April 1577. This family of shoemakers appears frequently in the Feoffees' Accounts.

WILLIAM ELLISON[3]

Probably a local boy, matriculated as a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge at Easter 1604, B.A. 1607/8; ordained at York, deacon 1611/2, priest 1612. There are many references to one of these names in Worsborough records (including a Townend Trustee in 1603/4) so that identification is difficult; one married Jane Stanard by licence on 23 July 1609.

-1616-23 WILLIAM SHAW[4]

Probably baptised at Rotherham 9 Aug. 1594, eldest child of Brian of Greasborough, yeoman, and Ellen (Fyrthe). Apparently not at the university. It is probable that the reference to a Mr. Shaw teaching at Tankersley—1616-8— is a mistake for Worsborough. His daughter Helen was baptised at Worsborough in 1619, and his wife Dorothy buried in 1620. He was buried 26 Dec. 1623. In his will he was described as 'scholemaister at the Free Schoole of Worsbrough'; it was dated 24 Dec. 1623 and proved 15 April 1624 by his father, guardian of his two daughters; he mentioned his brother-in-law George Longley (next).

162.-7/8 GEORGE LONGLEY[5]

Matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge at Easter 1620, B.A. 1623/4, M.A. 1627. Married Anne, sister of previous master. Buried at Worsborough 19 Feb. 1627/8, 'scholemaister'.

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[1] Hall, 28; S. O. Addy, J. Derbs. Arch. Soc., xlv, 1923, 105.

[2] Moore's statement is the only definite evidence for John being at Worsborough. The dates given are those between which he taught Richard Meller of Ecclesfield, but this pupil did not give his school so that it is possible that he was educated at Ecclesfield or elsewhere in South Yorkshire. Richard of Rotherham, corvisor, died in 1592 apparently without children, making his brother William residuary executor, and remembering two brothers, John and William, who were probably his nephews and brothers of Thomas, born in 1595. The methods of teaching used by Thomas were described by Charles Hoole (see p. 152 note 4). It is likely that they would resemble John's methods as well.

[3] For some of the references see Wilkinson, 15, 295, 334; Hall, 27, 29, 40, 43; W.M. 310, 311, 315, 316, 330, 338.

[4] A section of Rotherham baptisms seem to be entered as burials—at this time they do not give parent's names. Caius College *Biographical History*, 1897, 242. Wilkinson, 334. The wills and administration from York Probate Registry mentioned in this article have been obtained by the writer, by the late Mr. E. Thompson or by his widow, Mrs. M. Thompson.

[5] It will be noticed that Moore's order of masters has been changed slightly. It would seem natural for Longley to succeed his brother-in-law, and the known dates for the next masters fit better. George Longley may be referred to in *F.M.G.* iv, 1207.

-1630- Thomas Walker[1]
Matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge,[2] Easter 1623, B.A. 1626/7, M.A. 1630. Probably connected with the Walkers of Rockley Old Hall—John has already been mentioned as an original governor, while Obadiah, one of the school's most celebrated products, would be Thomas's pupil. Occurs as witness in 1629/0.

-1633-40- Humphrey Shaw[3]
Possibly his father, of the same names, living at Worsborough in 1612, having buried his wife Joan in 1610. Matriculated as a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, Easter 1629, B.A. 1632/3, M.A. 1636. As 'A.M., Darfield', in 1636 licensed to marry Darce Baites, spinster, Silkstone, and had a son, Eusebius, born in 1637. Mentioned at York in 1640. Possibly teaching privately at Bamborough c. 1650.

. . . . . Ward[4]
Identification is difficult without Christian name or degree. Possibly related to the Robert Ward of Christ's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1607/8, who was ordained Curate of Worsborough in 1610. He was most likely Ralph, Master of Denby School -1618-1646-, whose son Ralph was a prominent Congregational minister, ejected from Hurtburn in Northumberland. The father himself was a signatory in 1646/7 to a certificate protesting against the Vicar of Penistone.

-1650-1657/8 Richard Hanson[5]
Baptised at Worsborough 25 May 1622, son of Gervase, steward at Stainborough and Worsborough, who married Elizabeth, Lady of the Manor of Worsborough, 2nd daughter of John Booth, influential servant to the Earl of Shrewsbury and who bought Worsborough Manor from the Crown in 1612. Elizabeth was the widow of William Castleford, grandson of Roger the original governor. Richard matriculated at University College,[6] Oxford, 17 July 1640, aged 17. Elected bible reader on 3 Jan. 1642/3 and resigned 9 May 1644. Elected to minor exhibition on the Freeston foundation 27 April 1644 and apparently expelled for non-appearance. There is no other evidence to support the degree given by Moore. Appears as witness to Worsborough deeds in 1650. Had a son Richard born in 1654 and a posthumous daughter Susan in 1658; he himself was buried at Worsborough on 27 Jan. 1657/8, described as schoolmaster.

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[1] Wilkinson, 71, 385; S. O. Addy, *The Addy Family of Darton, Y.A.J.* xxvii, 1924, 186-7; W.M. 315-6.

[2] Of the Cambridge colleges, the School seems to have had the closest connection with St. John's, which was in organised connection with many other Yorkshire schools. Trinity had a moiety of the Worsborough tithes (Wilkinson, 279-80).

[3] See Cutler's order above; W.M. 971; York R. vi, C.15a; Y.A.S. xl, 89. Humphrey appears to have been at Rotherham because Eusebius, when admitted at Magdalene College, Camb. in 1656 (aged 16), was described as son of a clerk of Rotherham. As the Christian name is so unusual, this would appear to be the Worsborough native, but the age given does not fit.

[4] Caius *Biographical History*, i, 271; Sidney Sussex (MS.) Register, i, 205, 289.

[5] W.M. 971, 300, 1132, 792, 1136, 797, 798, 345; Hall, 32; Wilkinson, 189-90; Foster, *Yorks. Visitations*, 344; information kindly provided by Mr. A. D. M. Cox, Fellow of University College, through the Librarian, Mr. A. F. Wells.

[6] University College was founded by the Bishop of Durham, and the great majority of its Masters were from Yorkshire and Durham; they, in turn, attracted to the College a succession of students from these counties—see William Carr, *University College*, 1902, 203. John Elmhirst, probably educated at the school, was a Fellow, Tutor and Bursar at the College, and in a 1650 law-suit he said that in 1638 he went 'into Yorkshire for gathering up some debts due to him from divers of his scholars in those parts' (*Elmhirst*

JOSEPH EVERARD[1]

Baptised January 1633, son of Hugh, Lecturer at Worsborough, and his first wife, Elizabeth, widow of Henry Swinden and daughter of Henry Rayney, brother of John. Joseph was admitted as a sizar of Trinity College, Cambridge, 24 Mar. 1651, but the B.A. degree given by Moore is not otherwise recorded. Not mentioned in his father's 1667/8 will.

-1661-70- THOMAS AUDSLEY[2]

Possibly connected with Roger, Vicar of Batley 1635-45, who married Jennett, daughter of John Allott of Bentley Grange. Apparently he did not go to the university, although his son Henry went from Wakefield to St. John's College, Cambridge, and became Vicar of Chesterfield. Thomas was licensed to marry Ann Buttoy, Heath, Kirkthorpe in 1661, as deacon 22 March 1661, as master 25 July 1662. He witnessed Worsborough leases in 1665-6, and was mentioned at York 21 May 1670, described as gentleman. On 12 May 1674 he was licensed at York as Master of Cawthorne F.G.S.

1670-75- SAMUEL MOORE[3]

Born at Hemsworth, son of John, tailor, educated for 3 years at Rotherham under Thomas Barton, and admitted as a sizar to St. John's College, Cambridge, 7 April 1662, aged 17, B.A. 1665/6. Ordained at York, deacon December 1668, priest September 1669; licensed 20 Sept. 1670. Replied to Christopher Wase in 1673. A daughter Ann was baptised in 1675.

Evidences, i, 307, quoting from P.R.O. C.6.14/60). Later in the century Obadiah Walker would have attracted many local students, but unfortunately the Oxford records do not usually give the name of the school, so that it is unknown how many had been at Worsborough. In 1592 John Freeston left land in Pontefract for a Fellowship and two Scholarships for Yorkshire boys (Carr, 91; M. H. Peacock, *The History of Wakefield Grammar School*, 1892, 34). Others connected with the College and Worsborough were members of the Rockley family, Basil Stone, son of a Lecturer, and John Biggs, himself a Lecturer.

[1] Wilkinson, 374, gives Hugh as a master, but this may have been by confusion with the son. Hugh matriculated as a sizar at Pembroke College, Cambridge, at Easter 1608, B.A. 1611/2, and was licensed to preach at York in 1615. He was described as 'clerk of Worsborough' on his first marriage, by licence, at Worsborough on 4 Mar. 1624 to 'Elizabeth Swinden, widow of Wombwell'; she was buried 18 April 1653 (Wilkinson, 322n, 331; *Y.A.J.* xvi, 27). He also signed the 1625 Register Transcripts. He was specially named in Rayney's will to continue as Lecturer in 1631/2 (Wilkinson, 322). There is some confusion as there was at least one other namesake, the third son of Sir Richard of Much Waltham, Parliamentarian Sheriff of Essex, and Joan (Barrington) (Visitation of Essex, 1634). He matriculated as a pensioner of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, at Easter 1651, B.A. 1654, M.A. and Fellow 1658. One was assistant minister at Sheffield in 1645, a prominent Parliamentarian who signed the W.R. Presbyterian Manifesto in 1648 (Hunter's *Hallamshire*, 2nd edition, 272, 494; *Calamy Revised*, Matthews' edition, 558, 186, 566). In 1650 he was described as a clerk of Wombwell Woodhead (W.M. 798). On 8 May 1656 he married at Worsborough Alice Bonwell (?Boswell) of Darfield, and was still there the next year. In 1662 he was ejected from Hickleton and became chaplain to Sir John Jackson, Bart. He is mentioned in Worsborough Deeds for 1662-3 (W.M. 808. 1141). He wrote his will, 1 Mar. 1667/8, from Hickleton and it was proved later in the year, 3 Dec. 1668 (Wilkinson, 323n). His eldest son John was baptised at Worsborough 29 April 1629, and was a citizen and draper of London in 1683 (W.M. 847).

[2] *F.M.G.* ii. 498-9; Y.A.S. xliii, 4; W.M. 812-3.

[3] Wilkinson, 375.

? THOMAS WOODFEN [1]

From Cheshire, admitted sizar Emmanuel College, Cambridge, June 1656, B.A. 1659/60, M.A. 1663. Probably the son of Richard of Carnarvon, gent., deceased, admitted Lincoln's Inn 24 Aug. 1660. Ordained deacon at Lincoln 23 Dec. 1660. c. 1667 to death Curate and Rayney Lecturer, Worsborough. Had four daughters baptised from 1673/4 until the last, Mary, on 3 July 1683, who married George Staniland (v. infra). Might have been Master after Tattershall. Died 22 Aug. 1698, buried 25 Aug. 1698, described as 'Lecturer'.

-1679-86- JOHN TATTERSHALL [2]

Born at Worsborough 13 Jan. 1655/6, son of William, of Worsborough Dale, and Ann (Parkin). Matriculated at University College, Oxford, 9 April 1674, B.A. 17 Jan. 1677/8. His name occurs in several school books, some dated between 1679 and 1686. He was Master of the Free School in the 1682 Visitation, and witnessed a school memorandum in 1684. There are records of ten children from 1684, his widow, Grace, being buried at Hooton Pagnell in 1732. He was Vicar-elect there 15 July 1696, instituted 20 Sept. 1696, being buried 30 Mar. 1710.

? JOHN KIGHLEY [3]

Details of his career are uncertain and there is no proof that he was ever master. On 21 April 1685 he subscribed at York as Master of Sowerby G.S., while the next year he was Master of Felkirk School, near Barnsley, and described as a nonconformist. On 17 Nov. 1690 he was admitted sizar of Jesus College, Cambridge, matriculating that year and graduating 1694/5. He was ordained at York, deacon 1695 and priest 1700, and on 12 Oct. 1697 was again Master of Felkirk School. He married Jane only daughter of William Skyers of Hay Green and widow of Josiah Stephenson of Rotherham. He had considerable property in the district. In his account of Worsborough in *Magna Britannia*, he referred to the 'beautiful parochial chapel' and Free-School, mentioned how 'the Inhabitants of this Towne have, for the further Encouragement of Religion and good Literature, built, at their own proper Cost and Charge, two very good Houses for the Minister and Schoolmaster to dwell in', referred to the Library and to a medicinal spring and the mines. The date of his becoming Lecturer is unknown, but he buried a man in March 1703. As Lecturer he was probably closely interested in the Library and may have prepared the 1705 catalogue; he accepted a book from Thomas Wentworth in 1709 and himself left some to the Library—this interest in the Library may have caused Wilkinson to think that he was also Master; but he could have supplied for Farrer or Staniland. He witnessed a lease in 1706, and was buried on 6 Dec. 1711, described as Lecturer.

-1689-1704 ANTHONY FARRER [4]

Born at Grayrigg, near Kendal, Westmorland, son of Anthony, husbandman. Educated at Rotherham under his cousin Edmund, who moved to Wakefield and made Anthony executor in 1703. He was admitted as a sizar, aged 22, to St. John's College, Cambridge, on 11 Sept. 1685, matriculating that year but not graduating. He had children baptised at Worsborough from 1688/9, his first wife Alice buried on 28 Jan. 1691/2, and was himself buried 7 Nov. 1704, 'schoolmaster'.

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[1] Wilkinson, 296, 374, 327, 338; Surtees Soc. lxv, 181; W.M. 391-2.

[2] Wilkinson, 440, 380, 327; York R. vi, C.15; Hunter, ii, 146; information kindly supplied by Rev. H. R. Wilson of Hooton Pagnell Vicarage.

[3] Sir G. Sitwell, *The Hurts of Haldworth*, App. xxii; Wilkinson, 346, 2n, 327, 316, 381, 379, 374, 338; *Magna Britannia*, vi, 420—possibly the two houses have since been combined to form the present vicarage, but see Wilkinson, 281; T. W. Hall, *Catalogue of Charters . . . at Sheffield*, 1912, 37-8.

[4] The family was prominent in Yorkshire from an early date, e.g. Y.A.S. cvii, 29; T. W. Hall, *Sheffield and Rotherham*, 1916, 76; Peacock, 131-2; Wilkinson, 370 338; W.M. 390-2, 394. 891-2, 1342-3.

1704-48 GEORGE STANILAND[1]

Son of John of Harthill, W.R., he matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, on 11 July 1701, aged 17, B.A. 1705. Licensed at York, 30 Aug. 1706. Described as 'clerk, of Worsborough' on his marriage at Doncaster on 13 June 1707 to Mary 'Woodfine', daughter of Thomas Woodfen (v. supra). She was buried at Worsborough on 19 July 1719, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane. On 4 Oct. 1717 he married secondly, by licence at Ecclesfield, Elizabeth daughter of Samuel Morewood of The Oaks, Bradfield, who brought him property in that district. Ordained deacon at York 30 May 1708, priest 23 Dec. 1711, admitted Rayney Lecturer 23 Dec. 1711 and Curate 2 July 1728; instituted Vicar of South Kirkby 2 Jan. 1738, but had a Curate and only visited about once a month. He replied to the 1743 Visitation : 'We have both a Grammar and an English-School, both endow'd. About forty are taught in the Grammar, and thirty in the English-School; They are instructed in the Church Catechism, & brought duly to Church'. A contemporary notice of Staniland's death on 9 April 1748 said 'he was parson there and teached the free school'.

1748-73 JEREMIAH DIXON[2]

Son of Joseph, but their connection with the well-known Sheffield or Leeds families is not clear, and his education is unknown. He was at Batley in 1739 and 1743 when two children were born, and moved to Calverley shortly before the birth of his son John (v. infra); his wife Lydia (Ling) died in 1796, aged 83. While at Leeds he was usher at the Grammar School for two years and read Sunday prayers at St. John's Church. Jeremiah was elected Rayney Lecturer on 20 May 1748 and Curate of Worsborough in May 1766. On 22 Nov. 1773 he died intestate, his widow being granted administration on 26 April 1774.

1774-82 JOHN DIXON[2]

Baptised at Calverley, near Leeds, in Feb. 1745/6, son of Jeremiah above. He matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, on 21 Jan. 1762, B.A. 1766, M.A. 1768. He was also Curate and Rayney Lecturer, and subsequently became Rector of Broughton, Northants., and of Teddington, Beds. Died unmarried.

1782-1813 WILLIAM PORTER[3]

Elected Rayney Lecturer 12 Oct. 1782, also Curate. His wife Margaret was a daughter of Jeremiah Dixon, above. There are extant letters from Porter to Francis Edmunds, dealing with the Election in 1784, from which it is clear that he was conducting a school for young gentlemen, including Edmunds' son (Francis Offley), who were also taught

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[1] Wilkinson, 375, 327, 339; *F.M.G.* iii, 1066-7; Y.A.S. lxxv, 54, 195; J. Eastwood, *History of Ecclesfield*, 1862, 236; Asline Ward's *Diary*, 1909, 136; *Reliquary*, xxii, 47; W.M. 379, 398; Ronksley Collection (Sheffield C.L.), MS. note 10,769. His will was dated 19 Mar. 1747/8 and was proved 1 June 1748. The English School referred to probably replaced the Petty school of Rayney's will. Thomas Mossforth, baptised 4 Dec. 1679, son of James, was possibly the schoolmaster elected in 1703, presumably at this school, and was buried in 1748-9. By this time, too, the girls' school founded by William Skiers (will dated 1714) had been built (Wilkinson, 418; *Elmhirst Evidences*, i, 455).

[2] *F.M.G.* i, 203; Eastwood, 209; Wilkinson, 328, 374, 297; A. C. Price, *A History of the Leeds Grammar School*, 1919, 99, 106.

[3] Wilkinson, 305, 375; W.M. 203-4, 206; Charity Com. Rep. xvii, 1828, 789; *Elmhirst Evidences*, ii, 519; Elmhirst, 98. It would appear to be another William Porter who was ordained deacon in 1785, curate of Whitkirk (G. E. Kirk, *History of Whitkirk Church*, 1935, 46). In 1787 Balzac taught French and Italian at Sheffield (*Sheffield Register*, 20 Oct. 1787). It is probable that most of Porter's predecessors, at least after the provision of the master's house, had boarded a few pupils. While most of the known pupils were local (but even the two Elmhirsts boarded with Porter) others would need board and Cutler clearly expected strangers to go to the school.

dancing and French by visiting masters, Messrs. Balzac and Fawcett. From the private accounts of Mr. William Elmhirst, it appears that his 2 eldest sons were boarded at Mr. Porter's in 1799 when they were only 7 and 5 years old. Two guineas entrance fee was paid for the younger son Thomas, while the board etc. of the elder, William, cost £16 5s. 6d. for the year. According to Wilkinson 'many of the sons of the gentry in the neighbourhood received their education at Worsborough school in Mr. Porter's time. Among them were the late Mr. Staniforth Beckett, Mr. Richard Thorp and others'. But according to a report in 1827, the school 'had for fifty years previously ceased to give classical instruction'. Although the report is wrong in saying that the minister had always been the master, by this time the Lecturer held the position of master, but employed a deputy, and the instruction was 'chiefly confined to English reading, writing and arithmetic'. The only pupil of this time who is known to have gone to a university was William Henry Dixon, who was only 16 when he went to Pembroke College, Cambridge from Houghton-le-Spring Grammar School. Porter died on 21 June 1813, aged 66, and was succeeded by the other Lecturers given in Wilkinson.

Some 1673 *Governors.*

In answer to one of Wase's questions, Moore gave as the Visitors in 1673 : 'Francis Rockley Esq., Henry Edmunds Esq., Mr. Gervase Rockley, Richard Elmhyrst, Mr. John Wordsworth and several others'. Francis Rockley[1] was baptised on 9 Sept. 1617, the eldest surviving son of Robert, who had bought Worsborough Manor and was employed by the Earl of Strafford. He went to University College, Oxford (B.A. 1638, M.A. 1640/1), became a Fellow and left the College a prayer-book. The family was ruined by legal disputes and by Francis supporting the Royalists in the Civil Wars, and he seems to have spent the last years of his life in prison, before his death in 1679. His eldest surviving brother, Jervase Rockley,[2] was baptised on 20 May, 1627. He was a lieutenant in Sir William Savile's regiment. There are many deeds connected with his property between 1673 and 1688 in which he is described as 'of Rockley'; his heir and nephew had administration in 1707/8.

Henry Edmunds[3] was the senior representative of an influential Worsborough family, who left the school a field of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres and books for the library. He was born on 2 Aug. 1627 at Dalton, the eldest son of Thomas, secretary to the Earl of Strafford. He is said to have been a fellow commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, was a J.P., Lieutenant of the Trained Band Horse and married first Jane, daughter of Richard Robinson; she died on 5 Oct. 1683, and on 20 Oct. 1684 he married at York Minster Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gervase Cutler, Knight, of Stainborough, and widow of Sir Thomas Herbert. Henry died on 22 Mar. 1708/9 and was buried at Worsborough. By his will,

[1] Wilkinson, ch. v; Hunter, ii, 286-7; Foster's *Yorkshire Pedigrees*; R. W. Hunt, *The Manuscript Collection of University College, Oxford*, Bodleian Library Record, iii, 18 and 21; Y.A.S. ix, 23.

[2] As in note 1; W.M. 816-70 (passim), 921.

[3] Wilkinson, ch. iii; *F.M.G.* iii, 990. Contemporary verses by the Curate of Wentworth describe their charity (*Hallamshire*, 432n). G. Lawton, *...Collections relative to Churches and Chapels...*, 1842, 489.

dated 7 June 1708, he endowed a School at Kirkby in Cleveland. Richard Elmhirst[1] was baptised on 1 Jan. 1639/40, son and heir of Richard, grandson of Roger, the original governor mentioned above; he was of Houndhill, buried on 1 Mar. 1673. It is particularly interesting to see that John Wordsworth[2] was a governor—he was of Swaithe Hall, a staunch nonconformist often mentioned by Oliver Heywood. One of his four wives was Sarah, daughter of William Spencer, a Parliamentarian lieutenant-colonel. He died in 1690.

The Library.[3]

As the University Architypographus, Christopher Wase was very interested in the provision of libraries, and in his questionnaire the last question asked : 'What libraries in them [the schools], or in Towns adjoining, with what Manuscripts?' As Moore replied 'no answer can yet be given concerning the . . . last Enquiry', it would seem as if Rayney's bequest of Perkins' Works had not been followed by many others. The form of the reply also suggests that Moore may have known of the impending bequest by Obadiah Walker. Wilkinson has given a brief account of this library, but has mistaken when it was presented. The earliest catalogue is headed 'A Catalogue of the bookes sent in 2 boxes marked AB & CD to M^{r} Gervase Wilcock this present April 9 1675 for the use of the Schole at Worsborough'. This is now bound with 'An Index or Catalogue of Books in the Library at Worsbrough', dated April 1705, and a comparison supports Kighley's statement that the 'excellent library given by the learned D^{r} Obadiah Walker, who was born and educated in this Town . . . has been very much increased by several worthy Gentlemen who have had their education in this Town'. The later 1774 Catalogue has not been found. As Obadiah Walker was an important Oxford Master, the nature of the library that he clearly presented for a Grammar School is of considerable significance in educational history, and it is hoped to give a fuller treatment of this library later.

The Pupils.

It is impossible to give a fully representative list of pupils of the school, but the following can be mentioned.

Robert Addy.[4] 2 son of William, husbandman (mediocris fortunae) of Wath and his wife Isabel, possibly born in Worsborough like a younger brother. He was educated for six years at Rotherham and Worsborough before being admitted as a pensioner, aged 20, at Caius College, Cambridge, on 6 Oct. 1572.

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[1] Elmhirst, 48, 61-4, Wilkinson, 144.

[2] Wilkinson, 197-204; *F.M.G.* ii, 755; *Hallamshire*, 416; G. G. Wordsworth, *Some Notes on the Wordsworths of Peniston . . .*, 1929, 12-15, 31.

[3] *Magna Britannia*, vi, 420; Wilkinson, 2n, 378-81; J. T. Jeffcock, *Notes and Queries*, 20 Oct. 1855. See also the writer's article on Charles Hoole in the Jan. 1955 University of Leeds Institute of Education *Researches and Studies*. The 1675 and 1705 catalogues and the remaining books are in the care of the Vicar.

[4] For details of this educationally important family, see S. O. Addy, *Y.A.J.* xxvii, 1924.

Richard Meller was son of Thomas, a cutler of Ecclesfield, and educated 'at school under Mr. John Bonner, about five years', before admission to Caius as a sizar on 16 June 1614; B.A. 1617/8, M.A. 1622. In Jan. 1622/3 he was presented by the university to the vicarage of Salton, Yorks., and in 1626 he married Isabel Wilkinson of Kirkham. Possibly his son John baptised at Worsborough 28 Feb. 1629.

Matthew Sabbe was born in Norfolk, son of John, gent. dec. On being admitted as a sizar to Caius College, Cambridge, on 26 Oct. 1618, he said he had been taught for two years at Tankersley by Mr. Shaw, but it would seem probable that this was at Worsborough as there is no other evidence known for education at Tankersley, nor for Shaw's being there. Sabbe matriculated 1618/9 and graduated B.A. 1622/3. He was ordained priest (Norwich) 22 Feb. 1623 and licensed to teach grammar 23 Dec. 1623. Presented to Tunstall (Suffolk) on 11 Nov. 1637, he was Rector of Dunningworth the next year.

Obadiah Walker[1] was baptised at Worsborough on 17 Sept. 1616, son of William of Rockley Old Hall, and Isabel (Wood). He was admitted to University College, Oxford, on 5 April 1633, graduated B.A. 4 July 1635, M.A. 23 April 1638, and became a Fellow in 1635. This is not the place to discuss in detail his remarkable career, mainly at Oxford. It must suffice to mention that he was College Bursar, a delegate to the 'Council of War' in 1642 and was expelled from the university on 8 July 1648 for not submitting to a Parliamentary Visitation. During the Commonwealth he acted as a private tutor and was in Rome on more than one occasion. He was restored to his Fellowship in 1660, gave the School a Library in 1673, and published in the same year a book 'On Education, especially for Young Gentlemen', which ran into 6 editions by the end of the century. Eventually in 1676 he accepted the Mastership of his College and later established a Roman Catholic Chapel there and printed Catholic books on a private press. He was imprisoned in the Tower in 1688-9 and spent the last ten years of his life in London, living in comparative obscurity, tutoring and writing. He died 31 Jan. 1699 and was buried at St. Pancras Churchyard, where an Inscription was erected by Dr. Radcliffe, the famous physician who had studied under him.

Thomas Senior was born at Dodworth, son of John, yeoman, and educated for four years at Worsborough under Mr. Shaw before admission to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar on 13 Sept. 1634; B.A. 1638/9, M.A. 1642. He was perhaps clerk of Dodworth.

William Jessop[2] was born at Wentworth, son of Thomas, a husbandman. He was educated at Worsborough for 4 years under Mr. Shaw before being admitted as a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 23 May 1637, aged 18; B.A. 1640/1. He was probably Vicar of Beighton, Derbys., being 'reputed uncleane and scandalous' in 1650, until his death in 1667; will dated 18 April 1667.

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[1] For his general biography see *D.N.B.*; for the connections with Worsborough, Wilkinson, ch. xxix; for his connections with the College, Carr; and for details of his manuscripts, Hunt. One of his successors at University College and a Barnsley native, Dr. M. E. Sadler, was preparing a biography and his MS. are now in the College Library. His will was dated 27 June 1698.

[2] His mother was probably Joan, daughter of William Skyers of Wentworth (Sitwell, App. xxii). J. C. Cox, *Derbs. Churches*, i, 88-9; iv, 448. Jackson Collection (Sheffield C. L.) 1128. In his will William left his wife Elizabeth property in Rawmarsh and Beighton. His books and sermon notes were left to his nephew George Chauntry (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). Other property was left to trustees for apprenticeship premiums and the poor and, conditionally, to 'any person that shall keep a Grammar School in the parish of Beighton for the teaching of six poor boys'. His inventory totalled £76.

LYON BAMFORD[1] was born at Pulehill, Thurgoland, son of John, gent., and his 3rd wife Priscilla, daughter of Henry Lyon of Roxby and widow of Capt. Ralph Rokeby. He was educated at Worsborough for three years under Mr. Shaw before admission to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a pensioner on 26 Oct. 1639, then aged 18. He was amerced for not appearing at Oxspringe Court in 1645, and in mid-1646 took the Covenant and Oath after having been in the Royalist area. 'His own extravagance and his losses in the civil wars compelled him to dispose of' his Thurgoland property. His first wife was Jane, a daughter of Richard Law of Woodhouse, near Elland, while his second was Mary, daughter of Sir Arthur Pilkington of Stanley, near Wakefield, bart.

RICHARD MATHEWMAN[2] was born at Foulston, Kirkburton, S.E. of Huddersfield, son of Godfrey of High Haigh and (probably) of his wife Grace (Greaves) from Bradfield. He was educated under Mr. Hanson and admitted as a sizar to Christ's College, Cambridge, on 21 April 1651, then aged 17; B.A. midsummer 1654. He subscribed at Lichfield as curate of Barlow on 14 Aug. 1662, and of Brampton on 2 April 1663. He had already married Jane, probably a daughter of Thomas and sister of John Sibery of Wickersley. Remained Minister at Brampton until his death, being buried there on 30 Nov. 1685.

ROBERT MATHEWMAN[3] was also born at Foulston, son of Francis, and possibly cousin of Richard, with whom he was educated, at school and university. After graduation in 1654 he was, 1655-7, Minister of Stannington Chapel, Bradfield, Curate of Baslow, Derbs., in the 1660's, and Vicar of Mattersey, Notts., from 1662.

NATHAN DENTON[4], son of Francis, was baptised at Bradfield on 8 Jan. 1634/5. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, on 17 Mar. 1653-4, was elected a Freeston scholar on 20 Mar. 1656/7 and graduated B.A. 15 Oct. 1657. He taught and preached at Cawthorne, and was ordained at Hemsworth in 1658 by the W.R. presbytery as minister of High Hoyland. He also ministered at Darwent Chapel, Derbs., and Braithwell before being ejected from Bolton-upon-Dearne. On 6 Feb. 1661/2 at Bolton he had married Anne Burley, who died in 1714. He continued to reside at Bolton; his own house there was certified as a place of worship in 1689 and he was still there two years later. He also preached at Hickleton (1669) and Great Houghton (1681) and was chaplain to Silvanus Rich of Bull House, near Penistone, where he was licensed 8 May 1672. In 1679 he was one of several local nonconformist preachers given an annuity of 20s. by Jonathan Staniforth. In 1688 he bought property in Laughton. From 1693 he was aided by the Common Fund, and he probably succeeded Thomas Rose (also a Staniforth annuitant and Common Fund beneficiary) as Minister at Norton, near Sheffield, in 1697, remaining there for about two years. He was buried at Bolton 12 Oct. 1720.

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[1] *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, i, 32; Hunter, ii, 270; *F.M.G.* ii, 588; Y.A.S. xviii, 70; T. W. Hall, *Lindsay Collection . . .*, 1930, 32.

[2] Ronksley Collection MS. note 12,629; *F.M.G.* ii, 740, 742; Jackson Collection, 1128; H. J. Morehouse, *History of Kirkburton . . .*, 1861.

[3] *Hallamshire*, 468; Cox, *Derbs. Churches*, ii, 56.

[4] *D.N.B.*; Wilkinson, 376-7; information from University College; *Calamy Revised*, 163; Dale, *Yorkshire . . Nonconformity*, 1917, 50; E. Powell, *Notes of . . . the Ellis Family . . .*, 1905, 29; Tibbits Collection 39 (Sheffield C.L.); *F.M.G.* ii, 734; Hunter Archaeological Society, *Transactions*, iv, 72; Hunter, ii, 132, 258; C. J. Street, *The Old Nonconformity at Norton*, 1917, 16-19.

William Ellison[1] was a son of John of Silkstone, gent., and educated at Worsborough for five years under Mr. Hanson before being admitted as a pensioner, aged 18, at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 31 Jan. 1658/9. He was admitted to Gray's Inn on 25 Jan. 1660/1, where he wrote his will on 10 Sept. 1664; it was proved on 16 June 1665 by his cousin William Green and Godfrey Hawksworth.

John Edmunds[2] was born 29 Oct. 1672, the 2nd son of Thomas of Worsborough and Mary (Wentworth). He was educated at Worsborough by Mr. Anthony Farrer and admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, as a sizar on 9 Sept. 1689. He was a scholar in 1693 and graduated B.A. 1693/4, M.A. 1697, later being beneficed in the Isle of Wight, and dying on 25 Oct. 1702.

Henry Edmunds[2] was born 23 April 1675, the 3rd son of Thomas, and educated like his brother, being admitted on 18 Aug. 1692, scholar in 1695, B.A. 1696/7 and M.A. 1700. He is reported to have been an M.D. He died on 6 Sept. 1724 and was buried at Worsborough.

Francis Foljambe[3] was born on 9 Aug. 1675 at Wistow, near Otley, the 3rd son of Francis, gent., and Elizabeth (Montague or Montaigne). He was educated at Worsborough by Mr. Farrer and admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a pensioner on 7 Sept. 1692, and to the Inner Temple on 30 April 1695. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Worsley, Esq., of Hovingham. He succeeded his father at Aldwark, and died on 6 Dec. 1752, being buried at Ecclesfield, M.I.

William Elmhirst[4] was baptised at Worsborough on 29 Dec. 1721, son of William of Genn House and Ouslethwaite, gentleman-farmer, and Martha (Allot). He was educated at Worsborough by George Staniland and, about 1738, apprenticed to an apothecary surgeon. Living at Genn House, he combined practising and farming. On 20 Oct. 1757 at Worsborough he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Wordsworth of Tankersley. He was buried in Worsborough Church on 19 July 1773.

William Ramsden[5] was born at Penistone, the elder son of John, Master at the Grammar School, and his wife Margaret. After being educated at Worsborough under George Staniland he was admitted as a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 3 July 1738, then aged 20; B.A. 1741/2, M.A. 1745. From 1778 he was Master of the Charterhouse, London, and from 28 Dec. 1779 Rector of Balsham, Cambs. He died on 2 Nov. 1804, and was buried at the Charterhouse.

John Beet[6] was born at Tankersley, son of Joseph, and educated at Worsborough under Mr. Staniland. He was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, as a sizar on 12 April 1743, aged 19, and as a scholar on 22 June 1744; B.A. 1746/7. He was usher at Sheffield from 1746 until midsummer 1754, and seems to have been an agent for Katherine Nevile, widow of Sir Lionel Pilkington, in 1760.

William Parkyn[7] was born at Horbury, Ecclesfield, on 28 Feb. 1723, the eldest son of Paul, gent., of Horbury and Colley Elm, and Elizabeth (Broadbent), and was educated at Worsborough under Mr. Staniland. He was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, as a sizar on 18 Feb. 1743/4, aged 19, and apparently resided until December 1750. There seems some doubt about his M.D. He was of Bramley Hall and Dodworth. His son William Parkyn, alias Arthur, died aged 12, and his second wife was named Mary. He died s.p. at Dodworth on 28 Jan. 1759, aged 35, and was buried at Ecclesfield.

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1 Will.
2 Wilkinson, 55, 380; Hunter, ii, 290.
3 Hunter, ii, 61; Eastwood, 237-8.
4 Elmhirst, 74-85; *Elmhirst Evidences*, i, 455.
5 Surtees Soc. lxv, 267.
6 Grammar School Minute Book; Jackson Collection 835/19.
7 *F.M.G.* iv, 1275; Eastwood, 433; Jackson Collection, 1110, 123.

WILLIAM ELMHIRST[1] was baptised at Worsborough on 11 April 1759, only son of William, apothecary-surgeon (above). His removal in 1772 from Worsborough under Jeremiah Dixon to Barnsley G.S., under Benjamin Whitley, probably indicates the lower standards then reached at Worsborough. Leaving Barnsley in 1782, he received his legal training, first as an apprentice to Mr. West of Cawthorne, and then at Messrs. Allen's of Furnivals Inn, and became an attorney. Returning to Worsborough, he was admitted to Ouslethwaite and acted as steward. In 1790 he married his second cousin, Ann Rachel, only child of Thomas Elmhirst of Stixwold Abbey, Lincs. From an early date he was connected with the Dove-Dearne Canal. In 1796 he became Deputy Lieutenant for the West Riding. He died in Lincs. on 20 Sept. 1821, and was buried at Worsborough.

A number of the masters and governors mentioned above, as well as others member of prominent local families like the Rockleys, Edmunds and Elmhirsts, were probably educated at the school, but positive proof is lacking.

[1] Elmhirst, 83, 85-107; *Elmhirst Evidences*, i, 443, 471, 527.

REVIEW.

Early Yorkshire Charters, vol. X : The Trussebut Fee, with Some Charters of the Ros Fee. Edited by Charles Travis Clay (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series. Extra Series. Vol. viii, 1955).

The appearance of this notable and erudite volume calls for special comment, not only for itself, but also in respect of the Series of which it forms a part, for there is some reason for supposing that it may unfortunately be the last production in an enterprise which has been an outstanding feature of English medieval studies for a generation.

It was in 1914 that the first instalment of *Early Yorkshire Charters* appeared under the editorship of William Farrer who issued three volumes in the series before his death in 1924. Since then the work has been carried on by Mr. C. T. Clay in a series of volumes whose quality, and impeccable accuracy, have won unstinted admiration from English scholars. In this manner, charters relating to the Honour of Richmond, the Paynel Fee, the Honour of Skipton, the Honour of Warenne, and the Stuteville Fee have been issued, and Mr. Clay has added to these a Consolidated index of the utmost value to the first three volumes of the Series which were edited by Farrer. So high is the prestige already achieved by this work, that it suffices to say of the present volume that it fully maintains the high standard of its predecessors, and serves to elucidate the pedigrees and tenurial connexions of the families of Trussebut and Ros. A most useful addition to it is the index to the Fees in Chief, the Chart Pedigrees and the Notes on Families contained in all the volumes of the Series.

It is seemly also on this occasion to call emphatic attention to the general importance of a work on which so much devoted labour has been expended. English feudalism is best reflected in the feudal charter, and in these Yorkshire charters, so well edited, and so copiously indexed, is to be found an unrivalled source for the social history of England between the Norman Conquest and Magna Carta. Nor is it only in connexion with feudal society, narrowly conceived, that these texts are important : they illustrate at very many points the ecclesiastical life of the time, particularly in relation to religious houses, and with regard to the personalities of the cathedral churches at that time. Indeed, it would be hard to circumscribe the uses to which these charters may be put as evidence. It will be impossible to write any future history of twelfth century England without constant reference to these fundamental texts.

That a Society devoted in the first instance to the investigation of local antiquities should have so successfully produced a work of this nature is in the highest tradition of English historical scholarship, and all concerned therewith deserve warm congratulation. It is a matter of regret that rising costs may well soon make such enterprises very difficult, and the present volume would not have appeared without timely assistance from the Pilgrim Trust. Yet upon such undertakings much of the future of English medieval studies will depend, and it would be lamentable, indeed, if such works did not continue to be produced. Certainly the eleven volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters* may serve as a model of the way such work should be done. No library of any standing can afford to be without them, and they will remain a monument to the enterprise of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, and to the scholarship of Mr. Clay.

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NOTE

THE THORNBOROUGH CIRCLES, NEAR RIPON, NORTH RIDING.

When I published the account of my excavation of the central circle, (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, CLII, p. 425 ff. 1955), it had not been decided where the finds, the original survey of the site, and a set of prints of Dr. St. Joseph's aerial survey of the circles should go. The purpose of this note is to announce that the pottery and other finds, together with the ground survey, have been deposited at the Yorkshire Museum, York. The aerial photographs are now at the library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 10, Park Place, Leeds, together with a number of other photographs taken on the ground by Mr. G. H. Davies before the excavation began.

Acknowledgements.

By an oversight I failed to make proper acknowledgement of the two aerial views by Dr. St. Joseph that were published as plates I and II, facing pp. 432 and 434 in my report. They are from the Cambridge University Collection. They are *Crown copyright*, and were reproduced by permission of the Air Ministry and of the Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photographs.

Nicholas Thomas.

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THE

Yorkshire Archæological Journal

A NEOLITHIC SITE AT DRIFFIELD, EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

By T. G. Manby.

During 1953 building operations were commenced on the Old Show Field adjoining St. John's Road, Driffield (fig. 1). During the digging of a water-main trench two skeletons were exposed, both damaged and without associations. As the digging of the trench continued in a westerly direction two profiles were exposed in the sides of the trench. The first was a large saucer shaped bed of ash 9 inches to 3 feet below the modern turf line in the northern face of the trench. The second profile was further to the west, in the southern face of the trench and was a black layer at a depth of 4 feet.

Messrs. C. & E. Grantham of Driffield made a small trial excavation behind the later profile disclosing an irregular hollow in the natural yellow clay, 6 feet in diameter and 6 inches deep, the edges of which were 3 feet 6 inches below the modern turf line. Over the floor of this hollow was a black layer of occupation debris 3 inches thick containing pot-sherds, flints, and horse and cow bones and also a canine tooth of a pig. In the top of the black layer were six large stones and in the soil above this layer was a single weathered A-beaker sherd.

During 1955 a proposed Ministry of Works excavation of the site had to be abandoned as only a small area was available for examination as the site is now covered by dwelling houses, lining a new road called Spencer's Way.

The site is on the 6 inch Ordnance Survey Sheet CLXI. S.E. and the National Grid reference is TA 021575.

The Pottery from St. John's Road, Driffield.

Fig. 2.

1. Body fragment, soft buff surface, black core, impressed comb line decoration. Edges of sherd rounded and weathered. From a type 'A' beaker.
2. Rim sherd, soft black laminated ware, patchy buff surface, thick incised lines on the inside and top of the rim.
3. Body fragment, soft brown, dark grey core with flint grit, laminated. Decorated with wrapped cord maggots in a horizontal herring bone pattern. One corner of this sherd had been burnt black in a fire after breakage.



(*Crown copyright reserved*)

FIG. 1.

Neolithic site at Driffield indicated by arrow and cross.

4. Two body fragments, soft black with a smooth reddish surface, cord decoration.
5. Large rim and shoulder fragment. Hard, reddish brown outer surface light brown inner surface, black core. Large pieces of flint grit errupting through the surface. Wide incised lines on the inside, top and outside of the rim and on the shoulder.
6. Base and body sherds, thick dark grey with hard compact reddish brown outer surface. Contains pieces of flint grit up to $\frac{7}{8}$ inch long. Poorly rounded base. Possibly part of the same vessel as the rim 5.

Fig. 3.

7. Rim sherd, hard dark grey to buff outer surface, grey brown inside, chalk grit. Finger nail impressions on the outside and internal bevel of rim.
8. Base and large body fragment, soft black, reddish brown surface, finger nail impression scattered and forming no particular pattern. No grit.
9. The lower part of a vessel of soft black ware, buff surface. incised diagonal lines and shallow pinchings between first finger and thumb nail.
10. Base sherd, hard black with reddish surface, contains much calcite and quartz grit.
11. Four sherds and one rim of plain ware, black with patchy light brown surface, chalk grit.

The Stone Implements from St. John's Road, Driffield.

Fig. 4.

The site produced a large amount of flint waste in the way of flakes, chips and a few cores. The variety of flint used varied in colour from honey brown to pale blue and white, much of it had developed a thin greyish patina. The cortex still remained on some of the pieces including one of the scrapers (no. 6). Most of the flint implements are scrapers.

1-4. Single edged thumb scrapers.
5. Oval double edged scraper.
6. Single ended keeled scraper.
7. Small lozenge arrowhead, fine minute flaking.
8. Transverse (petit tranchet) arrowhead, Clark type C.
9. Fabricator, rather poorly trimmed end. Fragment of a second.
10. A well worn rubber of hard compact honey brown quartzite. One face had been rubbed down flat.

The raw materials for the flint industry on this site, and the rubbing stone, could all be derived from the near-by glacial deposits of Holderness.

The flint implements are all types found on other sites associated with pottery of the Secondary Neolithic Cultures, there are no truly characteristic Beaker or Bronze Age types.

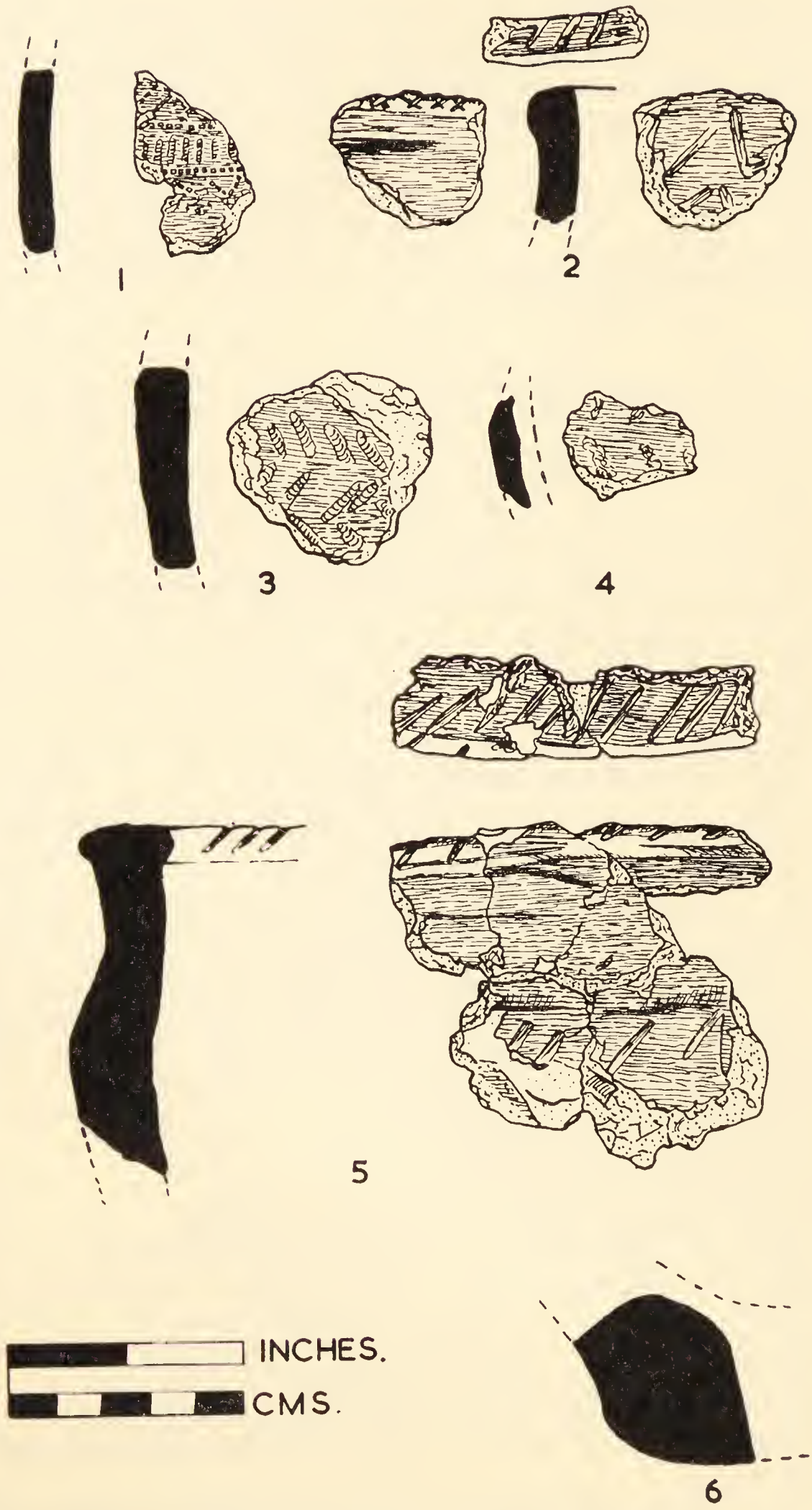


FIG. 2
Neolithic Pottery from Driffield.

Discussion.

Apart from the weathered Beaker sherd which can be regarded as a stray, the pottery from this site can be divided into two groups :—

Group A. Sherds 2—6 which are clearly Peterborough Ware and fairly common in East Yorkshire.[1] Only one piece calls for any comment; the rim No. 5 which belongs to a large bowl with an expanded flat-topped rim and rather weak shoulder. This rim-form has been found on other sites in Eastern England :—Aldro Barrow 30, E.R. Yorks.;[2] Fengate, Peterborough[3] with similar decoration and with cord decoration from Goodmanham Barrow CXI.[4]

This rim-form can perhaps be regarded as a development of the round-topped expanded rim-form represented by four rims from Ford Castle, Northumberland.[5] These rims have recently been ascribed by Piggott to a possible distinct northern type of Peterborough pottery tentatively called by him "Glenluce Ware".[6]

Group B. Sherds 7—11. These are dissimilar in paste to the Group A sherds and have finger-nail stabs and pinching as the dominating mode of decoration. All the bases are flat and the sides widely splayed. Parallels to this group are not hard to find, but only one site has produced this type of pottery in any quantity. At Fengate, Peterborough, pottery from two pits published by Leeds[7] is similar to Driffield Group B. The Fengate pits were $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, 10 feet in diameter and 2 feet apart. In the bottom of one of these was a contracted inhumation burial in an oval grave. Scattered in the infilling of both pits were numerous sherds of pottery which Leeds divided into three main types as his Group VI(b):—

(1) Bowls with constricted neck, thickened rim and rounded or flat base. Decoration by incised lines all over the exterior.[8]

(2) Bowls with curved sides, inturned rims with internal bevel usually decorated with a herring-bone pattern. On the exterior the decoration is restricted to the upper two inches below the rim. Decoration is either incised or

[1] Manby, "Neolithic 'B' Pottery from East Yorkshire", *Y.A.J.*, xxxix, (1956), pp. 1-8.

[2] Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches*, p. 68, fig. 142; Newbigin, "Neolithic Pottery of Yorkshire", *P.P.S.* iii, pp. 215-6, (29); Mortimer Museum, Hull, No. 142.

[3] Leeds, "Further Discoveries of Neolithic and Bronze Ages at Peterborough", *Ant. Jour.* ii, p. 224, figs. 11 and 12.

[4] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, pp. 319-20; Newbigin, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-6; Brit. Mus.

[5] Piggott, "Neolithic Pottery of the British Isles", *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxviii, p. 157, figs. 18.2 and 23; Brit. Mus. 79.12-9.1743-46.

[6] Piggott, *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*, p. 310.

[7] Leeds, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-232.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8, fig. 7a-b.

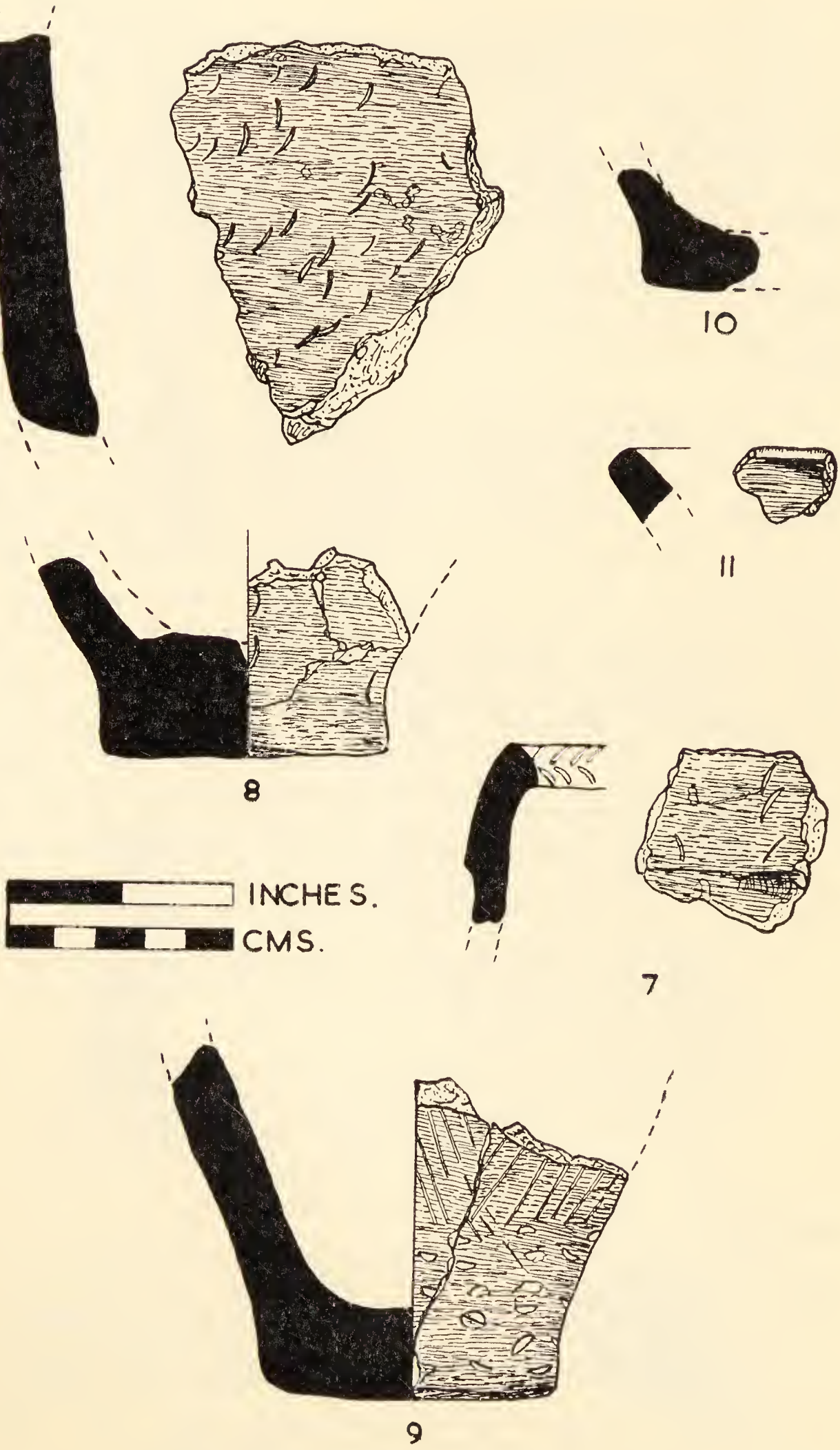


FIG. 3.
Neolithic Pottery from Driffield.

imprinted by fingernail. The designs used are often hatched triangles but there is a tendency to curvilinear patterns.[1]

(3) Vessels like Bronze Age cinerary urns with a deep collar and inturned rim with sharp internal bevel usually decorated with a herring-bone pattern. The body slopes sharply away from the collar to a narrow flattened base. Decoration is by finger-nail impressions usually confined to the collar and bevel, but cord and comb lines were used.[2]

The paste of these vessels is always ill-fired coarse black ware, sometimes hard with quartz grit and sometimes soft without grit. In some cases comminuted potsherd was used as a gritting agent. Many of the vessels have a pinkish, slightly glossy slip.

The only other type of pottery in these two Fengate pits was a base sherd of a beaker with a moulded foot and a single line of comb impressions. Moulded feet are a feature of B2-beakers[3] and C-beakers.[4]

Type 1 pottery at Fengate is Peterborough Ware in the Mortlake style and approximates to Group A at Driffield. Type 3 at Fengate is the same as Group B at Driffield, type 2 being unrepresented there. Sherds of type 2 and 3 pots have been found on other sites in England. From a pit under Barrow 211, Acklam. E.R. came a sherd of a straight-sided bowl with an inturned rim and an internal bevel decorated with a herring-bone pattern. On the exterior are cord impressed arches, the paste is greyish black with chalk grit[5] (fig. 5.1). A sherd with a similar profile comes from Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire.[6] This has a band of decoration on the exterior below the rim of incised lines and finger-nail rustication. This sherd has previously been assigned to the Rinyo-Clacton culture[7] and was found in a pit with another sherd of similar profile decorated with cord maggot impressions.

Sherds of vessels with inturned and elongated rims like Fengate types 2 and 3 have been found at Partridge's Pit, Cassington but no find details are known.[8] A fire-pit near the Beaker Cemetery in Tolley's Pit, Cassington, produced a cord decorated rim and a base sherd of Fengate type 3 with two flint flakes and a pig's tooth.[9]

[1] Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 228, fig. 8a.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 228-30, figs. 7c-d, 8b, 9, and 10.
[3] Brewster, "A Bronze Age Beaker from Staxton", *Trans. Yorks. Phil. Soc.* 1951, p. 14.
[4] Examples—Beakers from Folkton CCXLV (Brit. Mus. 93.12-28.19) and Rudston LXI (Brit. Mus. 79.12-9.665).
[5] Mortimer, *op. cit.* p. 93, fig. 219; Newbigin, *op. cit.* p. 215, (40).
[6] *Ant. Journ.* xii, p. 280, fig. 2.1.
[7] *P.P.S.* ii, p. 193, pl. XLI.1.
[8] Leeds, "New Discoveries of Neolithic Pottery in Oxfordshire", *Oxoniensia* v, (1940), pp. 2-3, pl. I. A-D.; Ashmolean Museum 1935.81-2.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 5, pl. 1. E. & F.; Ashmolean Museum 1934, 81-2.

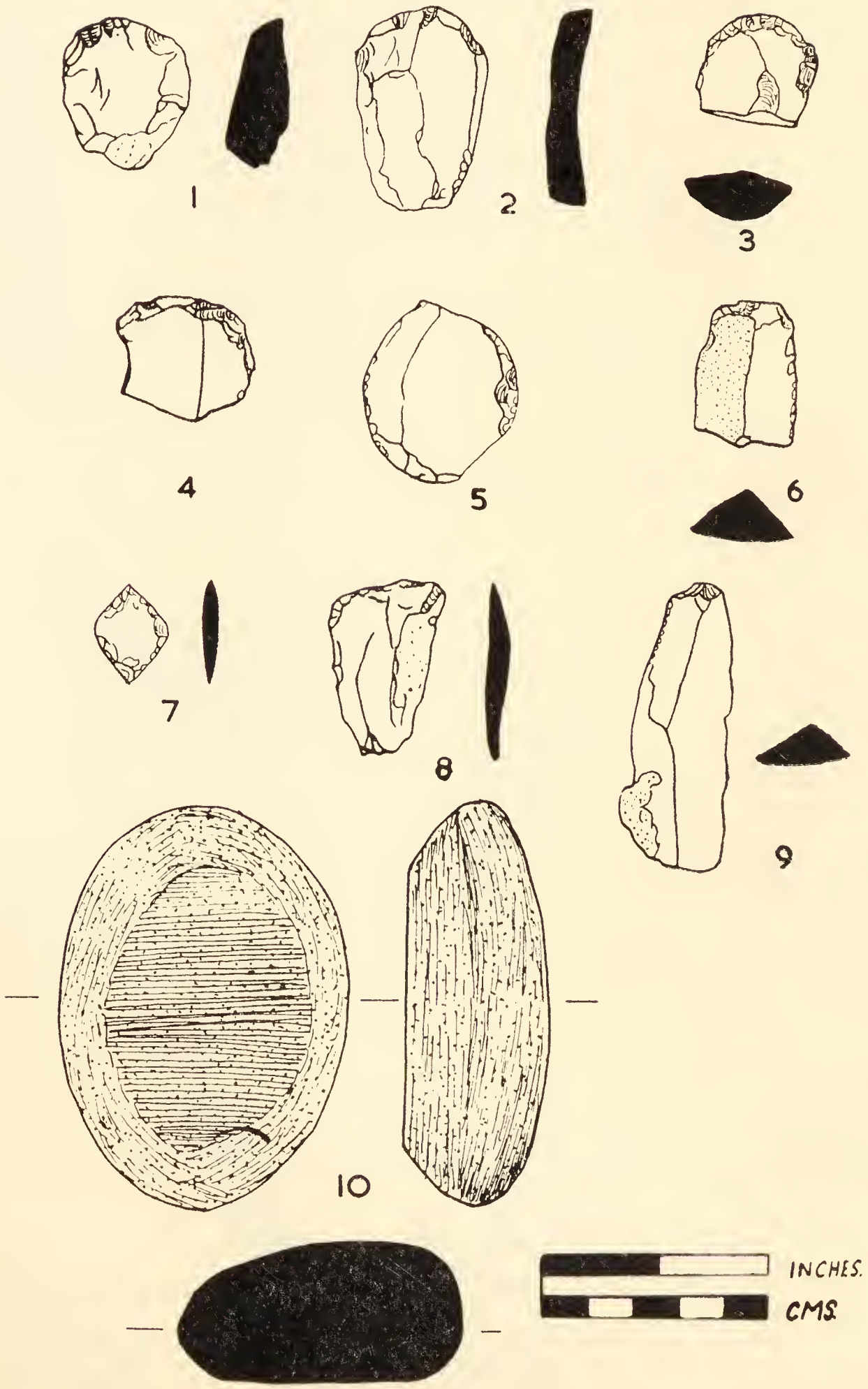


FIG. 4.

Flint implements and rubber from Driffield.

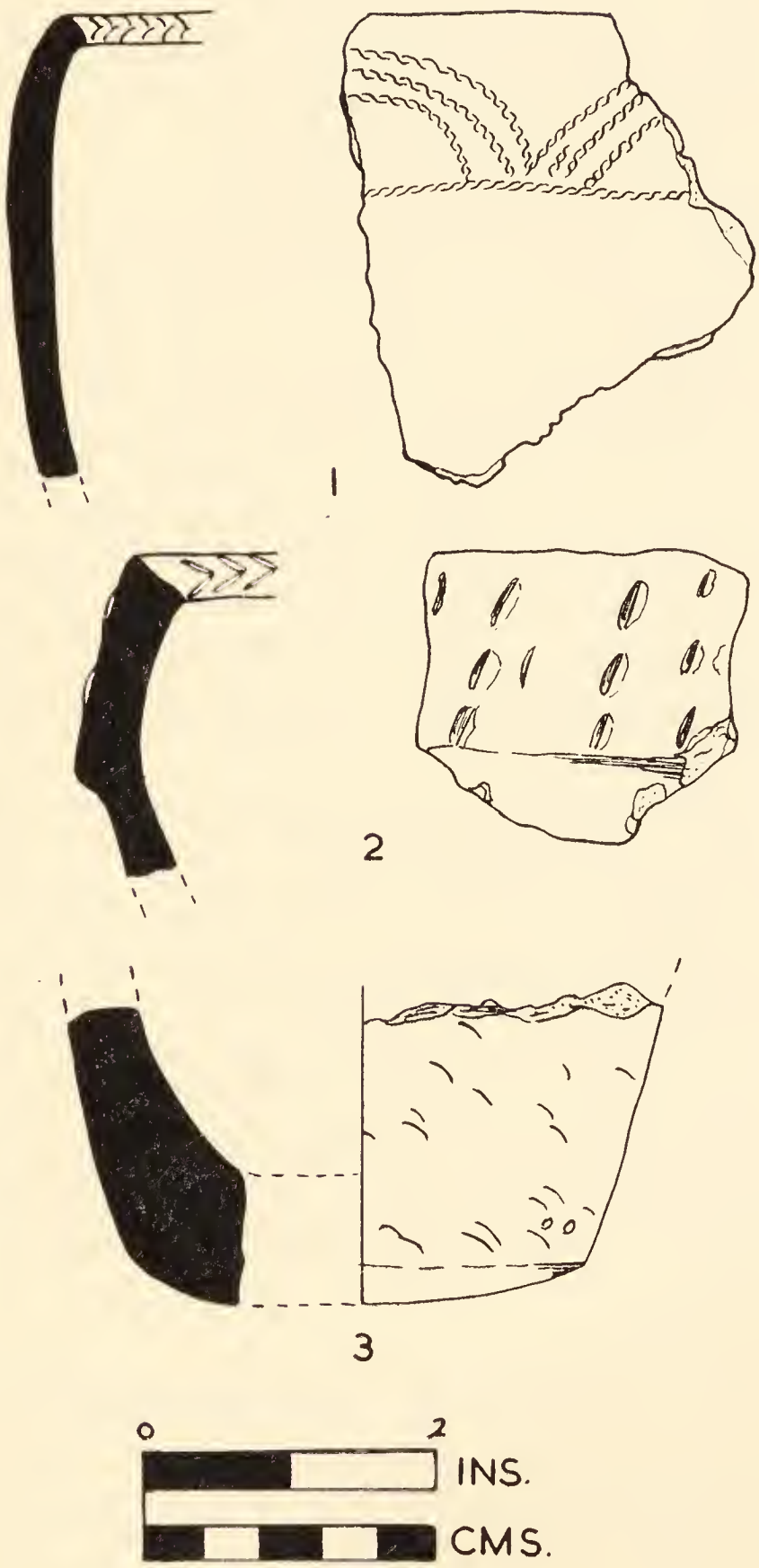


FIG. 5.

Pottery from Acklam 211 (1 & 2) and Aldro 30 (3)

A fragment of a collared vessel, but without the inturned rim was found in the mound material above the grave of Barrow 211, Acklam, E.R.[1] This rim (fig. 5.2) is of coarse grey paste with chalk grit, the bevel has an incised herring-bone pattern and the collar is finger-nail rusticated. A possibly related vessel is the large pot from Icklingham, Suffolk, which has a deep collar with stab decoration and a bag-shaped body.[2] This was found on an occupation floor with Peterborough sherds.

Finally in the search for comparative material attention must be drawn to the fragments of a small straight-sided, round-bottomed bowl similar in paste and decoration to sherd No. 8 (fig. 3). This little bowl (fig. 5.3) was found in a hollow in the old ground surface under Barrow 30, Acklam, E.R.[3] This hollow contained burnt wood, hazel nuts, half a jet bead, sherds of the little bowl and a sherd of a large bowl with an expanded flat-topped rim referred to above in discussing Group A pottery.

It now remains to attempt to draw some conclusions regarding the cultural affinities of this Group B pottery. The association of this pottery with more recognisable types of Peterborough wares together with such features as the methods of decoration and the herring-bone and curvilinear patterns suggest that we have another variety of pottery belonging to the Peterborough Culture.

But it should be noted that such features as collars, inturned rims, flat bases, and rusticated decoration are found on the pottery of the Rinyo-Clacton Culture and amongst Rusticated Beaker Wares. Apart from the rusticated decoration the above features are not typical of the Ebbsfleet and Mortlake varieties of Peterborough pottery. The conical body shape of our pottery can be traced back to vessels of straight sided conical form like one of the bowls from Ford Castle referred to above.[4] We must on the existing evidence look on this pottery as more than a local variety dated to the Late Neolithic after the advent of the B2-beakers on the evidence of the Fengate site, but the Driffield evidence is not watertight enough to suggest a date before the arrival of the A-beaker Culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The writer wishes to record his indebtedness to Messrs. C. & E. Grantham of Driffield, for placing the finds from their excavation at his disposal and supplying information. The writer is also greatly indebted to Miss I. F. Smith for supplying drawings and information of the pottery from Fengate, Peterborough, referred to in this paper. Acknowledgements are made to Mr. D. N. Riley for drawing the writer's attention to the Cassington finds and to Mr. J. B. Fay, Director of the Mortimer Museum, Hull, for permission to publish the sherds from Acklam Barrows 30 and 211.

[1] Mortimer, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Mortimer Museum, Hull, No. lxv.
[2] Piggott, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii, p. 126; Brit. Mus. 1914.2-12.1.
[3] Mortimer, *op. cit.*, p. 68, fig. 141; Mortimer Museum, Hull, No. 141.
[4] Piggott, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii, p. 157, fig. 18; Brit. Mus. 79.12-9, 1744.

EXCAVATIONS ON KILDALE MOOR NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE, 1953.

By Paul Ashbee.

Introduction.

On various remote parts of the North Yorkshire moors there is a profusion of small cairns. These are generally round, and in size 10 to 18 feet across, and about 2 feet or less in height. They usually occur in groups, often in large clusters. One such group on John Cross Rigg, between Iburndale and Robin Hood's Bay, is reputed to contain 1,300 cairns or barrows,[1] and another on Danby Rigg in Eskdale, probably the best known, has 800.[2] The small cairns on Kildale Moor, with one exception, are of this class, some 60 still being visible. However, as at Danby Rigg, this number may grow less if unchecked stone collecting persists for many more years.

Such concentrations of small cairns or barrows are not an exclusively Yorkshire phenomenon. The large number of small cairns on Castle Down on the island of Tresco in the Scilly Islands[3] comes to mind, while they have also been met with in Westmorland, Northumberland,[4] Scotland,[5] and Wales.[6] The sepulchral character of many of these small mounds has never been proved beyond all doubt, in spite of the succinct '*Tumuli*' which labels appropriate groups on our Ordnance Survey Maps.

Canon Atkinson of Danby explored a number of the Danby Rigg cairns.[7] He appears to have found in them flint flakes, charcoal, and sometimes sherds of pottery. Several were removed from the Rigg on account of their stone content; the Canon records that these too were similarly barren of significant relics. Canon Greenwell investigated this class of monuments[8] with negative result, while Kendall of Pickering was also disappointed.

[1] Elgee, *Early Man in N.E. Yorkshire*, 99.

[2] *Ibid.*, 99.

[3] O.S. 6 in. Map Cornwall, LXXXII N.W. and S.W.

[4] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 421; especially note 1. R.C.A.M., Westmorland, 27-8, No. 46d.

[5] *Ibid.*; Mr. Alex. Keiller investigated a group at Morven in Aberdeenshire with negative results. Cairns at Gullane (*P.S.A.S.*, XLII, 332) appear to have covered burials. In Galloway and the northern counties small cairns have been noticed in the vicinity of settlement sites (Childe, *Prehist. Scot.*, 216).

[6] Lady Fox and Mrs. Murray Threipland excavated two cairn cemeteries in Glamorgan during 1941. Here a sepulchral function may well have been likely. Their paper included a general consideration of the problem (to which the writer is indebted) together with map and list of cairn cemeteries in East Glamorgan (*Arch. Camb.*, 1943, 77-87).

[7] Atkinson in *Gents. Mag. Lib. Arch.*, vol. I, 201-63; *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, 135-52; 213-34.

[8] Greenwell, *op. cit.*, 419-21.

Recently[1] it has been suggested by Mr. N. Mitchelson that these 'stone heaps' represent the residue of cultivation plot clearance in a stony region, and others before him have had the same idea.

As on Danby Rigg, the Kildale Moor cairns are clustered in distinct groups. Were they proved to be barrows in the accepted sense, this might suggest family or clan grouping. Often they are in the vicinity of larger barrows. This observation led Greenwell to regard them as the burial-places of what he termed the 'humbler classes', considering the larger barrows to be those of chiefs and leaders.[2] It would seem that a similar view was held by Mortimer.[3]

The cairns and barrow on Kildale Moor (Figs. 1 and 2), the excavation of which is the subject of the present paper, comprised an entity, apart from those lower down the hill. The 900 ft. contour completely enclosed them, and their isolation gave some grounds for a suspicion that they might have been of special significance. However, in spite of altitude and isolation, the archaeological record for the small cairns was here even more remarkable for its paucity than elsewhere. Excavations were conducted by the writer for the Ministry of Works because of imminent and unavoidable destruction; they lasted for three weeks in the latter part of June and the beginning of July, 1953. One relatively large barrow and nine small cairns were investigated.

Geology and Topography.

The geological solid of Kildale Moor is the Greater and Inferior Oolite of the Cleveland Series. There are, on and around the periphery of the hilltop, traces of a stony yellowish clay, while it is strewn with weathered sandstone blocks. These were, it would seem, brought by ice activity from the Durham coalfield. Such morainic débris would have been, and indeed was, a ready source of raw material for kerbs, and cairn building. A moorland podsol is the soil of the top of Brown Hill, where heather alternates with eroded patches. Lower down, all but the larger rocks are blanketed by a dark peaty formation, recently burned under controlled conditions. Brown Hill and Kildale Moor are overlooked by greater heights on all sides, although almost isolated by the Leven and Sleddale Slack valleys.

The Barrow.

Before excavation this had the appearance of a small, kerbed, circular platform. The kerb stones were almost masked by peaty soil and heather. Heather obscured part of the interior also, while where there was no heather a crop of broken glass, smashed boulders, and tins thrived.

Excavation was by quadrants and layers. The dimensions of the structure did not allow a constant section. Thus a layer was recorded and then removed, the sections being gradually

[1] *Arch. Newsletter*, 4 (No. 8), 128.
[2] *Ibid.*, 420.
[3] Mortimer, *Forty Years*, IXXii.

KILDALE MOOR

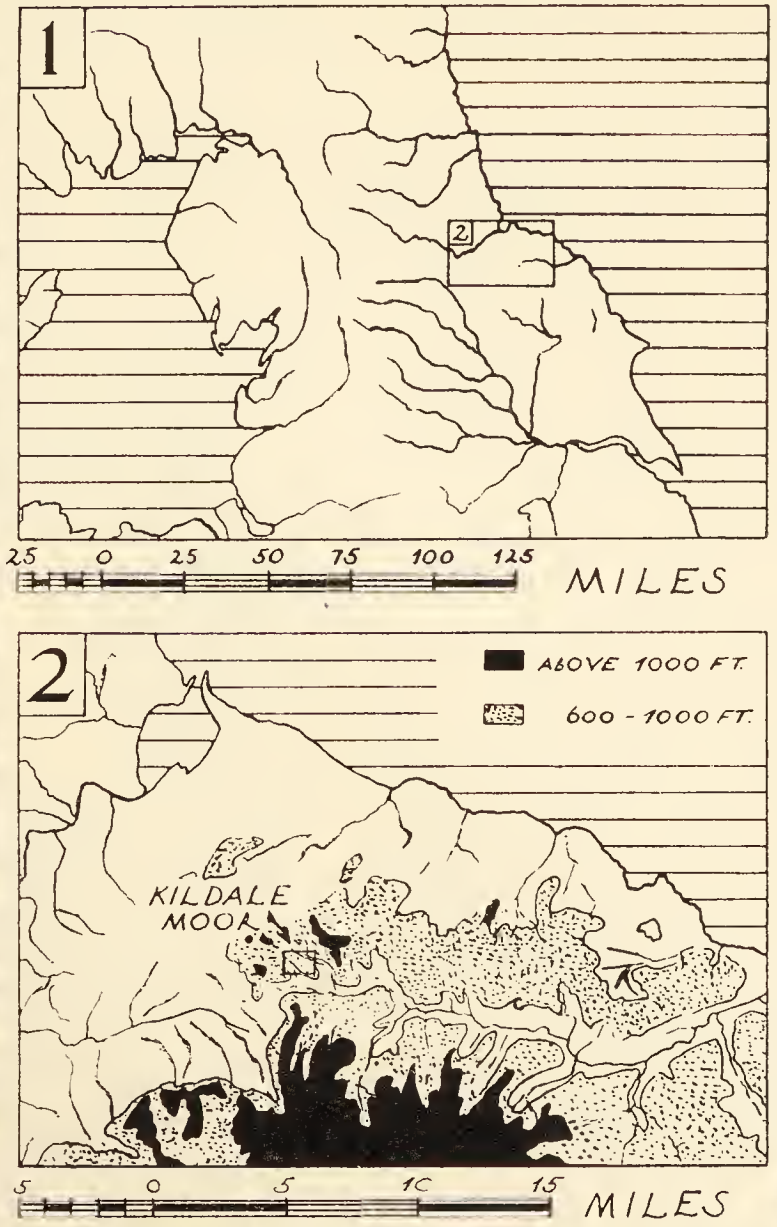


FIG. 1. *(Based on the Ordnance Survey Map by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.*

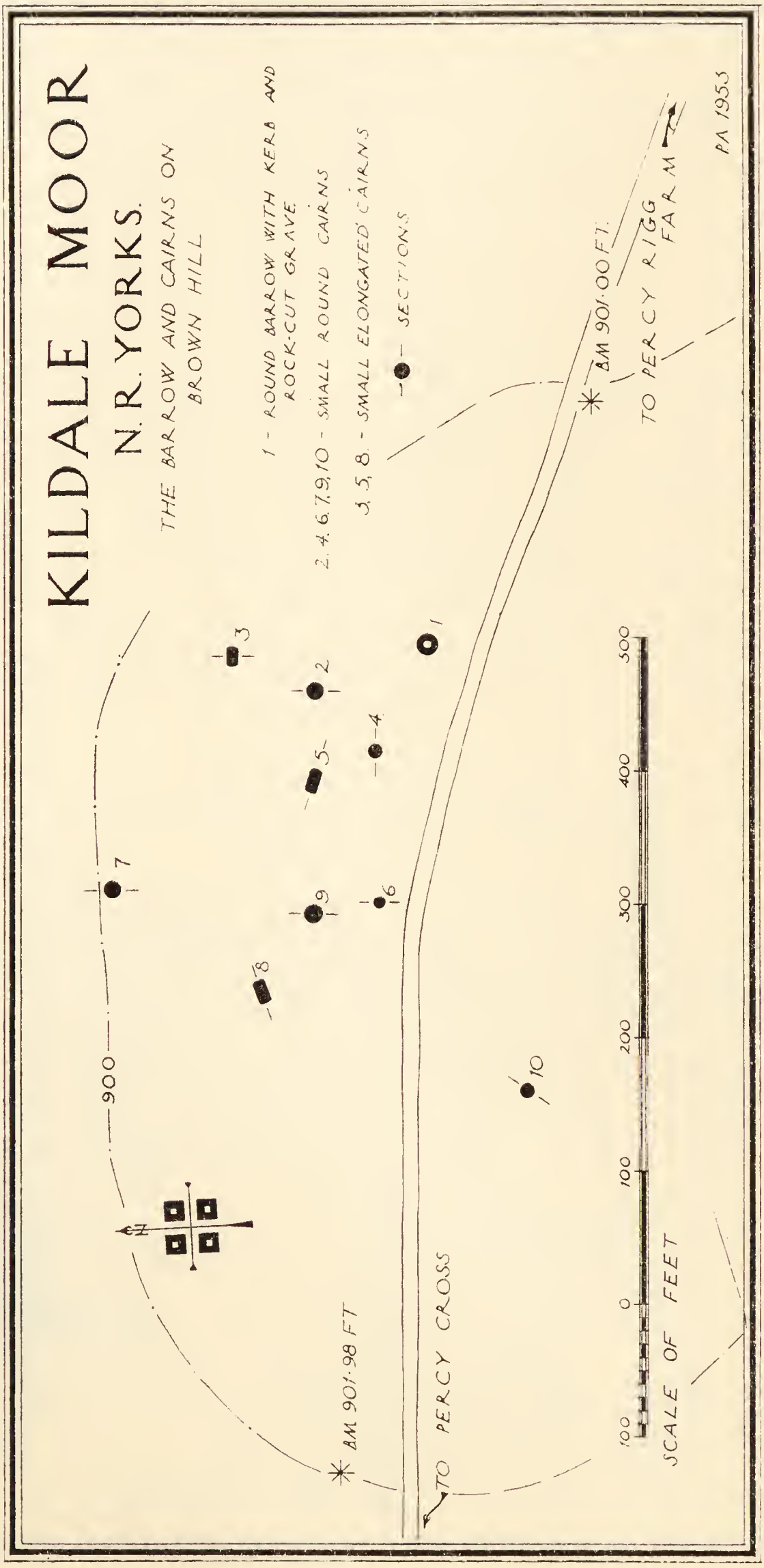

KILDALE MOOR
N.R.YORKS.
THE BARROW AND CAIRNS ON BROWN HILL
1 - ROUND BARROW WITH KERB AND ROCK-CUT GRAVE
2.4.6.7.9.10 - SMALL ROUND CAIRNS
3.5.8. - SMALL ELONGATED CAIRNS
— SECTIONS
BM 901·00 FT.
TO PERCY RIGG FARM
PA 1953
900
BM 901·98 FT
TO PERCY CROSS
SCALE OF FEET
100 0 100 200 300 400 500

FIG. 2.



PLATE I. Kildale Moor Barrow, 1953. The grave pit.



PLATE II. Kildale Moor Barrow, 1953. The grave emptied.

built up. In the subsequent account of excavation the sequence will be reversed, and a narrative which endeavours to follow the original order of construction offered. This can be conveniently divided under the two following headings :—(a) The Grave and its infilling, and (b) The Kerb and Cairn.

(*a*) *The Grave and its infilling.*

After the removal of topsoil by the burial party, an almost rectangular pit was hewn out of the solid Oolite rock (fig. 3(1) and pl. 1). It seems likely that this spot was selected because of dipping strata and convenient lines of cleavage. These would have allowed the wafer-thin upper layers and the progressively thicker lower layers of rock to have been prised away with a minimum of effort. The broken fragments and sandy material removed from the upper part of the pit were subsequently used for infilling purposes, while the larger rocks removed from lower down were used to under-pin the kerb on its southern side.

Around the confines of this rock-hewn pit irregular boulders were set in a rectangle with lozenge-shaped *stelae* at opposing corners (vertical slabs in fig. 3(1) and pl. 2). Large rocks were used upon the sides, while approximate uniformity of height was obtained with smaller rocks set one upon another. These stones appear to have been collected from the surface close by, only one piece that may have been broken out during the pit-hewing operation being used. The stones used for this grave did not seem to form any particular pattern. However, it must be observed that the stones on the slightly longer eastern and western sides were loosely set,—they were merely laid in position,—while those at the northern and southern ends were tightly wedged with packing stones. The lozenge-shaped *stelae* at the opposing ends had been secured with small trig stones. These vertically set slabs were closely scrutinised, but, apart from irregular weathering, they were devoid of any marking.

The bottom of the grave was irregular on account of the tilt of the rock but it may have been levelled up with sandy material from the higher and thinner rocky layers. The central area of the grave was clean and clear, but around the sides, and beneath the edges of and between the stones, were jumbled charcoal fragments including pieces of twig (Appendix). It seemed as if a fire had been lit in the grave or nearby, and after it had burned away the residue had been swept to the sides and ends, leaving the centre quite clear. One the other hand there were no signs of scorching or burning either in the grave or its filling. The only undoubted artifact from the grave-pit was a flint knife (see below). This was found amongst charcoal fragments almost beneath the edge of a large stone on the western side of the grave (fig. 3(1)). Its unmarked condition indicates that its deposition was not connected with any fire ritual.

Traces of carbonised wood were noted in the grave-filling above the lining-stones at the southern end of the grave. They were for the most part intermittent stains in the stony filling; several pieces were, however, recovered (Appendix). It seems that they were the remnants of sticks or rods, and that they had played some important part in the life or the funeral of the departed, i.e. were important enough to be deposited in the grave. Further traces of carbonised wood, together with stains, were noted upon the tops of the grave lining stones. They were all examined *in situ* and, with one exception, the direction of the grain coincided with the line of the sides of the grave.

The grave filling (Section, fig. 4, layer (3)) consisted in the main of the sandy material which was between and above the wafer-thin upper layers of rock together with small, and occasionally large, pieces of rock. This grave infill was surmounted by the great central slab, which was estimated as being some $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons in weight (fig. 3(2)). It rested directly upon the infilling, without any bearer stones. A corner had been broken from the great stone, but another stone of the right shape had been laid in its place.

Separating the grave filling proper from the cairn above, and the great slab from the yellow filling, was the dense, dark, moor-pan (Section, fig. 4, layer (2)). This, a normal feature of moorland podsols, was for the most part thin around the grave periphery, but on the southern and eastern sides it had attained a remarkable thickness. Here it cemented together into concrete-like consistency the underpinning of the large kerb stones, e.g. the peripheral slab. It merged with a soft, black, greasy deposit immediately beneath the great slab (this phenomenon may well have been the 'dark unctuous earth' of Borlase and other early excavators in podsol regions). This material was, it would seem, but the changed grave infilling. Where stony and dry, it was almost indistinguishable from pan, but when wet and relatively stone free, it was soft and greasy, but unlike clay grades when rubbed out between the fingers. Immediately beneath this 'plug' of dark material the sandy filling was dirty and discoloured. Discolouration was almost completely lacking beneath the pan.

(*b*) *The Kerb and Cairn.*

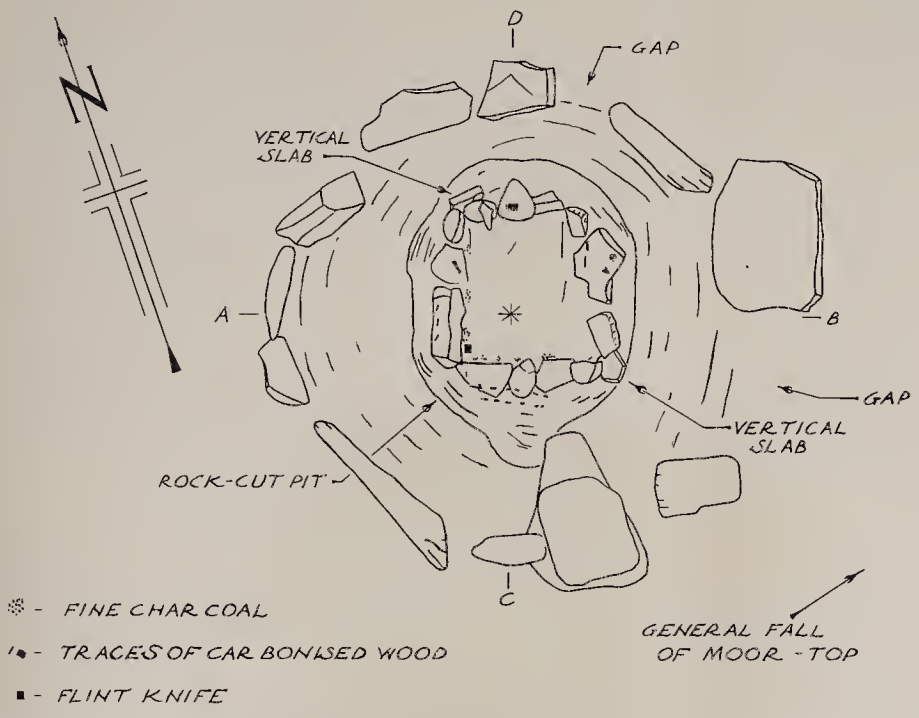
What soil there was within the kerb was dark, with an almost imperceptible leached horizon at its base above the moor pan. At, and outside, the kerb the leached layer was more marked, and indeed, upon the uphill side, not inconsiderable.

The kerb (fig. 3(1) and pl. 3) consisted, basically, of eleven large stones. Of these, two had fallen, or had, at some time, been thrown down. In places smaller stones had been packed between the larger ones. This kerb was underpinned by stone rubble on three sides, the uphill or western kerb stones resting almost upon the bed rock. Efforts had been made to level the stones of the cairn to some approximate order. This stone underpinning

A BARROW ON KILDALE MOOR

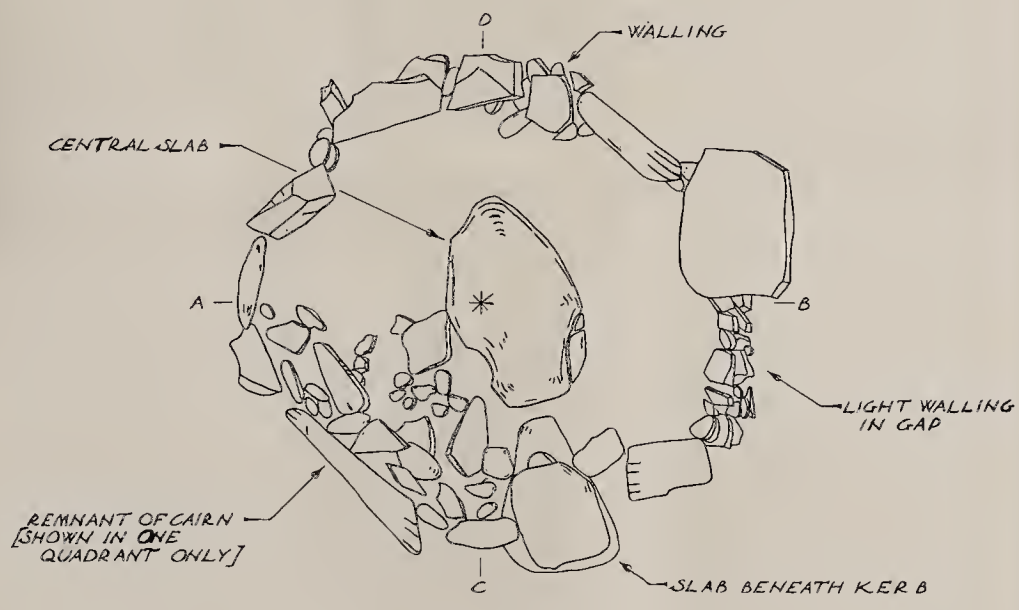
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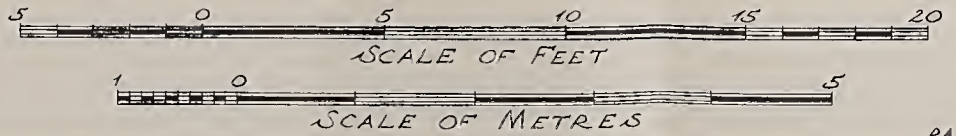
THE GRAVE AND KERB



2

DETAILS OF BARROW CONSTRUCTION





P.A. '54

Fig 3.

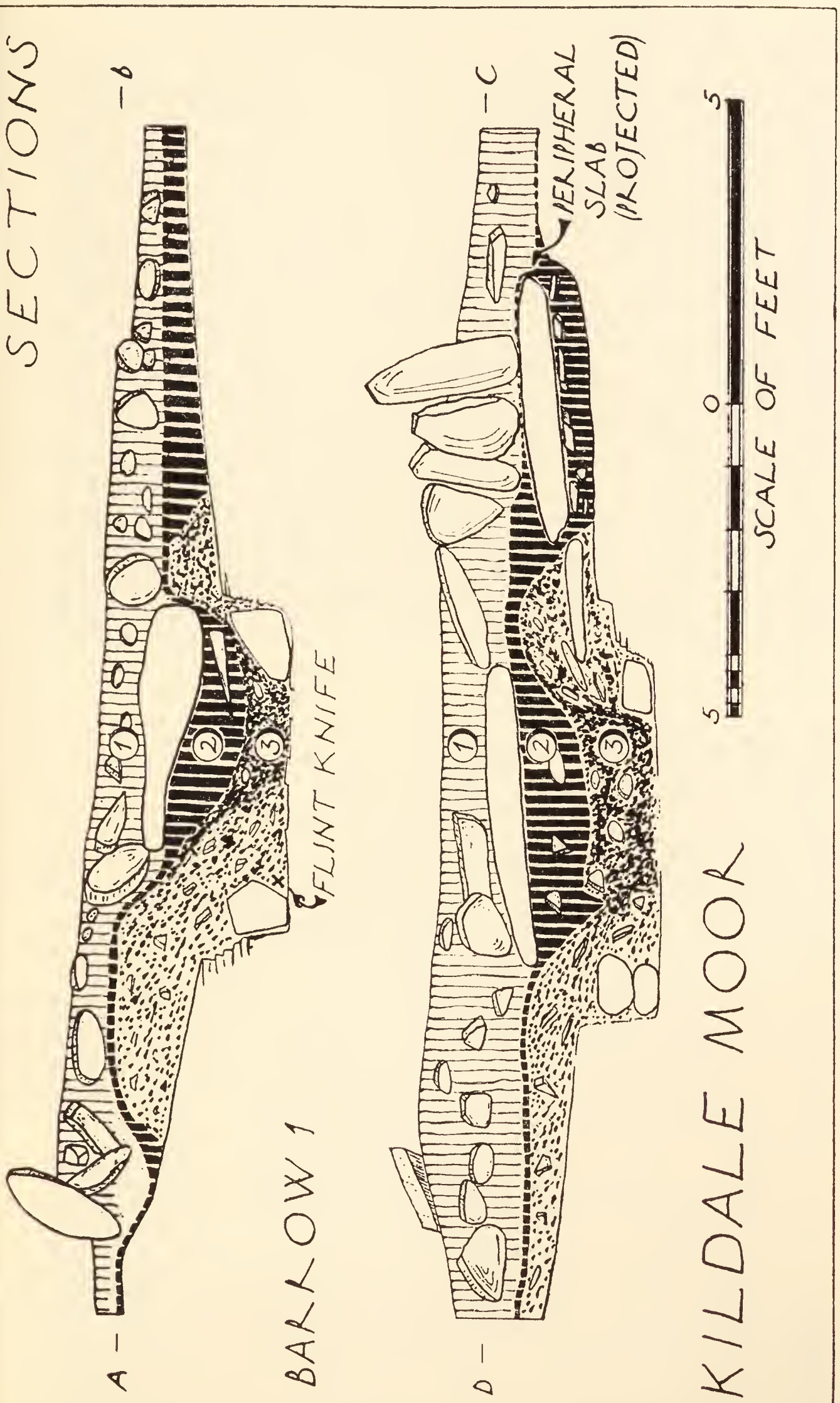

SECTIONS
A –
B –
C –
D –
FLINT KNIFE
PERIPHERAL SLAB (PROJECTED)
1
2
3
0
5
SCALE OF FEET
BARROW 1
KILDALE MOOR

FIG. 4.

was subsequently cemented together by the moor pan. Light walling which contrasted markedly with the large stones filled both the gaps in the kerb. A stone of the same magnitude as the remainder of the large stones comprising the kerb could have been conveniently accommodated in this gap, but for some reason light walling had been used (fig. 3(2) and Plate 4).

The underpinning material and the kerb that it carried rested upon the tail of the grave pit filling (Sections), suggesting that at least the grave pit had been filled before the kerb was built. It cannot be proved that the great central slab was in position at this stage, but, judging by the experiences of the excavators during its removal, a kerb *in situ* would have been restrictive of manoeuvre. Thus it seems likely that the gaps in the kerb (fig. 3(1)) were for convenience of construction rather than for any ritual purpose. It would have been no easy task to bring the great cover slab through the larger gap, let alone across the kerb.

The stones in the kerb interior, which were probably the foundation of a much higher cairn, lapped one over another in places. The general direction of this lapping was towards the main gap. Such a gap would have been most convenient for the insertion of the basic courses. The stones used in what must have been the lower part of the cairn were of a size that two men could have manipulated with an effort. Yet some of the kerb-stones and the great central cover slab must have needed more than two pairs of hands to place them in position. A car, jacks, and chains, were needed to raise and move this great slab at the appropriate time during the excavation. Stone robbing has, no doubt, accounted for the disappearance of a great part of the covering cairn. It must have been a convenient quarry on account of its proximity to the point where for some considerable time various versions of the moorland road have breasted the hill.

(*c*) *The Finds.*

Fig. 5.

1. From the central grave (see fig. 3), brownish flint with slight, spotted, milky, patina : at least the third blade struck from a polyhedric core. It shows a deep bulbar scar : and has shallow, but fairly uniform, retouch of the cortex-free edge, giving a reasonably straight edge with convex ends.

From the surface :

2. Translucent flint, milky patina—Microlithic triangle.

3. Flint with milky patina : microlithic rod with retouched edges. Rolled.

(*d*) *Conclusions.*

The grave pit is not dissimilar to rock-hewn or earth-dug pits elsewhere[1]. Similarly block-defined graves are not infrequently met with beneath cairns and barrows in Britain.[2] Stones of the size of that covering the grave of this barrow are more in keeping

[1] e.g. even Overton, *W.A.M.*, L., 87-8.

[2] Grinsell, *A.B.M.E.*, 2nd ed. 1953, 55-6.



PLATE III. Kildale Moor Barrow, 1953. The kerb and grave cover.



PLATE IV. Kildale Moor Barrow, 1953. Filling of gap in kerb.

with the Highland Zone traditions of cist burial, but again they are known to have covered such graves, generally at ground level.

The kerb of large recumbent stones set tangentially to the cairn perimeter is, in terms of Worth's original Dartmoor classification,[1] (expounded by Grinsell,[2] and elaborated by Payne),[3] of the 'open' type. The gap brings it into the interrupted category,[4] but it might well be indicative of the direction of the habitations of the cairn builders[5]. In the circumstances it could well show from which direction the cairn building material was brought.

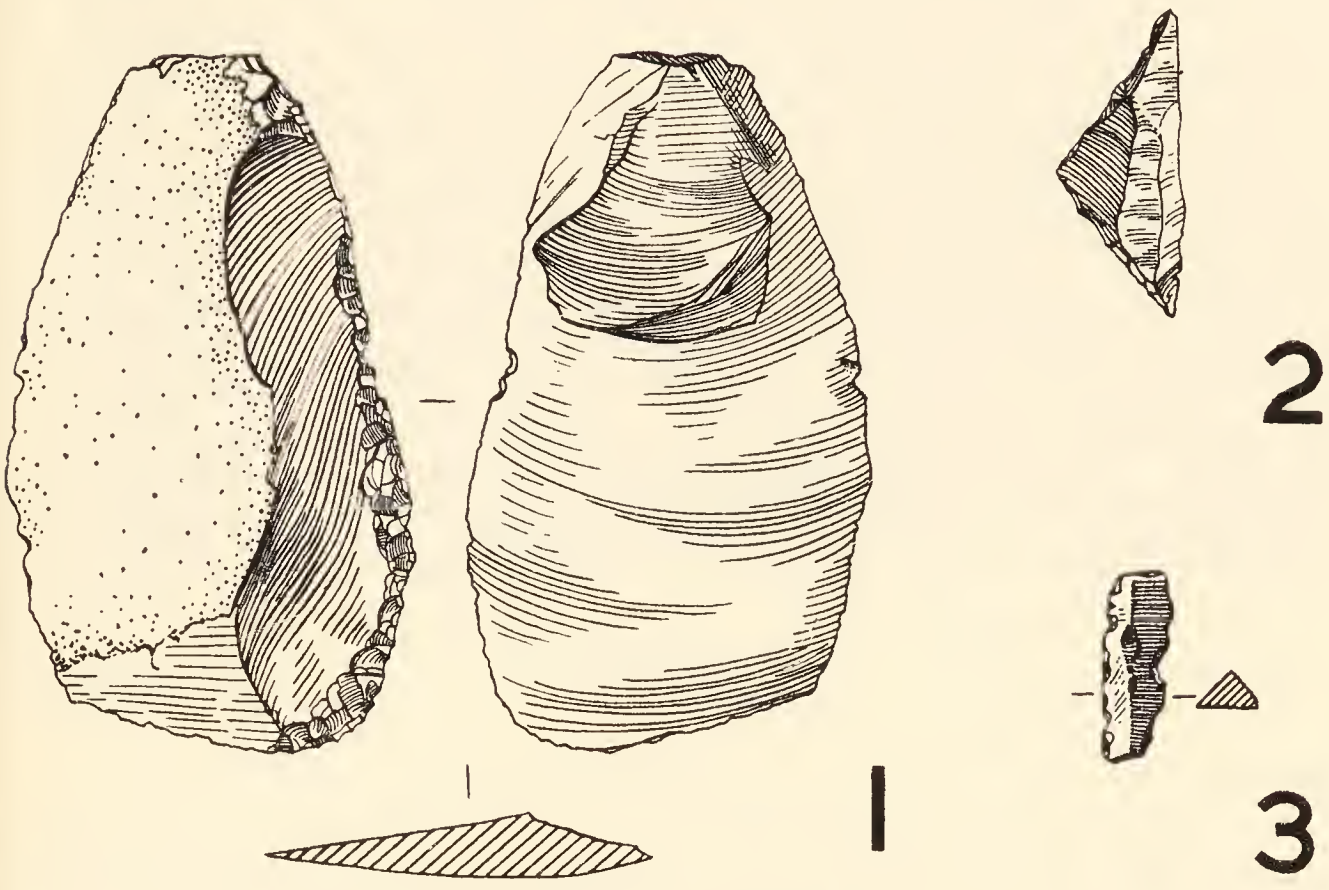


FIG. 5. Scale ½.
Retouched flake from barrow, and microliths from surface.

A series of burials, with Neolithic and Early Bronze Age affinities, by the foot of single standing posts or stones has long been known,[6] but to alight upon a precisely similar arrangement to the grave-bracketing *stelae* or standing stones of Kildale Moor is difficult. Sir Cyril Fox published a barrow excavated during 1925 at Kilpaison Burrows. Here two good sized stones, one vertically set, flanked the primary cremation at the centre of the mound.[7] Mr. L. V. Grinsell has reminded me that the boat-formed

[1] *T.D.A.*, LXIX, 1937, 93-101 (Inner Circles); see also Elgee, *Arch. Yorks.*, under circles.
[2] *P.P.S.*, VII, 95.
[3] *P.D.A.N.S.*, LXV, 38-52; *W.A.M.*, L., 83-8.
[4] *P.P.S.* VII, 94-5.
[5] *J.R.A.I.*, XCIX, 21-2.
[6] *Archaeologia*, XC, 51.
[7] *Arch. Camb.*, LXXXI, 1-35; two posts bracketed a trunk coffined cremation burial in Tum [illegible] at Vries *Niew. Drent. Volksal.*, 1941, 115-9; Glasbergen considers that these may have been the posts of some sort of mortuary house. *Eight. Beat.*, 146.

stone settings, such as occur sometimes in Scandinavia,[1] have the prows and keels denoted by upright stones. It is most difficult to see even a vestige of a boat form in the sub-rectangular Kildale setting. They may well be far from the Kildale Grave in form and affiliations, but some of the burials in the Avebury Avenue were at the foot of, and between, opposing pairs of standing stones, one lozenge formed and the other parallel sided.[2]

The traces of carbonised wood above and about the grave delimiting stones have been thought of as a cover for the grave, i.e. spars forming a small 'mortuary house'. The 'infall' of the grave filling was, during the excavation, thought suggestive of something of this nature (see Section), but, had such a structure existed in fact, one would legitimately expect to have found substantial pieces of carbonised wood either in the middle of the grave or in its lower filling. This was not the case. The possibility that these ephemeral wooden remains were of wooden equipment placed by the grave must not be overlooked.[3] The fragmented charcoal in the grave may well be evidence of pre-burial fumigation.[4]

In view of the remarks regarding cremations made above and below, it would seem likely that the primary burial was an inhumation. Southern English excavations have shown that retaining circles are most frequently found surrounding interments by cremation.[5] Recent investigations,[6] however, have shown that there are indisputable cases of such circles around inhumed interments.

The Small Cairns.

These were nine in number (figs. 1, no. 3; and 2, nos. 2 to 10), resembling, with exceptions, nothing so much as small heaps of weathered stones. Even so, they were of some prominence in the boulder-strewn landscape. The exceptions were small mounds, peat enshrouded and supporting luxuriant heather. More of these structures were observed than those recorded as upon the hilltop by the 1938 Ordnance Surveyors. Of these three suspected extra cairns only one was in any way similar to the basic series. Inspection of the cairns and mounds before excavation showed that two forms were present, a round and an elongated. The latter were of approximately the same width as the round but in some cases this length was almost twice as great. It was thought at first that the long cairns were but larger round ones modified by the generations of stone collecting from the hill.

[1] Falk and Shetelig, *Scand. Arch.*, 151-2 and pl. 24.
[2] *Antiquity*, X, 417-27.
[3] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 278; For wooden grave-goods preserved by ice in barrows in the Altai, see Jettmar, in *Bulletin of Mus. of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, 23, 1951.
[4] Grinsell, *A.B.M.E.*, 2nd ed. 1953, 40.
[5] Cremations outnumber inhumations by 3 or 4 to 1 in almost the whole of Southern England (L. V. Grinsell).
[6] *W.A.M.*, L. 88.



PLATE V. Kildale Moor, 1953. Cairn no. 7 from N.W.



PLATE VI. Kildale Moor, 1953. Cairn no. 5 from N.E.

At this point it is convenient to introduce the result of a field inspection of the large numbers of cairns shown on the maps as clothing the lower hillside. Thus of the 127 small cairns noted as 'tumuli', 67 cannot be found today. Of the 60 still extant, 50 are round while 10 are elongated. Of the former, some may not be cairns at all, in the sense of the work of man. The position of many makes one suspect that they may be peat choked natural outliers of the boulder trains which are prominent hereabouts. The 10 elongated cairns have a fair peat cover and there is no special sign of damage to any of them, but how far the peat cover can be regarded as a sign of antiquity remains an open question. The elongated form has been noted in all instances by the Ordnance Surveyors, as far as can be seen. Since making the observations recorded above, Mr. N. Mitchelson has informed me that a similar differentiation of form is visible among the Danby Rigg cairns and in other Yorkshire groups.[1]

Excavation was by halves, a constant section being exposed, in each case. The characteristic small cairn forms are shown in pls. 5 and 6, and a section of each cairn is given in fig. 6. With two exceptions, the cairns investigated were of stones, as the term 'cairn' implies. Apart from the fact that these seven cairns were just irregular heaps of stones, five approximately round and two elongated, they have no other feature in common except a tendency for comparatively large stones to form a central 'core'. In some cases it seemed likely that the cairns were deliberately sited by large stones which were subsequently incorporated in the structure. Two of the cairns were peat enshrouded, which led to the noting and investigation of two more peat eminences. This peat may well have protected the respective cairns from at least recent interference. No buried soil was detectable beneath any of these small cairns; a section shows that all traces of such differentia had been smothered by the characteristic weathering and the resulting soil profile of the moor-top. Stones on end were noted beneath Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 7. This need not be taken as evidence of action on the part of the cairn builders. Stones on end are so common among the moor-top boulder spreads, that, even today, it would be difficult to site a cairn without incorporating at least one.

One of the peaty eminences (No. 6) close by the road was, when dug, revealed as a heap of yellow sandy material and broken oolite flagstone fragments. Beneath this heap were signs of burning. At a short distance from the skirt was a channel filled with leached material and small stones. There was no trace of an interment, nor was there a buried soil beneath it, as might have been expected; the contrast was between material, the heap, loose and easily worked, and the subsoil beneath, relatively

[1] 'Long' Mounds are also a feature of the Welsh cemeteries. At Hirwaun, where some covered 'scoop graves' or small pits, they were in the minority. Similar 'Long' mounds accompany small round cairns in Brittany (Mr. Murray Threipland, see footnote 6).

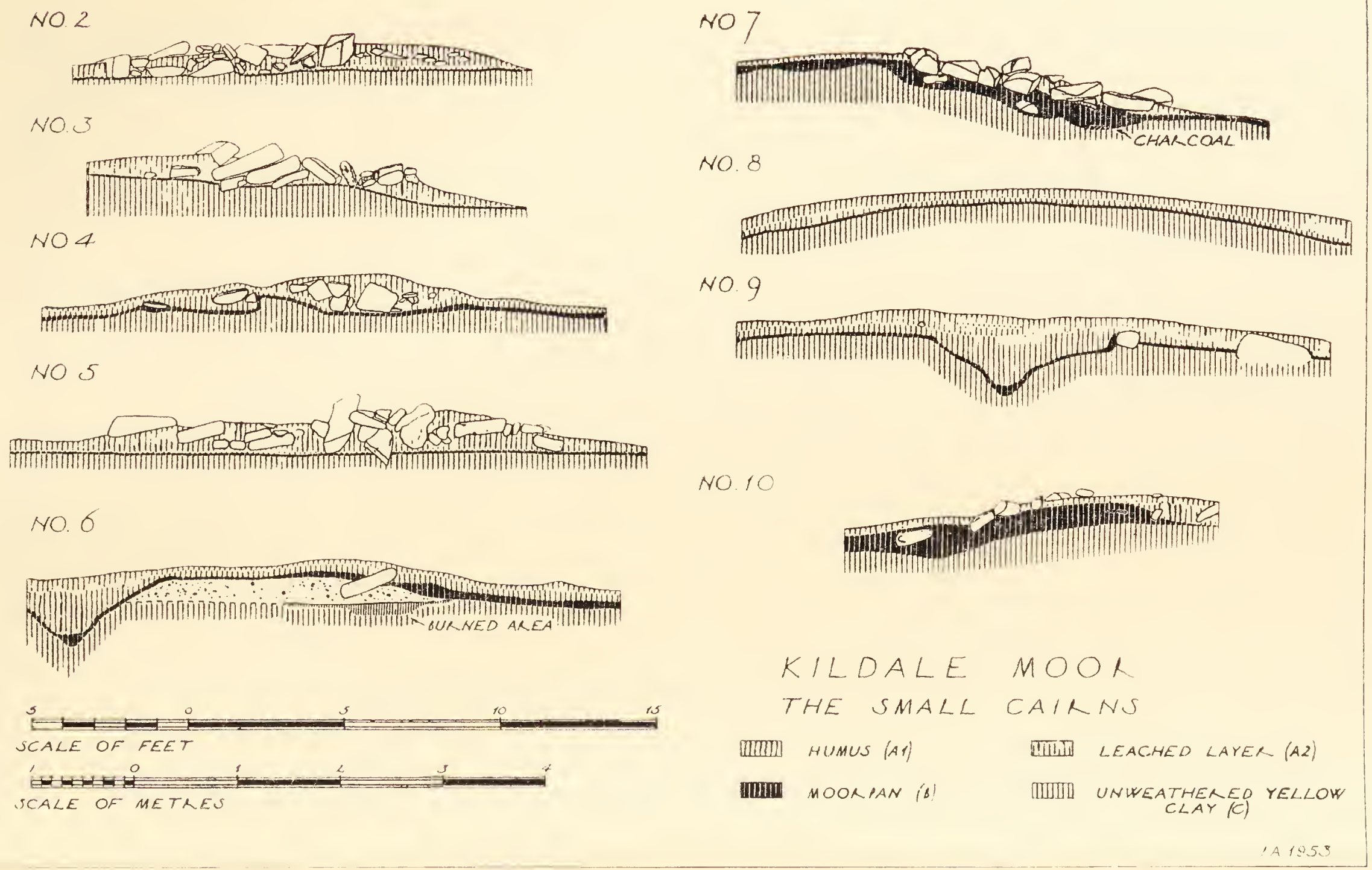


Fig. 6. Sections through the small cairns.

obdurate. It was thought that the channel, noted above, was a quarry ditch or the like, for the heap which was a cairn or barrow. However, its sinuous, slot-like appearance and filling seemed against this. A little later a similar transverse channel was found partly beneath cairn No. 10. The heap of sandy material could be connected with the present road side spoil heaps which it abutted, as all the cairns on both Brown Hill and the remainder of the moor are of stones. These road side heaps have a peaty cover.

A part of this channel was explored, and it shallowed off to the almost undetectable hilltop watershed and deepened conversely. The deepening end fell towards a shallow valley, peated over, but punctuated with boggy patches and falling roughly towards the Kildale hamlet. The rapidity with which storm-water could cut gullies in bare soil was strikingly demonstrated several times during the excavation. It seems most likely that this is the explanation of the two similarly filled channels encountered by, and beneath, cairns 6 and 10.

The signs of burning under cairn 6 consisted of an irregularly circular area, just over 3 ft. in diameter. In the middle the dry subsoil was a brilliant blood-orange hue. Around the edges were small pieces of charcoal, while deep in the tinted sandy soil were several more quite large pieces. This layer was of an average 6 ins. depth; it gave way at one point to a pink sandy soil which descended for some 3 ins. It persisted down amongst unburned and what appeared to be entirely undisturbed stones in the subsoil. Thus, it would seem as if weathering processes had caused this pigmentation to penetrate deep in otherwise undisturbed soil. Under no circumstances could the archaeological word 'pit' be invoked to explain this phenomenon, although the removal of the various coloured soils produced a 'pit'.

Contrasting with the 'traces of burning' examined above, there was a leached-soil and pan-filled cavity beneath Cairn no. 9. This was a stone-built cairn, but a section showing the stones would not have been across the maximum diameter. Removal of the leached soil and the pan gave a saucer-like cavity with a further slot-like depression, moor-pan filled, descending from its lowest point. It was devoid of relics.

There was a pocket of charcoal flecks, but no signs of burning beneath Cairn 7 and a few charcoal pieces in the leached soil flanked no. 3, while there were signs of burning beneath the disputed no. 6. These remains could point to some kind of activity before the respective cairns were built, but even fires can be other than the work of man.

No artifacts were recovered from in or beneath any of the cairns. Similarly there was no direct evidence of the nature of any interment that many have been beneath them. Their sepulchral function here, therefore, remains not proven.

It has been suggested that these cairns are due to stone clearance before cultivation. On the summit of Kildale Moor there is a vast quantity of rocks still scattered on and in the ground. While it is admitted that hoe-cultivators might wrest a crop from the poor soil between the rocks, rock clearance upon the scale implied by the cairns would not, even today, make a sufficient difference to agricultural conditions as to be worth the expenditure of labour.

Greenwell's view regarding the small cairns[1] was that these monuments had originally covered unaccompanied inhumations, placed on the ground surface. Owing to the light covering of stones there would have been, he thought, rapid decomposition not only of the corpse but ultimately of the bones, without leaving any visible trace. He believed that, had cremations been beneath the small cairns, traces would have been discovered. This seems a very reasonable view, when the good condition of the cremated bone fragments from moorland cairns and barrows is seen in Middlesbrough, Whitby, and Scarborough Museums. At Eston Nab Camp, Elgee found cremations, unurned and in good order, just below the present surface.[2] Until more data bearing upon this controversial problem have accumulated, more cannot be said.

By way of a postscript, a number of broken flint flakes, scraps, and a microlithic triangle, found upon the top of Brown Hill, must be noted (Fig. 5). They were picked up from the grey leached soil of the wind-swept, water-wasted, bare patches. With one exception all the pieces came from among the cairns, one blade being found a short distance away from one. A search for flints in all the surrounding bared areas was fruitless, but emphasised the restricted area in which these few pieces were found.

APPENDIX.

Mr. J. F. Levy, B.Sc., of the Botany Department, Imperial College of Science, examined the charcoal from the grave beneath the Barrow(1) and from Cairns 3, 6 and 7. He reports that all the charcoal is oak (Quercus) except that from the burnt area beneath Cairn 6. This, it would appear, is most probably Scots Pine (Pinus sylvestris). Furthermore, it seems that the specimens were burnt, as opposed to being carbonised naturally in the ground.

[1] *op. cit.*, 421.
[2] *N.E. Yorks.*, 152-6, esp. 155.

EXCAVATIONS AT NEWHAM'S PIT, STAXTON, 1947-48.

By T. C. M. Brewster.

Introduction.

In the *Gazeteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire* a reference is made to Romano-British sherds from Flixton. These sherds came from a Romano-British and Anglian site located in a field at Flixton Ings, which is half a mile north east of Newham's Pit and must not be confused with the latter. Unfortunately the Flixton Romano-British material was originally identified as Hallstatt, prior to examination by Miss Kitson Clark and others. Elgee, who cannot be blamed in any way, noted the *Iron Age* dating in his unpublished notes which he had collected for a second edition of *Early Man in East Yorkshire*. No Iron Age "A" pottery has so far been found at Staxton or Flixton.

Odd potsherds had been recovered from rabbit scrapes in the field which is now Newham's Pit, a worked-out sand quarry, from 1930 to 1939. No coins, or other finds apart from pottery came to light in this period, and circumstances beyond the control of the writer prevented excavation prior to 1939. Furthermore, during World War II no systematic excavation was possible. Much material came to light in this period, the greater part of which has been destroyed or since lost. A Bronze Age beaker was recovered from the area of the inner ditch and has been published.[1] Mr. T. E. Newham, who operated the sand pit, cannot be blamed for the loss of material, as he saved a considerable quantity of pottery, and sent two iron spearheads to Scarborough Museum prior to its closure in 1941 after the death of Mr. C. H. Wilson, the Curator at that time. Regrettably this pottery was dispersed and cannot be located. The late E. R. Cross, of Scarborough, and others visited the site from time to time and recovered potsherds which Mr. Cross very rightly sent to the British Museum for identification on the 2nd October, 1942.[2] Dr. T. D. Kendrick sent the following letter in reply:—"Mr. Hawkes . . . . has . . . . seen . . . . the pottery. The light brown ribbed fragments are pieces of a beaker of the Early Bronze Age, the dark fragments are part of an Early Iron Age pot, and the flanged rim is part of an early Roman period mortarium. The site is clearly one that has been inhabited on several occasions over a very long period, on the present evidence, from say 1600 B.C. to 100 A.D.; and it is clearly an important place archaeologically, rather like the Scarborough settlement."

[1] T. C. M. Brewster, *Trans. Yorkshire Phil. Soc.*, 1951, p. 13.
[2] Mr. E. M. M. Alexander kindly supplied this information.

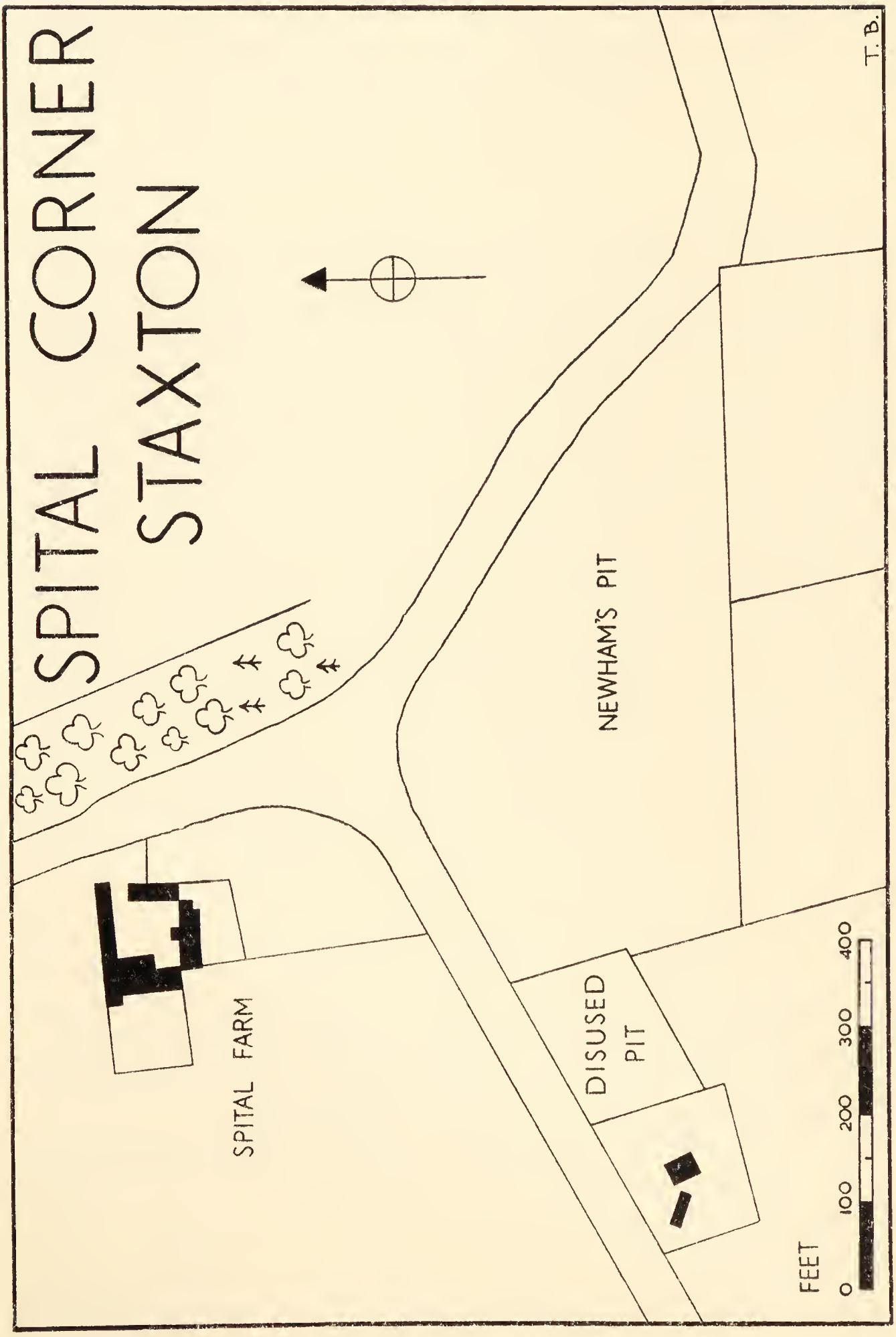


Fig. 1. Map of Spital Corner.

Throughout World War II, and up to early 1946, considerable quantities of pottery were observed by Mr. Newham and others in the area which approximates to the centre of the inner enclosure. The greater part was removed with the top soil and dumped over the edge of the north-western watercourse, or carted away at a later date to Hackness Hall in one case, and in another to fill in the northern roadside path between Sherburn Grange and the aerodrome at East Heslerton, now a caravan works.

During the summer of 1946 Mr. T. L. Gwatkins, then Curator of Scarborough Museum, and the writer inspected the site. A trial trench was excavated in the absence of the writer by Mr. Gwatkins and Mr. P. Ingram. A large fragment of a first century mortarium rim in fine buff ware was found approximately in the zone between the inner and outer ditches on the north-western side of the site. No ditches or huts were located. In the severe winter of 1947 the writer plotted, as far as possible, the edges of the ditches by direct measurement with a tape. Excavation was delayed until early in May 1947 and the first stage was completed by June 9th. This excavation was entirely a salvage operation and its purpose was to obtain information as to the structures before the final destruction of the site. The second period of activity was during the last two months of 1947 and January and February 1948. A medieval habitation was located early in 1948 to the north east of the outer ditch and has been published.[1] A final excavation on the site was undertaken during late December 1953 and early January 1954, when the partly levelled south-western ditch of the entrance was located.

The writer is greatly indebted to Messrs. T. E. and E. T. Newham, who operated the sand pit, for placing every facility at his disposal throughout the excavation and ceasing work in the pit in the area of Huts I and II during the clearing of the area. During May and June 1947, Messrs. J. W. A. Moore, P. Scott and, in particular, P. Williams, assisted at the excavation, and their help is gratefully acknowledged.

SITE, LOCATION AND SETTING.

Newham's Pit, now partly disused, was situated on the slight incline of an undulating sand hill—one of many in the district—deposited by the local glacial melt-waters at the base of the Wolds on the southern side of the Vale of Pickering. These sand formations close to the hill vary in thickness and are underlaid by chalk *in situ*, boulder clay, or chalk detritus from the immediate vicinity. This system produces numerous large and small springs, in the otherwise dry sandy zone, which flow northwards into the carrlands, formerly marsh or mere. Newham's Pit is a hundred yards south of Spital Farm, lying a quarter of a mile east of Staxton, in the Parish of Willerby, East Riding of

[1] T. C. M. Brewster, *Two Medieval Habitation Sites in the Vale of Pickering*, 1952.

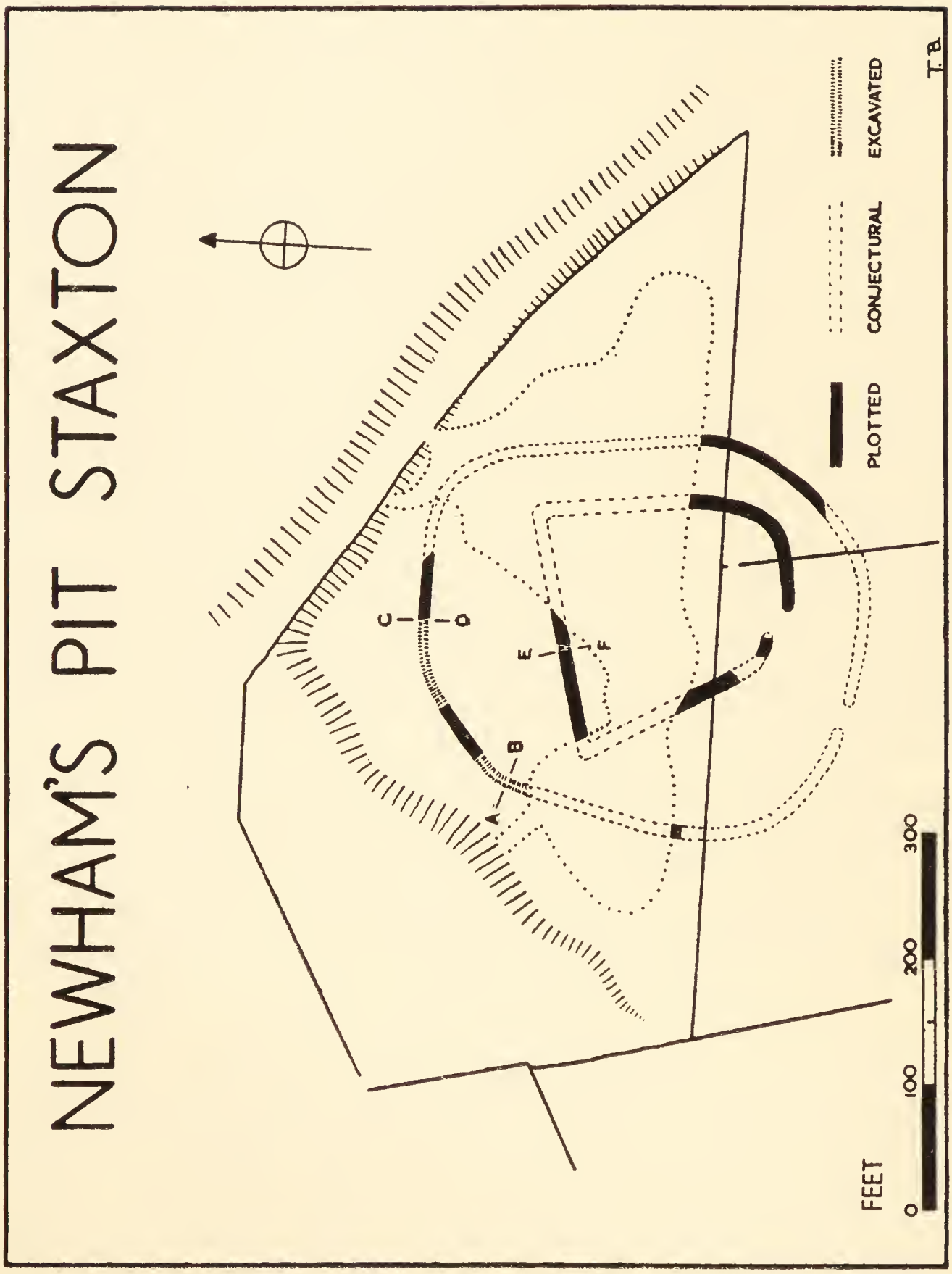


Fig. 2. Newham's Pit, Staxton.

Yorkshire (Fig. 1). Between the farm and the pit is the junction of the York—Filey and the Scarborough road which is known as Spital Corner (O.S. 6″ sheet 109 N.W.).

THE STRUCTURES.

Ditches.

In the area of Newham's Pit and some distance south of the southern hedge (Fig. 2) were found the remains of two ditch systems which have been called the Inner and Outer Ditch. Both ditches were very sensibly cradled in the fork of a large natural V-shaped watercourse complex (Fig. 2) with fairly deep channels, often more than 10 ft. in depth. The tip of these channels points northwards along the line of the Scarborough road and the course of Spital Beck (O.S. 6″ Sheet 109 N.W.), the flanks of the chevron face N.E. and N.W. All the land enclosed in the 'V' comprises Newham's Pit and was elevated compared with the immediate terrain to the north, west and east. To the south the sand hill rose until it united with a chalk hill offset from the Wold foot. On the north-western side the watercourse is now semi-dry, but is waterlogged and weed fouled in its lower reaches. Formerly, prior to 1939, the channel frequently carried clear water for the entire length from the Spring Head (O.S. Sheet 109 N.W.). Finally, in 1941 the removal of sand to the south-east released the pent up water of the underground spring which had percolated through the sand hill for centuries and created the water courses. After breaking through the last layer of sand with a considerable roar the flood waters filled the pit, and swept through the entrance, overturning a small car on the Filey road before entering Spital Beck. The springs at the foot of the Wold originate under the chalk and above the Speeton Clay raft on which the red chalk and marl rest. To the east the watercourse was for the greater part dry before the sand pit was opened and the main Filey to York road traversed the bottom of the gulley and must have done so for a considerable period. A stream ran down the western side of the channel, except in times of severe drought, from just below the modern entrance to the pit. After a wet period the road surface used to ooze water even towards the upper end, and when the springs were at their highest level in 1947 a stream ran down the entire length of the channel from a field to the south-east of Newham's Pit.

Outer Ditch Fig. 2.

Encircling the entire site was a roughly ovoid enclosure (Fig. 2) about 360 ft. long and 310 ft. wide, with a V-sectioned ditch cut through the sandy loam into the glacial melt-water sands. As will be seen from the plan, some parts were excavated and others simply plotted along the centre line as the pit face moved forwards. In addition the most probable line of the ditches (destroyed before 1946, or still not exposed to the south) are indicated by hyphenated lines. On the northern sector below the Inner Ditch, two sections were completely excavated down to

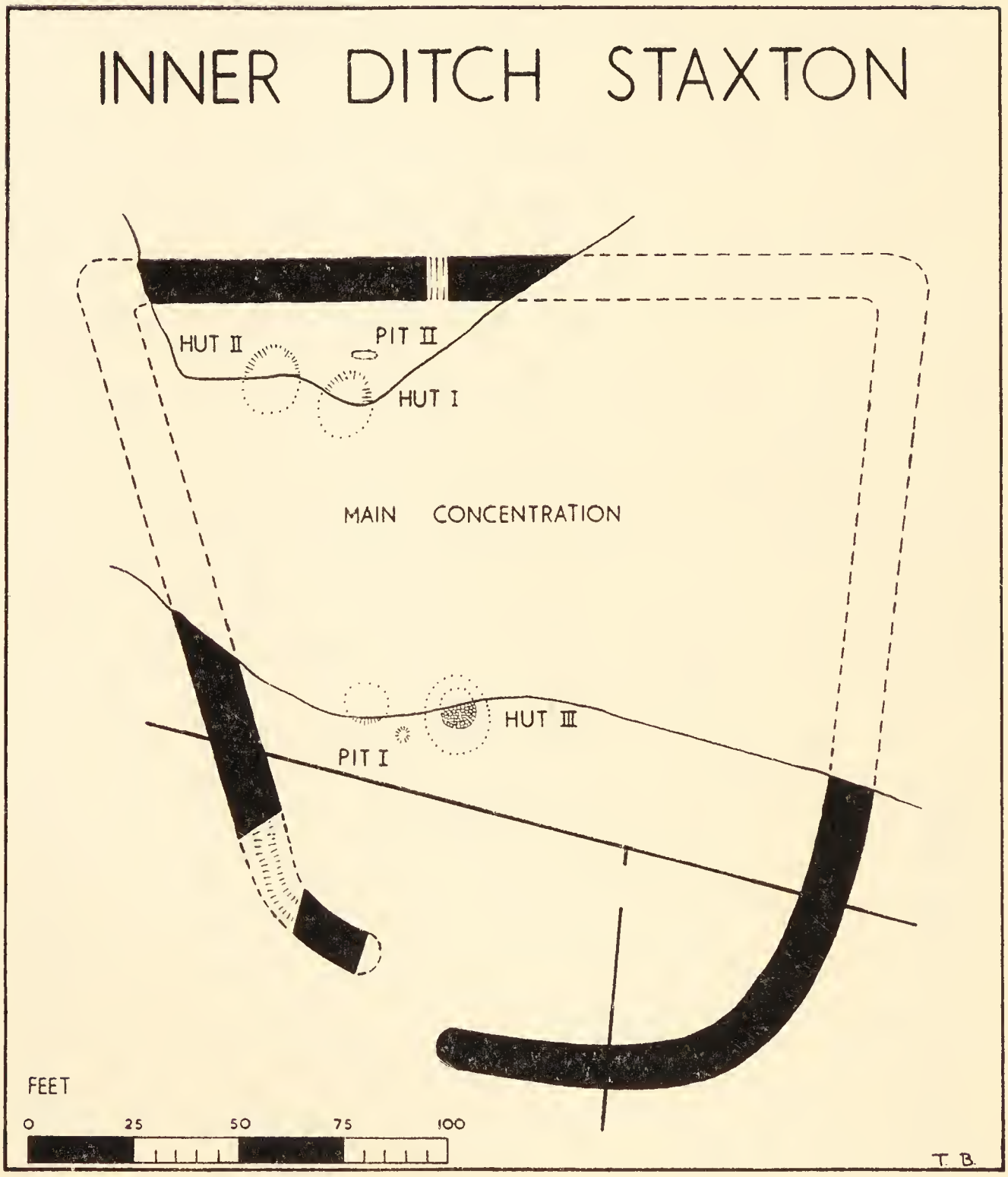


FIG. 3. Plan of Inner Enclosure.

the subsoil; the most westerly was cleared for 48 ft. and the eastern part, west of section C—D, (Fig. 2) was excavated entirely for 70 ft., and for 100 ft. to the medieval level. Further work on the lower levels was impossible owing to the necessity of clearing the area for quarrying purposes. After this was done, it

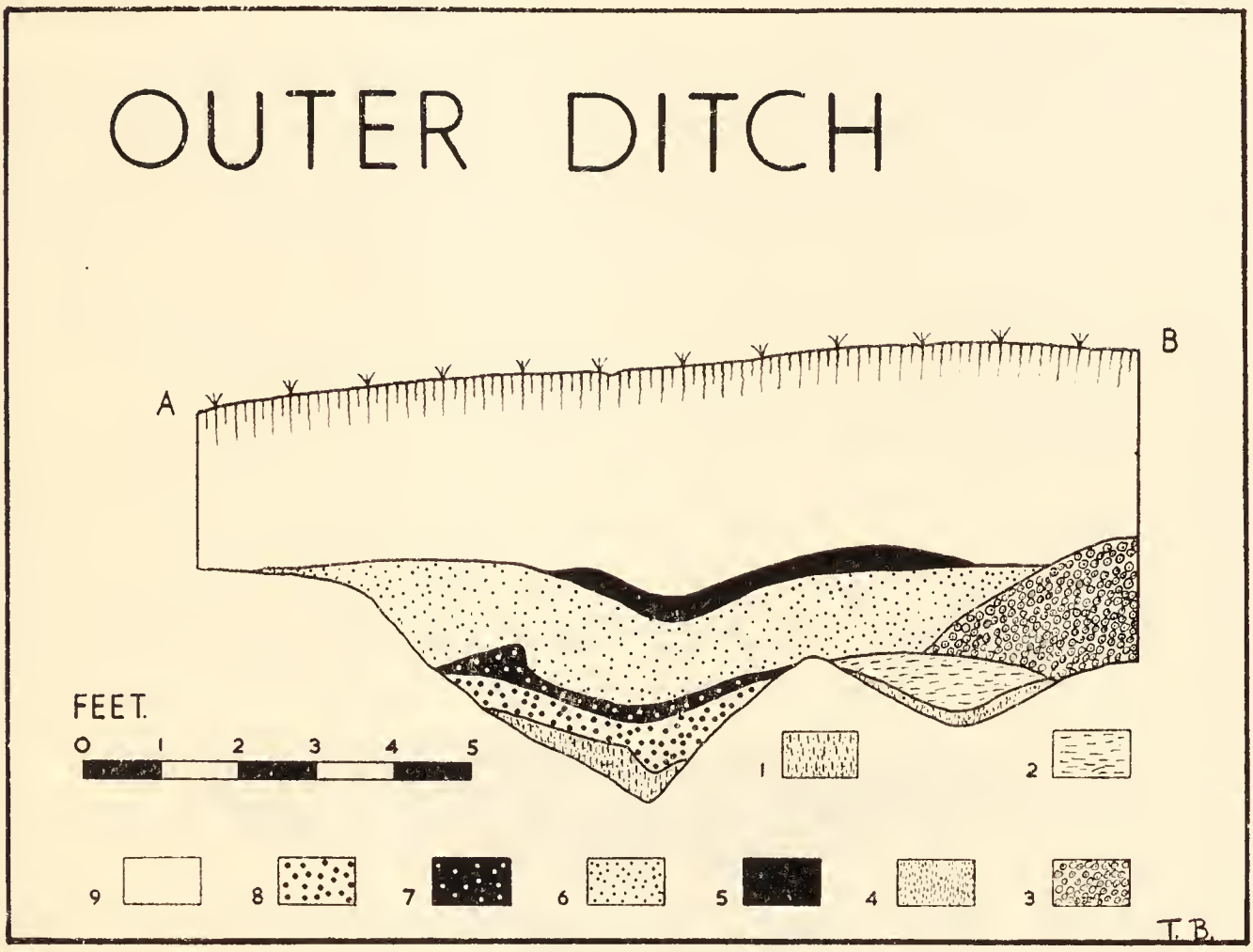


FIG. 4 Section at A-B Outer Ditch.

Key:—

1. Light brown loam.
2. Brown loam.
3. Chalk chips and loam.
4. Charcoal and dark soil.
5. Dark soil.
6. Dark sandy loam.
7. Medium dark soil.
8. Sand.
9. Sandy loam.

was possible to salvage some interesting material in the lower fillings left intact in this sector by the mechanical digger. The finds were made in an area 28 ft. east of the schematic profile C—D, (Fig. 5). On the northern side, the Outer Ditch was filled with debris of various periods from the late first century A.D. onwards and natural accumulations of sandy loam. During the War it was noticed that these deposits gave way to a mixture of sandy subsoil and light loam about half way along the eastern and western flanks. Just a few feet south of the southern hedge, on the eastern flank, (Fig. 2) these fillings gave way once more to the normal dark in-filling, but with few bones and no potsherds.

South of the hedge on the western side the sandy in-filling continued round the southern curve where the suggested entrance is indicated. This filling of sandy subsoil and sandy loam suggests the western and eastern flanks of the Outer Ditch were filled in soon after being dug, possibly no more than a few weeks at the most.

Section A—B Fig. 4.

In the figure is shewn a section of the north-western part of the Outer Ditch at A—B (Fig. 2). As will be seen there is the remains of an earlier cutting on the southern side which continues nearly to the end of the plotted line of the ditch east of section C—D (Fig. 5). On no other part of the trench did this feature

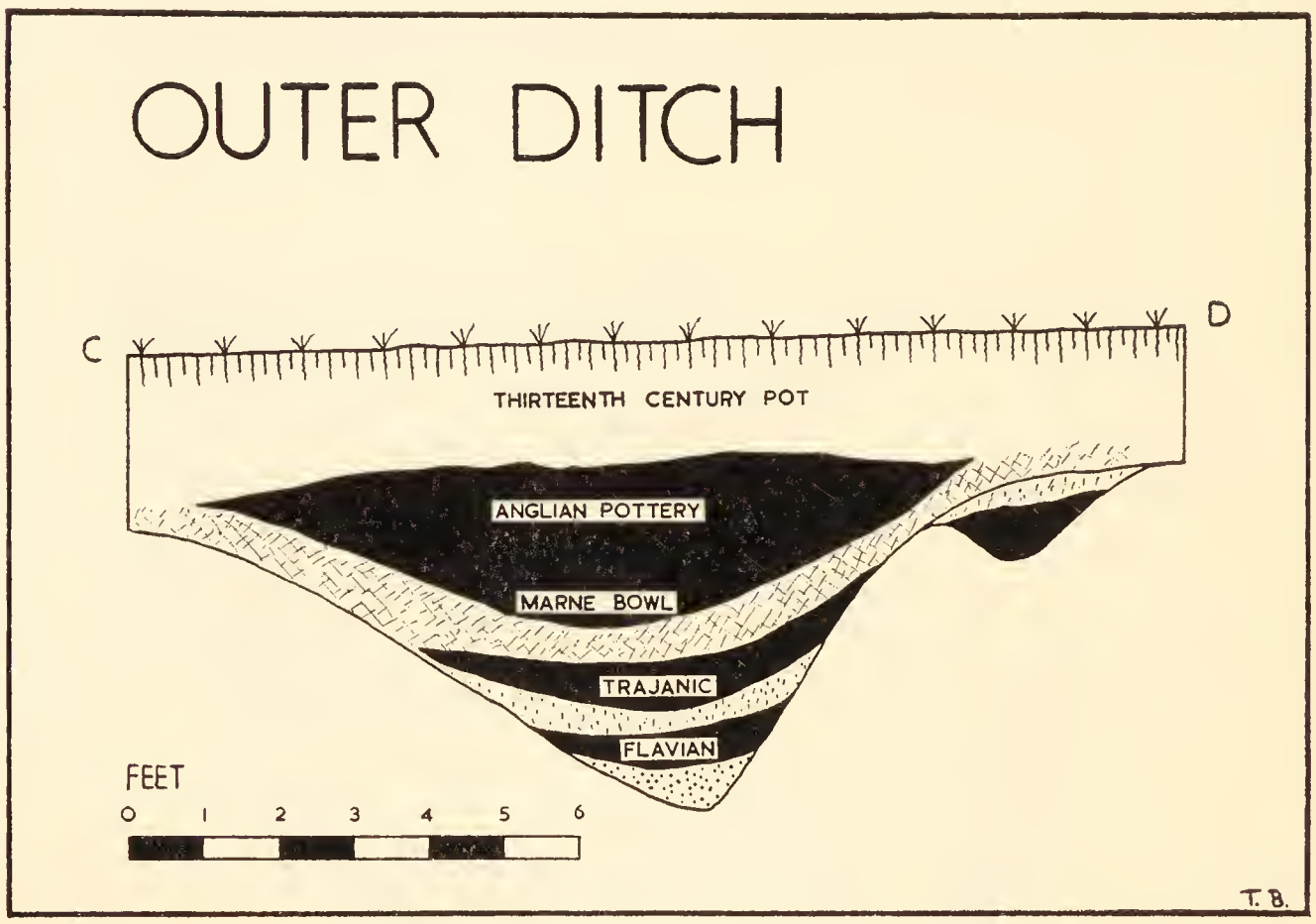


Fig. 5. Schematic section of eastern sector of Outer Ditch.

occur, suggesting an earlier abandoned cutting, or a deepening of the entire northern line. The bottom of this early cutting was filled with loam and charcoal (Layer 4) covered with a brown loam which in turn was partly sealed by a deposit of chalk chips and loam. During the early part of the excavation it was thought this narrow channel might be a palisade trench, but the theory had to be abandoned as it became obvious that the cutting had been made before the main ditch had been dug. The primary filling of the main ditch (Layer 1) consisted of light brown loam mixed with sandy subsoil. In some parts, this in-filling had a narrow layer of pure coarse sandy wash from the trench sides. Above this zone was a layer of sand (Layer 8). Further stratification directly above consisted of two deposits containing archaeological material separated by a band of dark sandy loam (Layer 6).

The lower of the two bands (Layer 7) contained, in the twenty feet south-west of profile A—B, three sherds imitating Samian Form 37 (Fig. 11, 3), a number of nails, two amphora sherds, one with a *graffito*, a few animal bones, odd hazel nuts and a few sherds of gritted ware, but no rim fragments. This stratum is Flavian in date and corresponds with the earliest occupation within the Inner Ditch and Hut II. Immediately over Layer 6, and in the zone south-west of A—B was a dark deposit (Layer 5) associated with a few bones, charcoal (oak), iron nails, a flagon rim (Fig. 11, 9), and an enamelled 'button' (Fig. 14, 1). In the excavations to the east the stratification remained the same, except the layers varied in thickness, the lower ones narrowed and an Anglian deposit surmounted all of them, to be covered in turn by a shallow medieval band of coarse ware potsherds and peat ash.

An enamelled bronze disc fibula (Fig. 14, 4) associated with a small bronze plate and rivet (Fig. 13, 11) was recovered from Layer 5 in the eastern section 37 ft. west of profile C—D. Additionally the stamped mortarium rim (Fig. 12, 12) came from the same layer at a point east of the section A—B. Layer 5 in all probability dates from 100—120 A.D., and the sterile deposit (Layer 6) suggests a definite break in the occupation of the site from, at the latest, A.D. 90.

INNER DITCH FIG. 3.

Within the Outer Ditch system was the inner enclosure, 180 ft. at the widest from east to west, and 150 ft. from north to south. Originally it was thought to be rectangular. In contradiction to the Outer Ditch the sides were remarkably straight and the northern side must have been cut with the aid of a line, or of marker sticks. During the removal of the top soil in the northern area it was possible to plot the line of the trench accurately, and inspect the contents. The curving line of the western ditch of the entrance was excavated below the level to which the mechanical digger had levelled the area. Throughout the entire length of the inner enclosure earthwork only one potsherd was found on the banks or the filling of the ditch (Fig. 10, 2). Very few bones were observed either, which makes it certain the Inner Ditch had never been used as a midden. Apart from Mr. Gwatkins' mortarium rim, few potsherds, even small pieces, came from the zone between the two ditches, furthermore the only structure located was a stone-lined medieval pit.[1]

ENTRANCE INNER DITCH FIG. 3.

By good fortune it was possible to plot the southern line of the Inner Ditch and the entrance and to excavate the slightly inturned western flank. A complete coverage was possible due to the mechanical soil remover, which had destroyed so much, and yet revealed so many features. Allowing for the western tip,

[1] T. C. M. Brewster, *Two Medieval Habitation Sites in the Vale of Pickering*, p. 8, Fig. VI.

destroyed by a fall of sand, the width of the gateway must have been 20—22 ft. An interesting feature is the inturning of the western side. Whether or not post-holes across the entrance existed, it is difficult to say as the area was shaved down to the subsoil.

Section E—F (Fig. 6).

A profile was cut across the Inner Ditch at E—F (Fig. 2) and revealed an uncomplicated section which can be taken as a guide to the entire in-filling of the trench apart from the last 30 ft. of the western flank from and below the gateway. Here

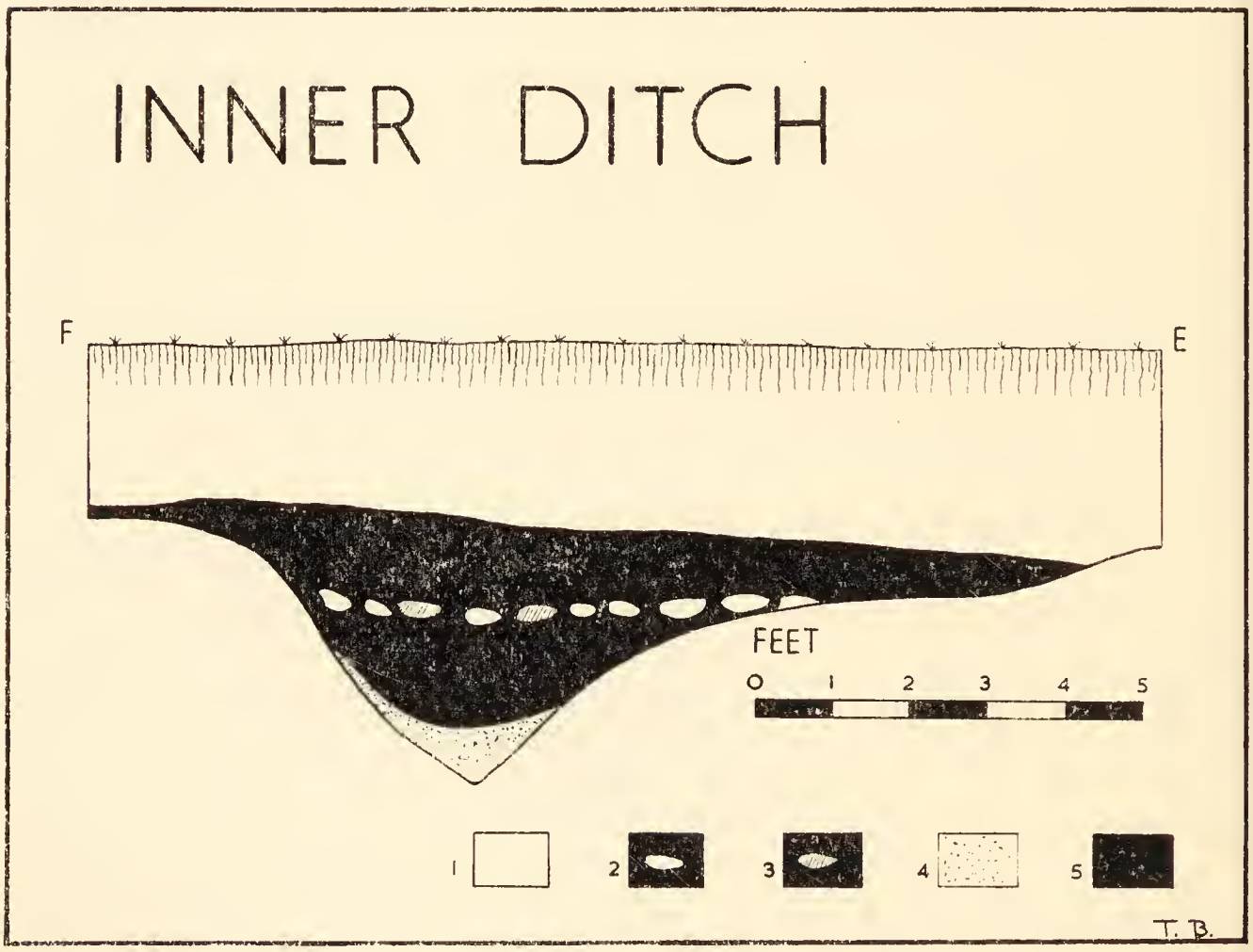


Fig. 6. Section at E-F of Inner Ditch.

Key:—

1. Light brown loam.
2. Chalk stones.
3. Limestone.
4. Fine sand and very light loam.
5. Dark black sandy soil.

the only difference was the division of the black deposit by a layer of sandy loam instead of stone. The section has a primary silting of fine white and gritty sand from the sides cut in the glacial melt-water sands. Above this was a deposit of dark black soil divided by a layer of chalk stones with odd granite, sandstone or limestone pebble. These stones were noticed throughout the ditch and were thickest on the northern side, sometimes occurring in small heaps. It is likely these stones had come from

the bank above the ditch where they had been used to face the soft sandy surface. If their origin had been the huts, or the central enclosure, occupational debris would have been mixed with them. As will be seen, the ditch is sometimes V-shaped at the bottom, and on other occasions it is flat. The absence of debris in the ditch points to its having been deliberately kept clean in order to keep it clear and effective throughout the occupation.

THE OCCUPATION AREA.

The greater part of the area enclosed by the Inner Ditch had been destroyed by sand removal in the pit workings before excavation was possible. Both huts, and the ditch ends in the pit face were visible as dark patches, and were easy to locate. Their examination was complicated by the shortage of time, the amount of spoil on top of the normal ground level and the difficulty of working the edges of the deposits at the quarry face. None of the huts, or pits were nearer to the Inner Ditch than 10 ft. and in the case of the entrance area the clearance was more than 50 ft. (Fig. 3).

THE HUTS (FIG. 7).

The shallow depressions are referred to as huts: that they were habitation floors is beyond doubt, but of the original structures nothing whatever is known. Hollows of this kind are due to movement and clearing of rubbish from the floors, and must not be confused with definite pits and silos. Only two or three post-holes existed and these were within the limits of the hollows, but do not suggest any particular function, unless the two in Hut II point to a loom. Absence of stone scatter in the hut area, and perimetrical post-holes suggest a turf outer wall, or some other temporary walling. A detailed shaving of the subsoil floor in both Hut I and II failed to disclose any post-hole traces other than those described.

HUT I (FIG. 7).

This floor was two feet deep at the lowest level from the 1947 turf line and eighteen inches from the Roman level and was filled with domestic debris sealed in a dark black soil, similar to Hut II (Fig. 7), except no hearth was located; no stratified deposits were found and for this reason no profile is illustrated. Formerly the structure must have been about 12 ft. in diameter, but only about a third remained when excavation began. If a hearth existed it must surely have been on the southern side. The hyphenated line (Fig. 7) shows the limit of the main debris and the dots indicate the limit of the black soil. Amongst the finds recovered from the hut floor, and described elsewhere, was an iron spear, a melon-bead fragment, an iron ring and knife, numerous potsherds, fragments of bronze and many animal bones. From the south-eastern post-hole came part of a small, smooth, black, gritted ware cooking pot, which fitted another fragment from Pit II

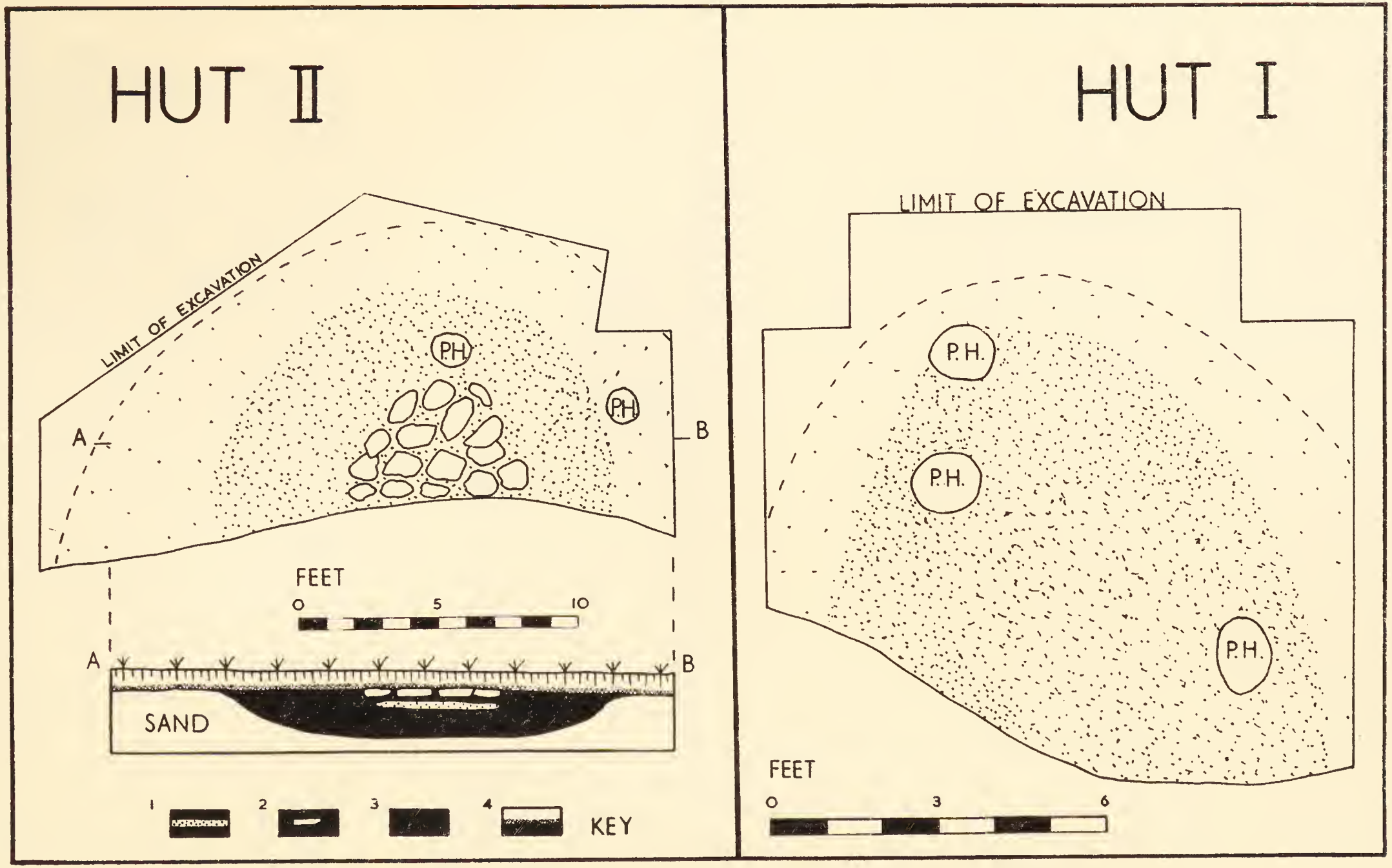


FIG. 7. Plan—Huts I and II.

Key:— 1. Mussel shell layer.
2. Chalk stones.
3. Dark black sandy soil.
4. Medium dark sandy soil above dark deposit.

(Fig. 12, 10). Odd potsherds and pieces of charcoal were scattered in a thin layer throughout the area of the huts and the southern side of Pit I.

HUT II (FIG. 7).

Hut II consisted of another depression containing dark black soil, animal bones, marine mussel shells, Form 37 Samian fragments, a coin of Vespasian, two sling-bullets, a poor-man's bronze fibula and an iron pin. All were in the same stratum and associated with pottery, including the gritted ware cooking pot, (Fig. 12, 1), a hard grey dish (Fig. 11, 12) and odd bronze pins, etc. Above the line of the hearth was discovered a late first century rustic ware jar (Fig. 11, 6). The chief concentration of the dark deposit is indicated by the proximity of the dots, and the outside limit of the occupation layer by the hyphenated line. Due to the necessity of working rapidly the stones were sketched instead of being individually plotted, but the diameter of the hearth is accurate. Excavation exposed a layer of marine mussel shells directly below the hearth and within its circumference. Part of the shell band was divided into two levels. From the post-hole to the north of the hearth came the gritted ware cooking pot (Fig. 12, 1), nearby to the south-west lay the *as* of Vespasian and the poor-man's brooch. Beneath the hearth and on the bottom of the hollow was the hard grey dish. Around the eastern post-hole three rim fragments of a gritted ware cooking pot were found (Fig. 12, 2).

HUT III.

The site of Hut III had unfortunately to be sacrificed in order to salvage the other two huts because sand removal had to continue in the central area. To have operated anywhere else in the pit would have meant the removal of the riddling plant. Material from Hut III was salvaged by rapidly digging into the floor of chalk slabs which were worn smooth and must have paved the entire centre of the building. A rough plan of the centre was drawn as there was not enough time to draw it in detail before the advance of the machine. Little dark soil was visible on the paving, or below it. On the level of the floor was the mortarium (Fig. 12, 13), and the Form 18 platter (Fig. 10, 1). There were indications that much material was destroyed in the area. Fragments of mortaria and Samian sherds were scattered and crushed in the spoil. To the west of Hut III, the extreme edge of another patch of dark soil containing a few nondescript sherds of gritted ware in a soft pitted fabric was noted. Just below this structure, on the pit side scree, was found a saddle quern rubber. The sherds were certainly of Roman date, but the quern probably belonged to the Iron Age site which lay some distance away and from which saddle querns, pottery and small finds were recovered.

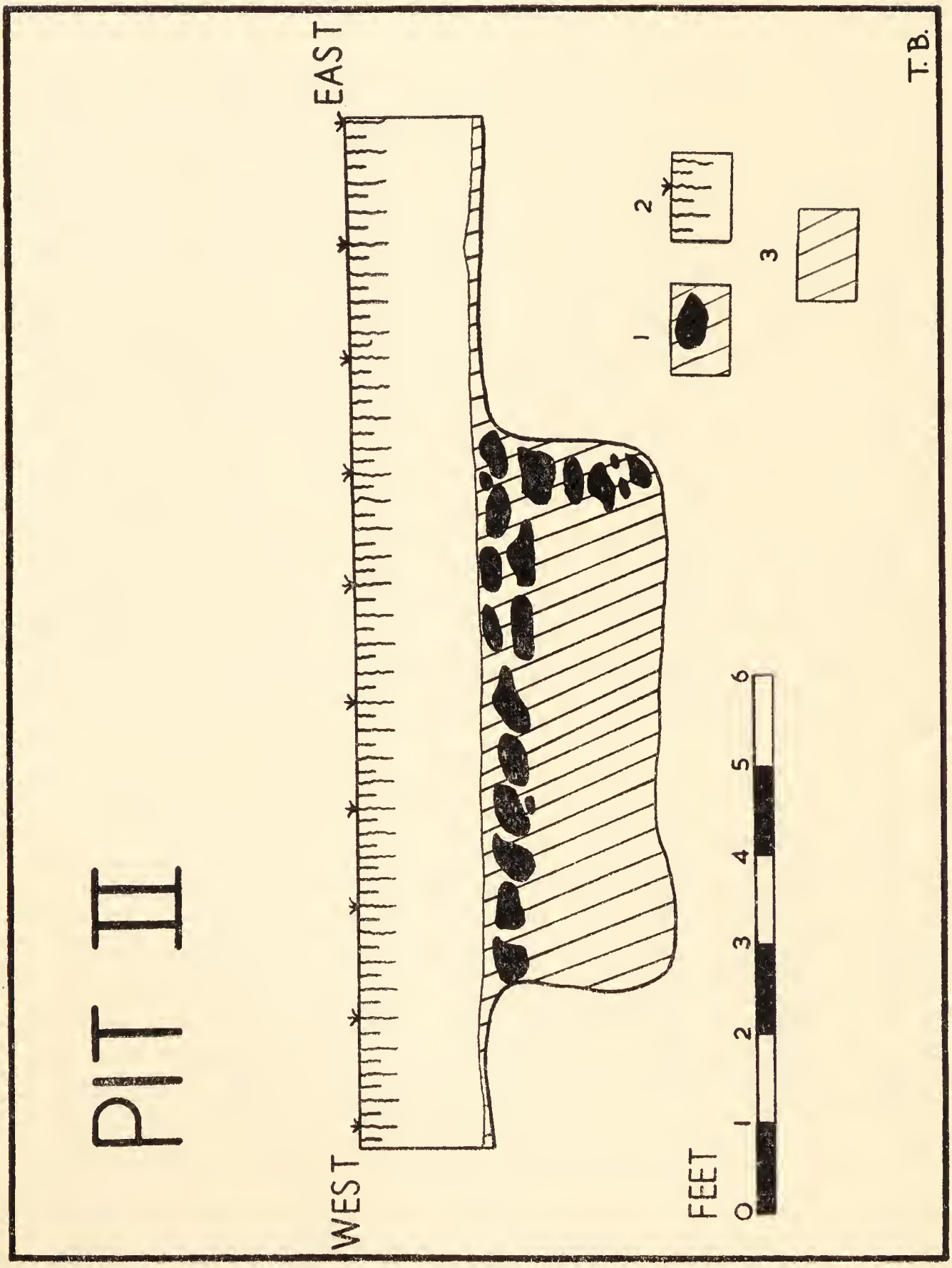


FIG. 8. West to East—Central Section of Pit II.

Key:— 1. Chalk stones. 2. Turf and light brown loam. 3. Dark black sandy soil.

PIT I (FIG. 3).

After the digger had removed the top soil in the area of Hut III a small U-shaped pit was found 3 ft. wide at the subsoil level tapering to a width of 12 inches at the bottom. The stratification was as follows:—Layer of small chalk stones to 1 ft., beneath this was a layer of black soil at the bottom of which were numerous oyster shells to a depth of 24 inches from the top. In the black layer, at a depth of 18 inches, were recovered twin R iv brooches, and at the bottom of the stone layer an iron slide-key.

PIT II (Fig. 8).

Thirteen feet north-east of Hut II, and 3 ft. north of Hut I, was a rectangular pit, or trench with some interesting features. Pit II lay 1 ft. 4 ins. below the 1947 turf and was discovered after the clearance of the three huts. Owing to the close proximity of the nearly vertical quarry face it was decided to remove the soil from the eastern end of the trench for an area of $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 ft. and leave the entire filling intact. After the removal of the turf the remaining soil was thrown some 6 ft. down the sand pit face onto a platform of clean sand, after which it was riddled. Riddling produced some odd fragments of bronze sheet and the R iv fibula (Fig. 13, 1). Unfortunately the exact find spot cannot be given, but the brooch must have come from the main filling of the trench and antedate it. Care was taken not to touch the infilling in any way. A remarkable feature of Pit II was the symmetry of the edges and the sides, except at the western end where the bottom was slightly wider. Possibly this was due to the digger standing there to finish the cutting. On the sides, in the fresh white sand, were signs of a digging tool, or spade with a width of approximately 4 inches.

The dimensions of the trench are as follows:—Length along the bottom 6 ft., on the top 7 ft.; width 2 ft. at the top sloping to 18 inches at the bottom, except at the western end where the width was just under 2 ft.; depth 2 ft., at the western end, 26 inches for the last 2 ft. During the filling of the pit, debris and soil must have been dumped in, chiefly at the western end, prior to the top being rammed in with stones, potsherds and oyster shells. This would explain the presence of stone packing near the bottom at the eastern end (Fig. 8). In the top filling, and rammed into the stones, were the remains of three pots (Fig. 12, 6 & 7 and Fig. 11, 10) in this case less the base, which came from 3 ft. east of the trench. Beneath the stone packing was another infilling of dark black soil containing marine mussel and oyster shells, fragments of oak, charcoal, bones, items of bronze, potsherds of gritted and hard grey ware including part of a small black gritted ware pot which fitted the other part from Hut I (Fig. 12, 10). Objects of bronze recovered, include pieces of sheet. A folded fragment was found on the bottom, near the middle: adhering to one side can be seen imprints of grass from the turf of the cutting, or what is most likely, of hay mixed with the

debris. Pit II may have been either a latrine trench, or dug simply to bury rubbish. A strong pointer that it was the second is the lack of staining of the sandy white subsoil and the sharpness of the edges, which in sand soon become rounded. It is unlikely that the pit was open for more than a week in fine weather, and in all probability for not more than an hour or so. The presence of the small pot fragment suggests that the in-filling is contemporary with Hut I.

CONCLUSION AND INTERPRETATION.

Newham's Pit is situated at the head of the Spital Corner to Seamer road, which follows a line of morainic hills permitting a way to be made across the deep marsh in medieval and earlier times. This road was formerly the most easterly crossing possible on the Malton—Filey route until East Flotmanby is reached, some four miles eastward. Prior to the draining of the carrlands in 1801-1810 the area between Staxton and Muston was a vast marshy expanse. Newham's Pit is therefore at the junction of an important local road or track system. It is probably for this reason that the site dealt with here was constructed where it was. Any movement to Filey from Malton must have been roughly along the present route in the Roman period.

Although Iron Age material has occurred at Staxton, it has no connection with the pre-Roman 1st Century gritted ware, which has not been found in the Staxton or Flixton area. A number of excavations, both archaeological and otherwise have been dug around Spital Corner and they covered a wide area. No immediately pre-Roman material was observed. The ditch systems in Newham's Pit are therefore a completely new intrusion about A.D. 75-80. What caused the occupation, the building of the peculiar inner enclosure, and the concentration of Roman and gritted pottery? The cause was probably the Roman occupation of Malton and the surrounding district. What actually was the function of the site and who built it? Was it a Romano-British farmstead, a small military camp, temporarily used, or a native site set up during the first Roman movements in the area? From the information garnered from Mr. Newham, and from excavation it became obvious the Inner Ditch enclosure had been densely occupied. At least two large globular amphorae of early second century date have been found in fragmentary form. The site was apparently occupied in two different periods, probably A.D. 80-90 and A.D. 100-120. Three R iv fibulae suggest some activity about A.D. 135—140, but this is not represented in the ditch debris. After this there was no further occupation—except that suggested by the fourth century Marne bowl and the wrist-clasps—until the sixth century. During the excavation no signs of silos were observed and due to the large numbers of 'huts' reported and excavated it is unlikely therefore that the site was a Romano-British farmstead. The early pottery and small finds suggest considerable Roman influence and is possibly what would

be expected in a small camp, or fortlet under military control. But the ditches, entrance and size of the inner enclosure seem strongly against this, although part of the Inner Ditch is flat bottomed. It is easy to see the Outer Ditch was dug and immediately afterwards allowed to silt up and then used as a rubbish dump. The area between the ditches was clear of all structures of any kind, apart from a medieval pit, and the Inner Ditch was clear of all occupational rubbish, with the exception of a Samian Form 18 sherd. This points to the Inner Ditch being deliberately kept clear throughout the ditches' functional history. As has already been pointed out the sides of the Inner Ditch were very symmetrical and there appears to be a certain amount of control in the siting of huts and rubbish pits within it, and the entire area of the entrance was completely clear of structures. It is probable that the Inner Ditch was dug in one of the following ways:— (1) The Outer Ditch was built in a hurry as a temporary protection while the Inner Ditch was being completed. (2) The Outer Ditch was already there when the main occupation began. (3) The original area was too large so the Inner Ditch was dug. This is most unlikely as there should have been signs of occupation outside the inner enclosure. It is thought that the site belonged to either a Romano-British group, which in Flavian times and early in the second century was in close contact with the Roman fort at Malton, or the site was a military one. Possibly the second is the correct answer, but it is thought best to leave the matter open in the hope that excavation of a similar site elsewhere may supply the answer. In any case it must be emphasised that the Staxton excavation was purely a salvage operation and even though it still remains something of an enigma, it is important that the evidence should be made available to future students. Both Hut II and III are Flavian and Hut I and Pit II are probably Trajanic. It should be borne in mind that the occupation began about A.D. 80 and suddenly ceased about A.D. 120. A similar break seems to have occurred at Malton.

THE FINDS.

Decorated Samian Ware (Fig. 9).

Only four fragments of Samian pottery were found, and these, all Form 37, came from the same vessel. These are typical examples of the moulds of La Graufesenque with a fine red bisque and shiny surface. None of the pieces were stamped and the question of the potter presented a problem. The tassel has four prongs and with the ovolo seems to suggest CRESTIO whereas other factors, the birds and general design suggest more strongly MOMMO. Professor E. B. Birley, who kindly examined the material, reported as follows:—"The four pieces of figured samian all come from the same vessel, form 37, which you rightly assign to MOMMO, the ovolo is that attested for him (cf. Knorr 1919, pl. 59, 54), and he used the small bird to r. and the trifid ornament towards which it is walking. A date within the decade A.D. 75/85 could not be far out."

1. Rim fragment including ovolo and four pronged tassel with wavy line beneath. This type of tongue was used by CRESTIO, and the ovolo by CRESTIO and MOMMO amongst others.[1] Outer limit of Hut II. Depth 9 inches (S.W. VII).[2]
2. Small wall piece including bird, ovolo and tassel. From main filling under the s.w. side of the hearth Hut II. Depth 1/9. For bird e.g. MOMMO? *Jewry Wall*, Fig. 14. 17 A.D. 70-75 (S.W. XIII).
3. Piece shewing wreath below wavy line which is also used to divide the scheme horizontally. For comments on bird &c., see note above by Professor Birley. Hut II (S.W. XII).
4. Small fragment used as a spindle-whorl and then broken. Same position as above. Depth 1/4. (S.W. VIII).

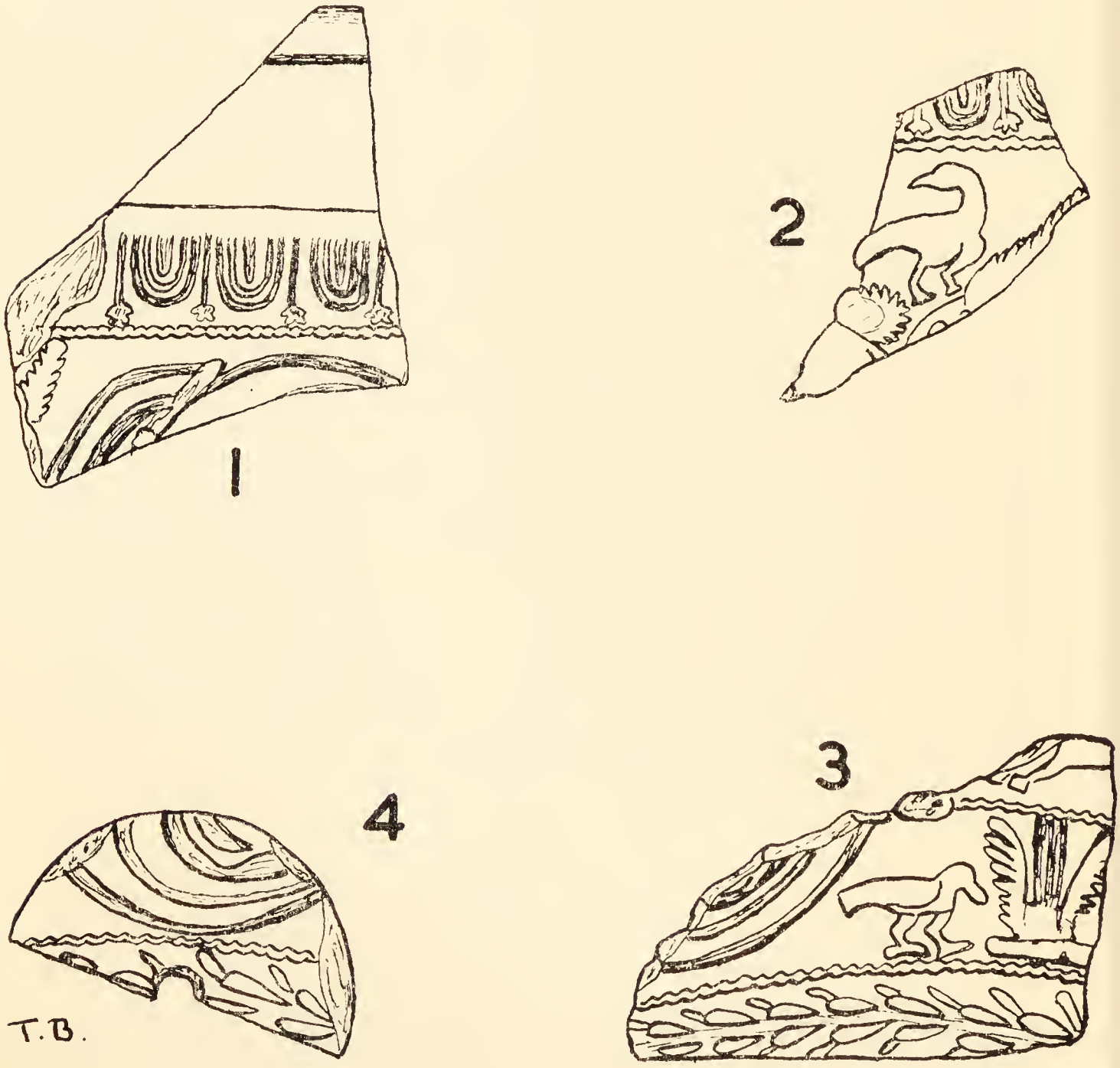


FIG. 9.
Decorated Samian Ware.

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[1] Knorr, "*Topfer und Fabriken Verzierter Terra Sigillata.*" Tafel 28.
[2] S.W. VII is the sherd's reference number with which it is inscribed.

All finds illustrated in this report have their reference number given when necessary.

Plain Samian Ware (Fig. 10).

1. Form 18 platter from floor of Hut III in fine red fabric, unstratified; cf. Oswald and Price, *Terra Sigillata* Plate XLV. Possibly Claudian. Probably Flavian. (S.W. X).

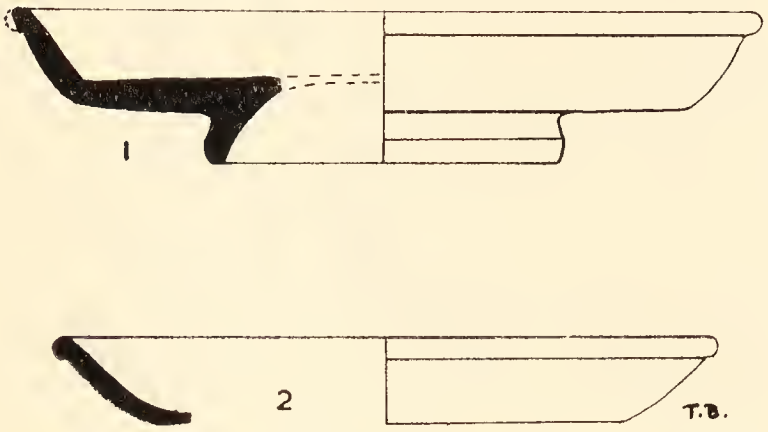


Fig. 10,
Plain Samian Ware.

2. Rim and wall fragment of Form 18 in fine glossy red fabric. Sealed in black layer on top of Outer Ditch bank. Fig. 5 Flavian (S.W. IX).

Fine Pottery (Fig. 11).

1. Rouletted fragment of red ware bowl with grey core. The rouletting occurs in the groove on the upper surface of the hammer-headed rim. Diameter *c.* 9 7/10. From 4 inches above the bottom of the dark layer in the Outer Ditch containing Anglian pottery in the upper levels, and just below the wrist-clasp zone, but 4 feet further to the west, than the wrist-clasp E.B.1. The sherd was identified by Professor Birley as a fourth century Marne bowl, parallels were given in London [1] and Lydney [2] for which I am indebted to him. There is a close parallel at York, [3] and a very interesting one from a similar complex to Staxton, but found with Saxon pottery at Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire. [4] (N.T.S.(E) XII.)
2. Rim and wall fragment of bowl imitating Samian form 29, in burnished light brown buff ware with black core. An unusual feature is the renticulated decoration in red paint between the carination and the rim. Found by Mr. E. T. Newham in the area of Hut III and therefore unstratified. Diameter *c.* 7½ inches. A fairly close copy of Form 29—probably early Flavian. cf. *Malton* Fig. 15, 1. *Wroxeter* 1912 Fig. 17, 7. (P.W. 1).
3. Hard fine red ware with slight sandy feel. An imitation of Samian Form 37. From western sector of Outer Ditch west of section A—B. Layer 7. Diameter *c.* 7½ inches. Flavian. The form occurs at Malton in the earliest deposits, but the rim is not so flanged. A fragment with the same rim and general appearance has been excavated by Mr. G. F. Willmot at St. Mary's Abbey, York. T.4A. Pit. (N.T.S. (W) I, II & IV).
4. Reeded-rim piece in hard grey fabric from Hut I. Two grooves on the upper surface and three on the wall. Diameter *c.* 7½ inches. Depth 1 foot. I.13. Trajanic? *Malton* Fig. 15, 11-16. *Jewry Wall* Fig. 21, 13 and 14.
5. Small grey beaker rim with fine horizontal surface tooling. Diameter *c.* 4¼ inches. Depth 9 inches, Hut I, I. 16 cf. *Malton* Fig. 17, 3.

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[1] *London in Roman Times*, Fig. 54, 9.
[2] *Lydney Research Committee Report*, p. 98.
[3] May, *Roman Pottery in York Museum* 1909, p. 40, fig. 51.
[4] *Antiquaries Journal* XII, p. 289, fig. 5.

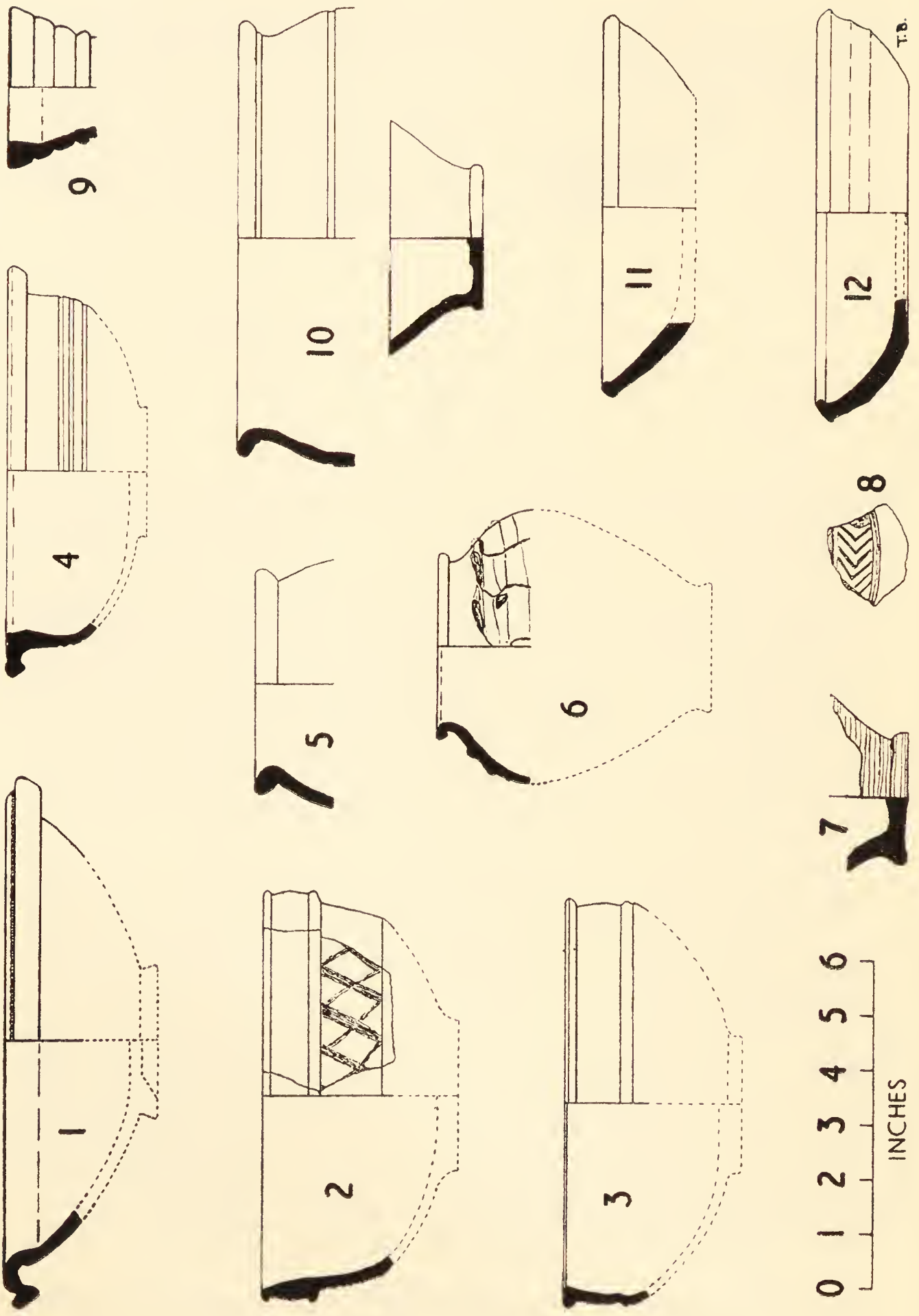


Fig. 11. Fine Ware Staxton.

6. Rustic jar in hard grey fabric. From upper level of Hut II Diameter 3 4/10 inches. Depth 9 inches. II 59-61 cf. Slack. Fig. 436 3 and 7. Rustic ware occurred near Hut III in the form of wall and base fragments, and in the entrance area sealed in a shallow trough. Rustic ware appears to have been fairly common, but only one rim survived, apart from that illustrated, and this came from the spoil of Hut III, but cannot be definitely connected with it.
7. Pedestal base in hard grey ware with smooth horizontally tooled surface. Depth 9 inches Hut II. II, 17.
8. Fragment of hard grey fabric with dark tones and tooled herringbone design between two grooves. Hut I, 10 inches, I, 4.
9. Fine pink flagon rim from Layer 5 of Outer Ditch west of profile A—B. Diameter *c.* 3 inches cf. Wroxeter 1912. Fig. 17, 1. A.D. 80-120 Malton Fig. 2, 1. Fig. 15, 25. (N.T.S. (W) Va).
10. Smooth hard grey fabric with dark tones and reddening of inner surface. Rim from stone packing of Pit II. Diameter *c.* 8 inches (V.4). Base found 3 feet east of same pit. Diameter 2 7/10. (E.S. II).
11. Hard grey blue dish from Hut I. Diameter *c.* 7 inches. Depth 10 inches I, 2.
12. Hard grey dish with darker tones from beneath hearth and on floor of Hut II. Diameter 7 11/20. Depth 2 ft. 2 inches. Flavian II. 1, 2 and 3.

Coarse Pottery (Fig. 12).

During the excavation of Hut I, II and Pit II, a number of coarse ware sherds of native origin were recovered, including a practically complete pot. It has been customary to refer to this class of pottery, and other local coarse ware produced during the Roman occupation, as calcite gritted ware. Much of this pottery is tempered with grits other than calcite. It is therefore incorrect to describe such pottery as calcite ware, and it is strongly suggested this nomenclature should be changed, and gritted ware substituted. Tempering by the use of sand, grass, flint, calcite and other unground materials was universal in the manufacture of local coarse ware from the Neolithic to the early 15th century.

As indicated in the account below, the close similarity of the Staxton, Flavian, gritted ware and the Costa Beck ceramics is apparent. Fabric apart, the two belong, typologically, to the same cultural group. For the first time, it is possible to get a good pointer to the date of the Costa Beck material from outside dated parallels. It is safe to give a date in the latter part of the first century A.D. for the Costa Beck pottery, or at the very earliest A.D. 50—70. An excavation on the hill due east of Kirk's Costa Beck 'dig' would probably give confirmative data. The 'pile dwelling' excavated by Kirk on the Costa is surely a bridge, or causeway and nothing more. Doubtless the origin of the Flavian Staxton gritted ware is the pre-Roman local Iron Age pottery which must have been fairly regional in the finer points of body and rim form. Apparently the Langton Early Fort gritted ware ties up better with the Thornton-le-Dale pottery, than either with Costa or Staxton, although the period is probably the same. Gritted ware of the first century A.D. and the early period of the Roman occupation in the Driffield district belongs roughly to the Staxton-Costa, and to a greater extent the Thornton and Langton group. Material excavated by the Messrs. C. & E. Grantham at Driffield and Gransmoor, and the Ministry of Works excavation directed by Miss J. Phillips south of Driffield aerodrome, belong to this group. Romano-British Knapton ware has the same root as the Staxton-Costa gritted pottery; this is most noticeable in the body form, and the general rim shape to a lesser extent. There was probably another group contemporary with the Knapton potters and using the same basic form and technique operating in Holderness near Driffield. Further research might clear this matter up.

1. Large fragmentary cooking pot from post-hole on the bottom of Hut II, and in fairly close association with an *as* of Vespasian, poor-man's brooch and Flavian Samian ware. Diameter 8½ inches, height approximately 9½ inches. Handmade and slightly irregular at the rim, which

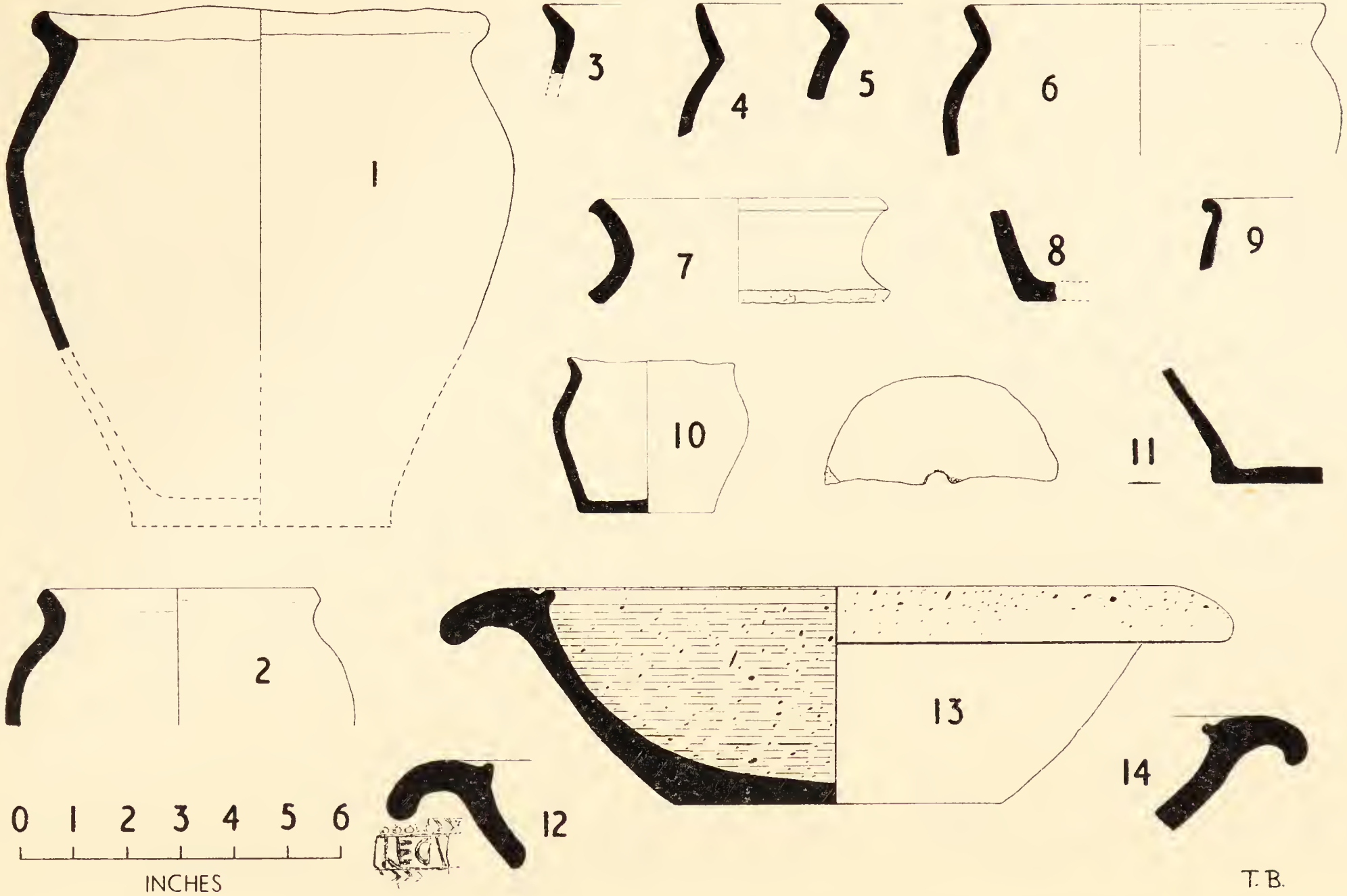


FIG. 12. Coarse Ware, Staxton.

has a slight bevel on the inside, giving way in some sections to a flat surface. Slightly pitted waxy fabric, with calcite and other grits, which in some cases have desolved. Light brown to grey buff with dark grey to black tones. Black deposit on part of interior below the rim. Depth 2 feet 3 inches. II 4, 5, 6 and 12, cf. *Costa Beck* Fig. I, 3 and 3a for form, and 4a—c for rim.

2. Rim of medium cooking pot in dark black slightly pitted fabric, tempered with flint and other grits. Rim everted, but not bevelled. Diameter *c.* 5 3/10. Hut II. Depth 10 inches. II 55, 56, 57—58. cf. *Costa Beck* Fig. I, 3.
3. Small everted rim fragment. Fairly smooth waxy fabric tempered with calcite. Diameter *c.* 4 ins. Hut II main filling. Depth 1 ft. 3 inches cf. *Langton* Fig. 7, 31. *Costa Beck* Fig. 1, 7, 7a and 7b.
4. Rim piece in smooth ware. Dark dull grey to reddish buff on interior. Floor Hut II Depth 1 ft. 5 ins. (II 38).
5. Rim of small cooking pot with dull buff to black tones. Handmade with harsh irregular sandy surface. Sand and calcite tempering. Everted rim with diameter about 4 inches. Main filling Hut II Depth 1 ft. 4 inches (II 31).
6. Fairly flat inverted rim in muddy buff fabric with black tones. Calcite and flint tempering, slightly irregular surface. Diameter *c.* 5 7/10 inches. Depth 9 inches. (V 11).
7. Flat everted rim fragment of cooking pot in muddy bisque with black tones from stone packing at eastern end of Pit II. Calcite and flint grits. Diameter *c.* 5½ inches.
8. Fragment of rounded base in hard dark fabric with some calcite or flint Hut I. Depth 1 ft. 2 inches. (I, 15).
9. Flat sided slightly everted rim in dull soft dark grey fabric with mixed grits. Diameter 4 inches. Depth 1 ft. 6 inches (I, 8).
10. A nearly complete small cooking pot in two parts from the floor of Hut I and the lower infilling of Pit II. Black with fairly smooth surface. Fabric impregnated with fine white flint, or calcite. Rim worn in parts and slightly everted. Diameter 3 1/10 inches. A form occurring in the Iron Age. cf. *Maiden Castle* Fig. 57, 24. *Costa Beck* Fig. 1, 9. Probably Trajanic at Staxton.
11. Base of cooking pot with part of a central perforation executed prior to firing. Bases of this type have been found at Thornton-le-Dale, Langton and possibly Costa Beck. Dull buff with grey tones, slightly waxy feel with some pitting, calcite and chalk tempering. Diameter *c.* 3½ inches. Depth 12 inches. Hut I (I, 6).
12. Mortarium rim piece. Dull buff with slightly yellow tones. Fairly large white and grey grits on inside. Layer 5, Outer Ditch. Maker's stamp on rim. See note at end. Probably Trajanic. (M.15).
13. Large fragment of mortarium from the floor of Hut III, base nearly complete. Buff ware with red tones and grey blue grits covering the rim and the whole of the interior, which has shallow grooves running horizontally. cf. *Margidumnum. Antiquaries* Journal XXIV, 1944 Flavian. cf. Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter*, Type 18. A close parallel occurred at Malton during the early fort level C. A.D. 80. *Malton* Fig. 15—5.
14. Mortarium rim from Hut I in buff ware with pink tones. Grey grits in interior only. Upper level of hut deposit. Depth 5 inches. cf. *Malton* Fig. 17. 3 A.D. 100-120.

Objects of Bronze. (Fig. 13).

1. R iv bronze trumpet fibula from the riddled material from Pit II. The patina was affected by bronze disease, leaving the surface in poor condition, but the core intact. Chemical treatment was given, and the finished object suitably coated. A single bronze link is attached to the coil loop, which has the triple purpose of securing the coiled tension spring to the main body, acting as a pivot, and with the projecting loop serving as a means of attachment. This securing loop is held taut by means of a narrow bronze strap hammered round the neck of the

loop. On the upper surface of the strap are two grooves which also occur round the stud at the foot, and on each side of the stylised acanthus moulding at the centre of the bow. In the case of the foot the centre ridge is notched. A narrow groove runs on both sides of the top from below the acanthus to the drum headed foot. In addition a similar, but wider channel runs round the lower edge of the trumpet head shielding the spring and the base of the pin. Length, excluding the link, which is 8.5 mm long, from loop to foot is 6.8 cm. Width of head 1.9 cm. Fib. I, A.D. 130-40.

2. Decayed bronze fibula pin found under hearth in Hut II. Length 3.6 cms. Diameter 2 mm. Depth 1 ft. 6 ins.

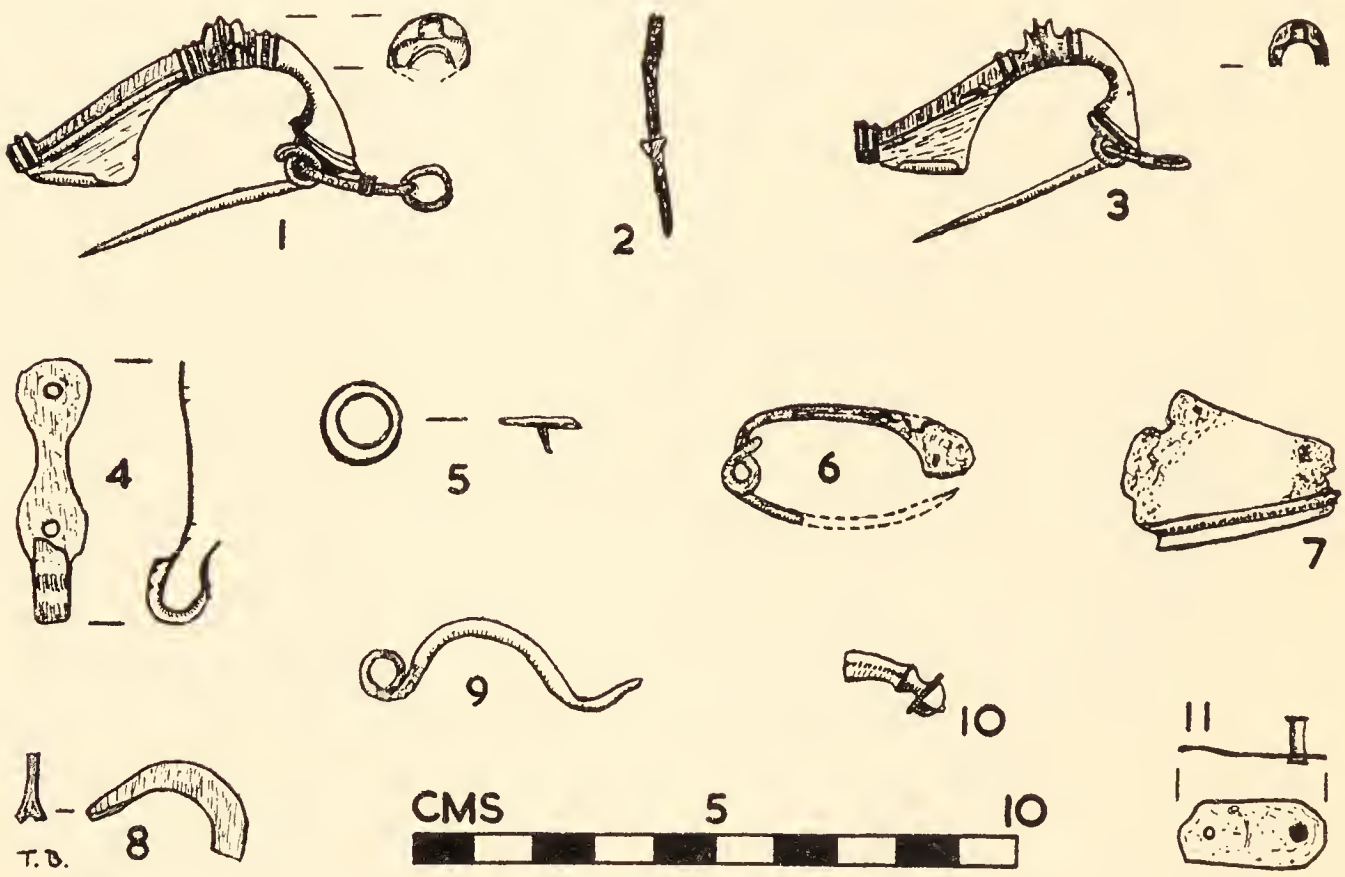


FIG. 13. Items of bronze.

3. One of a pair of trumpet brooches found lying back to back and ten inches apart in the main filling of Pit I. Most of the fibula was covered with a fine smooth dark patina, but there were small deep pits of bronze disease. The entire specimen was treated and further decay prevented. In the case of the other, identical, fibula, which is not illustrated, treatment was not necessary and it remains in a good condition with a fine patina. Both brooches are smaller than Fib. I, proportionately thinner at the centre moulding, minus the notched ridges, and with the trumpet head bent more towards the foot. The narrow groove from the acanthus to the foot is not perceptible on the side shown, but exists in a vestigial form on the other. In the case of the second small brooch the groove is present as in the larger example from above Pit II. Dimensional data for both specimens is identical and they must have come from the same mould. Length from head to foot 4.7 cms. Width of head 1.5 cm. Depth from subsoil level 1 ft. 6 inches. A.D. 130-40.
4. Belt hook of bronze from main filling of Pit II. Length 4.35 cms.
5. Small flat harness stud of bronze from main filling of Pit II. Diameter 1.75 cm. cf. Newstead 1-33 Plate XXV.
6. Poor-man's bronze fibula from the floor of Hut II. At the same level as the hard grey dish (Fig. 11, 12) and the *as* of Vespasian, which was located 2 feet further north-east. The metal was badly decayed and

required treatment. There were traces of a slight V shaped decoration on the upper section of the back, with the point towards the catch-plate. Length 4.2 cms. Depth 1 ft. 10 inches. Flavian.

7. One of several fragments of bronze sheet from the central in-filling of Pit II, 3.6 cms. by 2.6 cms.
8. Small fragment of bronze from the main, dark, in-filling of Hut II and associated directly with the poor-man's brooch. Length 2.7 cms.
9. Bronze pin of a penannular brooch from the main filling of Pit II. Length 4.7 cms.
10. Knurled head of bronze penannular brooch with a fine silver wash. Lower in-filling of Pit II. The stem is diamond shaped in section and the edges are notched, as is also the case with the knob. Length 1.8 cm. Diameter of knob 8 mm. cf. Caerleon, *Arch.* LXXVIII.
11. Plate and rivet of bronze found in direct association with the disc brooch (Fig. 14, 4) in the Outer Ditch. Layer 5. N.T.S.(E).

Enamelled Bronze Objects (Fig. 14).

1. Enamel 'button' or harness fitting with twelve alternate areas of red and aquamarine enamel separated by thin sections of bronze forming a cone surmounted by, what had been, a small lead sphere or washer. This latter feature is secured by a bronze pin with silver wash, which penetrated through to the hollow base where it is bent back. The

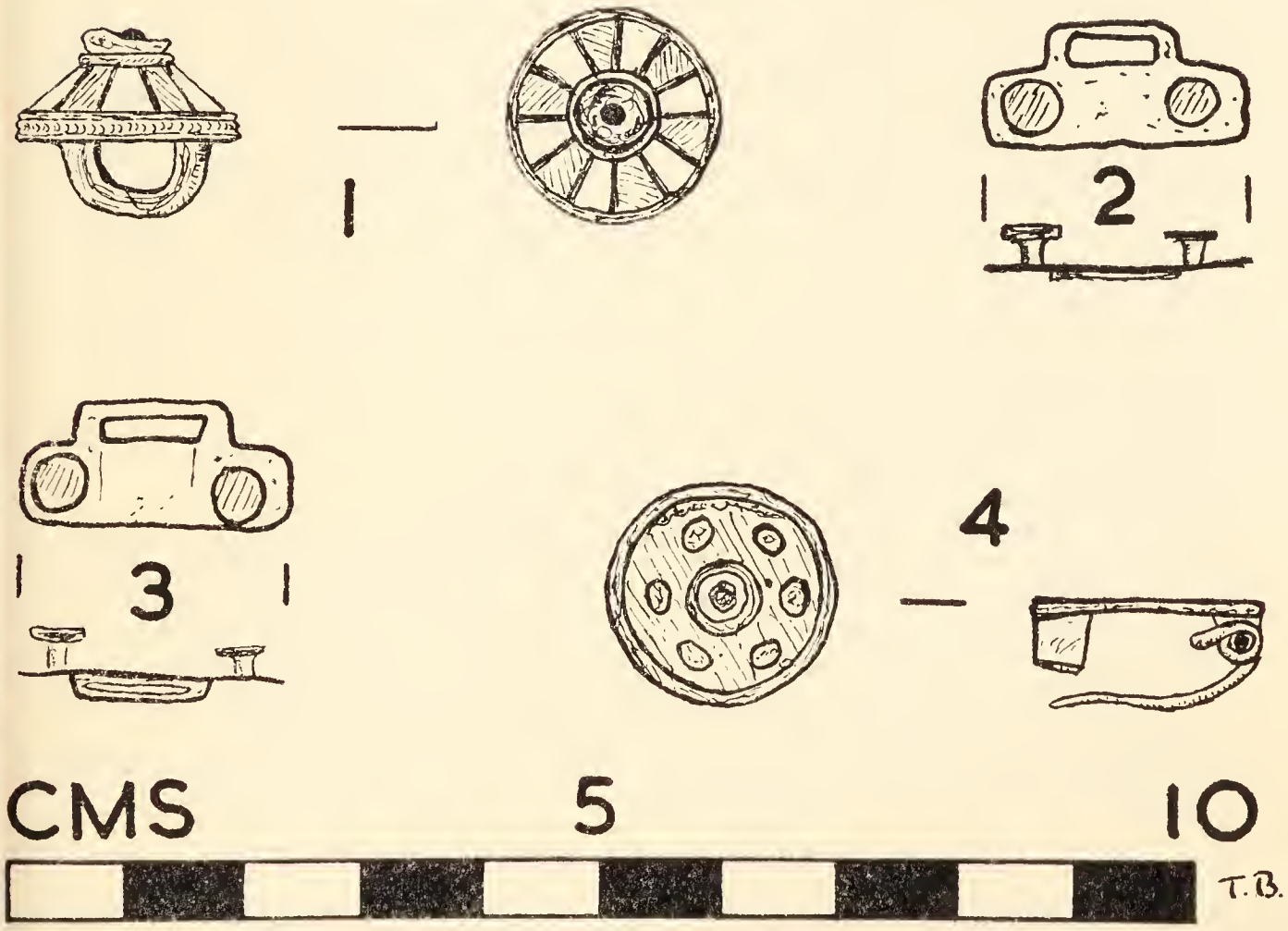


Fig. 14. Enamelled Bronze.

straight side of the lower part is decorated with a bead line. On the underside, which is concave in the centre, is a solid loop of bronze with a rectangular section. When found the surface had a very fine patina, but the enamelled surfaces were masked with a thin skin of decay which was later removed, thereby exposing the original colours in all their beauty. Height 1.6 cm. Diameter 1.8 cm. From Layer 5, north-west sector of Outer Ditch. (E.B.I).

2. Bronze female wrist clasp with two rivets surmounted by decayed enamel. Width 1 cm., Length 2.2 cms. From bottom layer of deposit containing Anglian pottery (Fig. 5). Probably 5th century. 1 ft. 4 inches from bottom of dark layer and five feet east of Marne bowl. (EBC.I).
3. Bronze wrist clasp from the same depth and layer as above, but 9 ft. east of last find. Length 2.3 cms. Width 1.05 cm. (EBC.II).
4. Bronze disc fibula with six bronze studs set in red enamel. In the centre is a small saucer shaped hollow with a little damaged stud, or mount. The underside has a small round hole in the centre, a hinge spring and catch plate. A little treatment was necessary to remove the slight encrustation on the enamelled surface, otherwise the brooch was in excellent order with a fine olive green patina. From top of Layer 5 of Outer Ditch, 37 ft. west of profile C—D. First half of second century. (Fib. Iv).

Objects of Iron (Fig. 15).

All the items of iron were treated to prevent further reaction, and then coated to hinder the penetration of damp. Fig. 15, 4 was cracked in three places due to heavy pressure from the digging machine.

1. Ring of iron with an oval section having a maximum diameter of 1 cm. Hut I. Depth 1 ft. 6 inches.
2. Iron pin. Length 5 cms. 3 cms. thick at the knob. Hut II. Depth 14 inches. 3 ft. north of hearth limit.
3. Iron knife from the subsided edge of the pit face at Hut I. Although not *in situ*, it most certainly came from the floor of the hut. Unfortunately the bone handle had been exposed to the severe winter of 1947 and was in a very powdery condition. After drying, an attempt was made to impregnate the bone while still *in situ*, but this attempt failed. Some bone is still adhering to the side of the rivets. Estimated length 20.2 cms.; maximum width of the blade 2.2 cms. cf. *Antiquities of Roman Britain* Fig. 24, 7, from London. *Newstead* Plate LX. 6, from ditch of Early Fort.
4. Square sectioned iron slide key with a length of 17.4 cms. Two teeth and loop. From stone layer Pit. Depth 12 inches from subsoil I level.
5. Large iron nail with broad head Hut I. (I, 24).
6. Sample of shoe nails? Layer 7. Outer Ditch.
7. Sample of shoe nails? Layer 5. Outer Ditch.
8. Typical ordinary nail. Layer 5. Outer Ditch.
9. A similar sample as above. Layer 7. Outer Ditch.
10. Iron spear with broken tip and cracked socket. Estimated length 17.5 cms. Maximum width of blade 2.9 cms. The socket has a diameter of 2.2 cms. at the end. Found inclining at an angle of 30 degrees, and facing E.S.E. on the floor of Hut I. Depth 20 inches (I, 10).
11. Square sectioned iron object of unknown determination recovered from the subsided floor (pit edge) of Hut I near the knife.
12. Large iron nail with a length of 12.4 cm. From undisturbed sealed deposit in Layer 7. (N.T.S. (W)).

Miscellaneous Small Finds (Fig. 16).

The small objects dealt with in this section came from various parts of the site and have been grouped together for convenience.

1. Fine hard buff hone with ovoid section. Sandstone? Maximum thickness 2.4 cms. Length 5 cms. Layer 5. Outer Trench north-west section. (N.T.S.(W)).
2. Hard grey hone from upper surface of hearth area in Hut II. Breadth 3.9 cms. Length 8.6 cms. Maximum thickness 3.3 cms. Depth 6 inches.
3. Fragment of jet bangle. Height of section 1.3 cm. Breadth 1.2 cm. Hut I. Depth 1 ft. 2 inches.
4. Deep blue melon type glass bead fragment. Hut I. Depth 7 inches cf. *Newstead* Plate XCI 21. A similar example was picked up at Costa Beck in 1948.

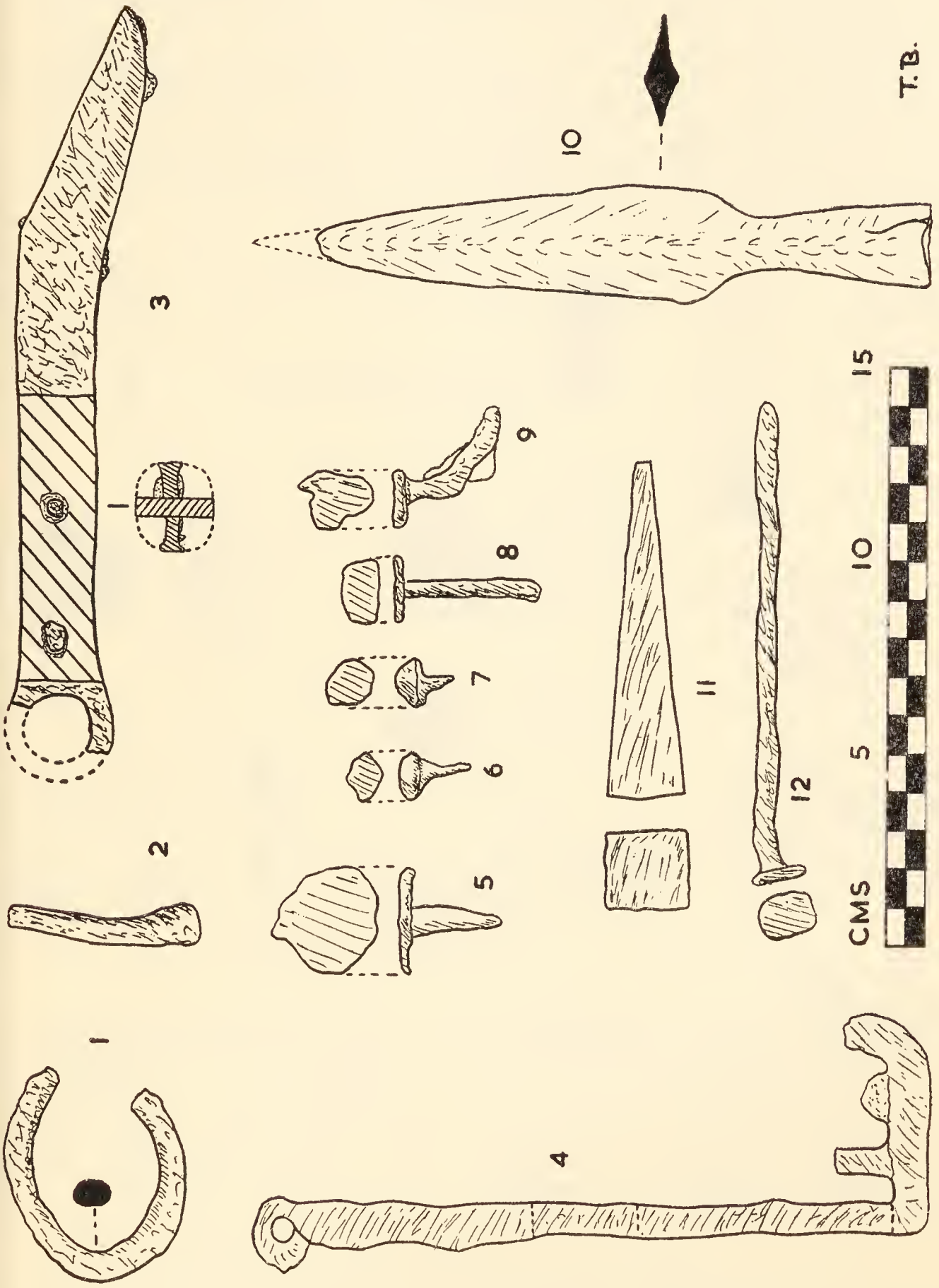


FIG. 15. Objects of Iron.

5. Sling-bullet of fired clay. Buff to buff with reddish tones and dark fumed patches. The surface has many sand particles and a few grass imprints. Much softer fabric than gritted ware, and without calcite or flint tempering. Diameter at centre 3.1 cms. Length from tip to tip 5.5 cms. From 4 ft. north of extreme limit of the hearth in Hut II. Depth 12 inches. (II 53).
6. Sling-bullet of same fabric as above. Sliced. Interior dark grey. Diameter at centre 4 cms. Length from tip to tip 5.5 cms. Associated directly with the example above. (II 54).
7. Thick circular spindle-whorl made from a piece of gritted ware. Grey buff with a grey core. Diameter 4.3 cms. Maximum thickness *c.* 1.3 cms. Hut II. Depth 15 inches (II 14).

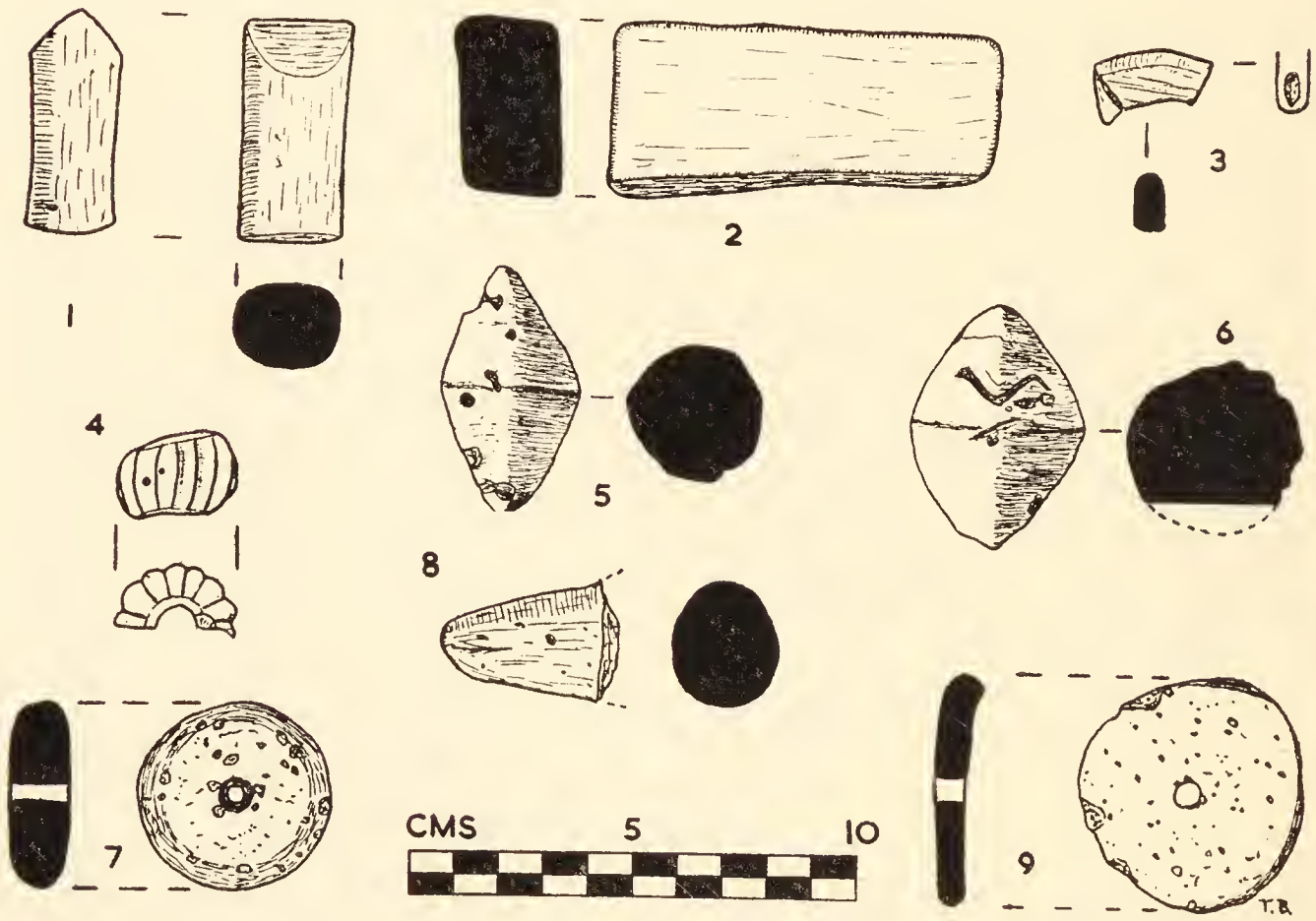


FIG. 16. Miscellaneous small finds.

8. Cone-shaped pot leg of dark gritted ware with smooth surface. Length 4 cms. Maximum diameter 2.8 cms. cf. *Malton*, Fig. 1—19. *Wroxeter*, 1913. Fig. 18. 55, in grey ware.
9. Spindle-whorl manufactured from another gritted ware sherd. Smooth grey buff surface on one side and rough on the other. Edges ground smooth. Maximum diameter 5.3 cms. Maximum thickness 8 mm. Depth 18 inches. Hut I. (I 8).

ANGLIAN POTTERY (FIG. 17).

In the upper filling of the Outer Ditch 30 ft. west of schematic profile C—D, was a deposit of animal bones and Anglian pottery which was excavated from the point given for 30 ft. eastwards. Originally the pottery filled the trench for another 40 ft. eastwards, but this area was destroyed. The pottery probably belongs to the first half of the sixth century. Two chief fabrics are burnished and unburnished, but the latter varies considerably, and appears to be tempered with sand, flint or chalk and grass. Surface is often smooth, and with or without a sandy feel. Apparently the various pots appear to have been fired at different temperatures, and some

are soft and others hard. There appear to be two forms, i.e. cooking pots and bowls. Bases are generally round, but one has a pedestal-like foot. Decoration is confined to grooves, combing and imprints with a three toothed comb, or stick. No small finds occurred in the pottery zone, but the wrist-clasps and the Marne bowl came from the lower part of the in-filling. In fabric and decor the pottery conforms with the material excavated at the Wykeham habitation site by Mr. J. W. A. Moore and the sherds from Flixton Ings excavated by the Scarborough Philosophical and Archaeological Society in 1934. These excavations were directed by Rev. G. H. Wilson and the late E. R. Cross. This site has yielded part of a two-sided comb and a cut handle of antler. It is probable an Anglian habitation site was located within the Outer Ditch on the eastern side. Unfortunately this area was destroyed during World War II. The pottery is probably contemporary with the Anglian cemetery which lay to the west of Newham's Pit and is now destroyed.

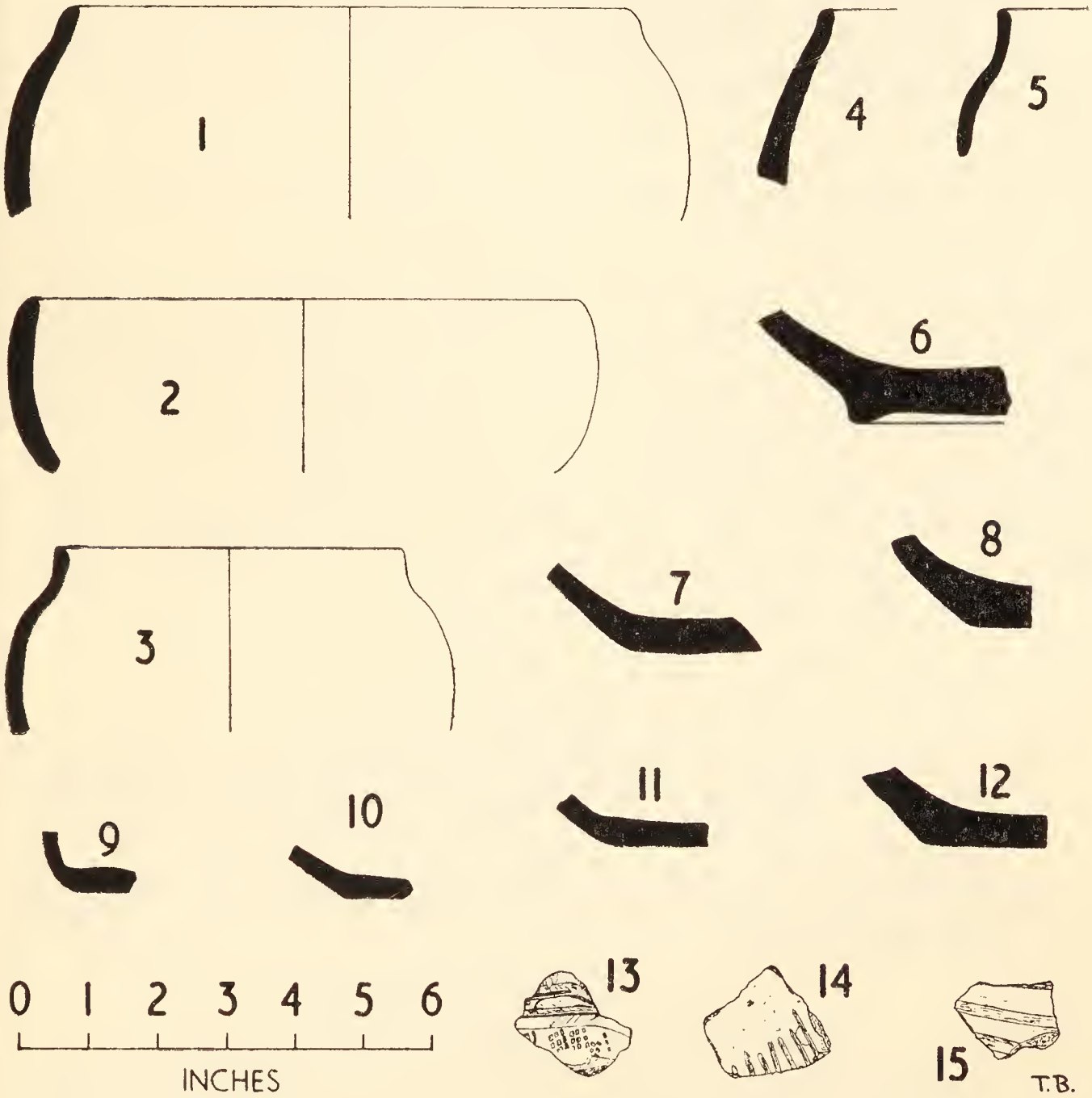


Fig. 17. Anglian Pottery.

1. Cooking pot in smooth hard fabric. Buff with dark tones. Diameter *c.* 8¼ inches. (N.T.S. 13).
2. Bowl form in soft smooth fabric with grass, or straw imprints. Buff with darker tones. Diameter *c.* 8 inches. (N.T.S. 51 and 45).
3. Cooking pot, hard glossy surface with buff to red and black tones. Interior black. Diameter *c.* 5 inches. (N.T.S. 49).

4. Cooking pot rim in smooth soft fabric. Buff with darker tones. (N.T.S. 6).
5. Same fabric as 3. (N.T.S. 70).
6. Base in smooth muddy buff fabric with black interior. (N.T.S. 15).
7. Hard light grey fabric with high mica content. Rounded base. (N.T.S. 71).
8. Hard coarse bisque with flint and other large grits. Rounded base (N.T.S 2).
9. Small base fragment with nearly vertical wall. Hard smooth grey buff fabric. (N.T.S. 12).
10. Smooth hard dark sherd, possibly burnished ware. (N.T.S. 28).
11. Fairly smooth dull grey with dark tones. Signs of dunting on bottom of base. (N.T.S. 27).
12. Half of a base in hard fairly smooth dull buff ware. Diameter 2 7/10 inches. (N.T.S. 14).
13. Wall fragment decorated with two grooves and comb imprints. In soft grey ware with some buff. cf. Anglian urn decoration (N.T.S. 43).
14. Smooth dark wall fragment with tooling marks. cf. Wykeham and Flixton Ings. Scarborough Museum.
15. Wall fragment of smooth burnished ware in black. Shallow grooves run horizontally. (N.T.S. 18).

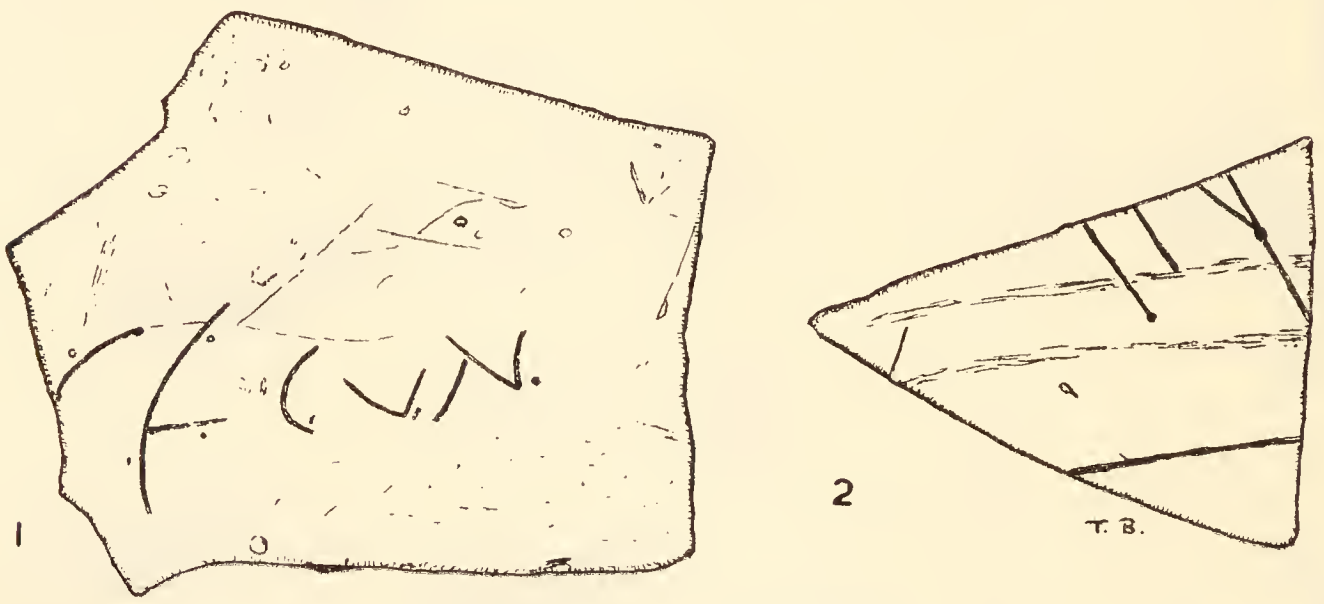


Fig. 18. Graffiti.

Graffiti (Fig. 18).

1. An amphora sherd was located in Layer 7, Outer Ditch with a graffito. Professor Birley kindly commented on it and reports it reads SECUN.
2. Hard yellow sherd with the remains of a graffito. Hut I. Depth 1 ft. 4 inches.
3. Not illustrated. Graffito on handle of large amphora recovered from spoil in central area. In form of a large X. Probably an indication of the quantity of fluid.

Mortarium Stamp (Fig. 12).
By Professor E. B. Birley, M.A., F.S.A.

Professor Birley kindly commented on the mortarium stamp from Layer 5, Outer Ditch Fig. 12, 12:—"The potter's name is apparently LEGVI or LEGVLI, the initial L being written in the cursive form, approximating to the Greek lambda. His rim types are a variant of Bushe-Fox Wroxeter type 38, but not so boldly hooked; his fabric is (as in your instance) a buff sandy one and the grit mixed, but mainly white and grey. The known parallels all belong to the period A.D. 80-120; I am inclined to think that the potter is not a Continental one, but one of the earliest British makers of mortaria: his place of work is presumably to be sought somewhere in the Midlands."

Charcoal.

Small fragments of charcoal were found in many parts of the site. These were examined by Miss F. L. Stephens who reports they are all oak. This preponderance of oak is remarkable. Evidently there were oak forests nearby, and the only possible place they could have grown was on the marsh hills, in what are now the carrlands. Evidence in favour of this location is the ploughing up of large numbers of bog oaks in the carrlands near the morainic hills in recent years.

Grass Imprints.

A small folded fragment of bronze sheeting from the bottom of Pit I was submitted to Miss F. L. Stephens of the department of Botany, British Museum of Natural History. She reports the imprints are grass.

Carbonised Grain.

Carbonised grain was found in some small fragments of burnt daub discovered in the floor of Hut II. These were submitted to Prof. J. Percival of Reading who reported as follows:—"They are not wheat, but grains of:—(1) Cheat (*Bromus secalinus*) or (2) naked grains of either Short oat (*Avena brevis*) or Bristle pointed oat (*Avena stigosa*). Too fragmentary to say more".

Marine Mollusca.

Amongst the debris of Hut II & Pit II occurred several shells of the marine mussel (*Mytilus edulis*), and the common limpet (*Patella vulgaris*). In both Pit I & II there were many medium sized oyster shells (*Ostrea edulis*).

Analysis of the Animal Bones.

During the excavations over 240 animal bones were found in the debris of the huts, pits and ditches. These were submitted to Dr. F. C. Frazer of the British Museum of Natural History in 1947, who kindly identified them. His comments are as follows:—"I should say that in the list where 'sheep' is recorded, it should probably be followed by 'or goat'. The differences between the bones of the two animals are difficult to find, especially when dealing with fragmentary materials. One horn core has been identified as 'goat' so that this species must be included in the list of animals represented in the collection.

The list of animals in order of abundance is as follows:—

Sheep (goat),
Pig,
Ox,
Goat.

The absence from the collection of bones of such animals as horse, dog, cat, red and roe deer should be noted." Dr. Frazer also pointed out the size of the bones, indicating the animals concerned were small compared with modern domestic breeds.

In the tables below is an analysis in a tabulated form. The majority of the bones came from Pit II and Hut II. A few came from the Outer Ditch, but these have not been included in this report as they came to light after the first material was submitted for examination. All the figures in the list below are percentages.

Site	Hut I	Hut II	Pit I
Distribution	12.3	39.9	47.8
Sheep	78.5	78.3	61.1
Pig	12.3	6.7	16.7
Ox	9.2	13.3	22.2
Goat	—	1.7	—

CATARACTONIUM, FORT AND TOWN.

By E. J. W. Hildyard, M.A., F.S.A.

With a report on the Pottery by J. P. Gillam, M.A., F.S.A., and contributions by Miss M. G. Simpson and W. Bulmer.

There is no need here to summarize fully previous articles, published in this Journal, on the Roman site at Catterick Bridge of which the ancient name of Cataractonium is unusually securely attested. The first[1] described the known history of the site and previous finds before giving a full account of the trial excavations undertaken just before the war under the threat of the construction of a by-pass road through the site. The interesting probability suggested by this excavation that the site had been a civil town in its later phases, was confirmed and virtually proved by the air photograph taken in 1949 and published in the second article in this Journal.[2]

Though by the time these words appear in print the threat to the site may have become imminent or even actual, at the time the work to be described was undertaken the menace was dormant and there were hopes that it might be averted by an alternative scheme. But from an archaeological point of view there was ample justification for excavation, for two weighty reasons. The first of these was the general lack of knowledge of the secondary civil sites of Roman Britain, especially in the North. As the C.B.A. puts it, "The smaller towns which were not cantonal capitals are much less well understood . . . . . Their explanation is one of the outstanding needs in the civil area"[3] and in their policy recommendation repeat "The investigation of the smaller townships is an . . . . . urgent requirement for the very nature of these is not understood."[4]

The second archaeological reason is that Cataractonium is a site on one of the main arteries of the Roman province which is known to have been of strategic importance in the Dark Ages and has already yielded Saxon finds[5] and might thus be expected to shed light on the obscure sub-Roman period. Again the C.B.A. says "In Eastern England where in general Roman occupation lasted late and Anglo-Saxon settlement began early, no opportunity should be lost in tracing fifth-century occupation on Roman sites, particularly towns and fortified places, and above

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Part 147, pp. 402-419.
[2] *Y.A.J.*, Part 148, pp. 521-522.
[3] C.B.A. "A Survey and Policy of Field Research" 1940, p. 64.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 102.
[5] 1939 Report, p. 403. In addition to the two Great square-headed fibulae mentioned, I have since seen four other Saxon brooches at Brough Hall from the site.

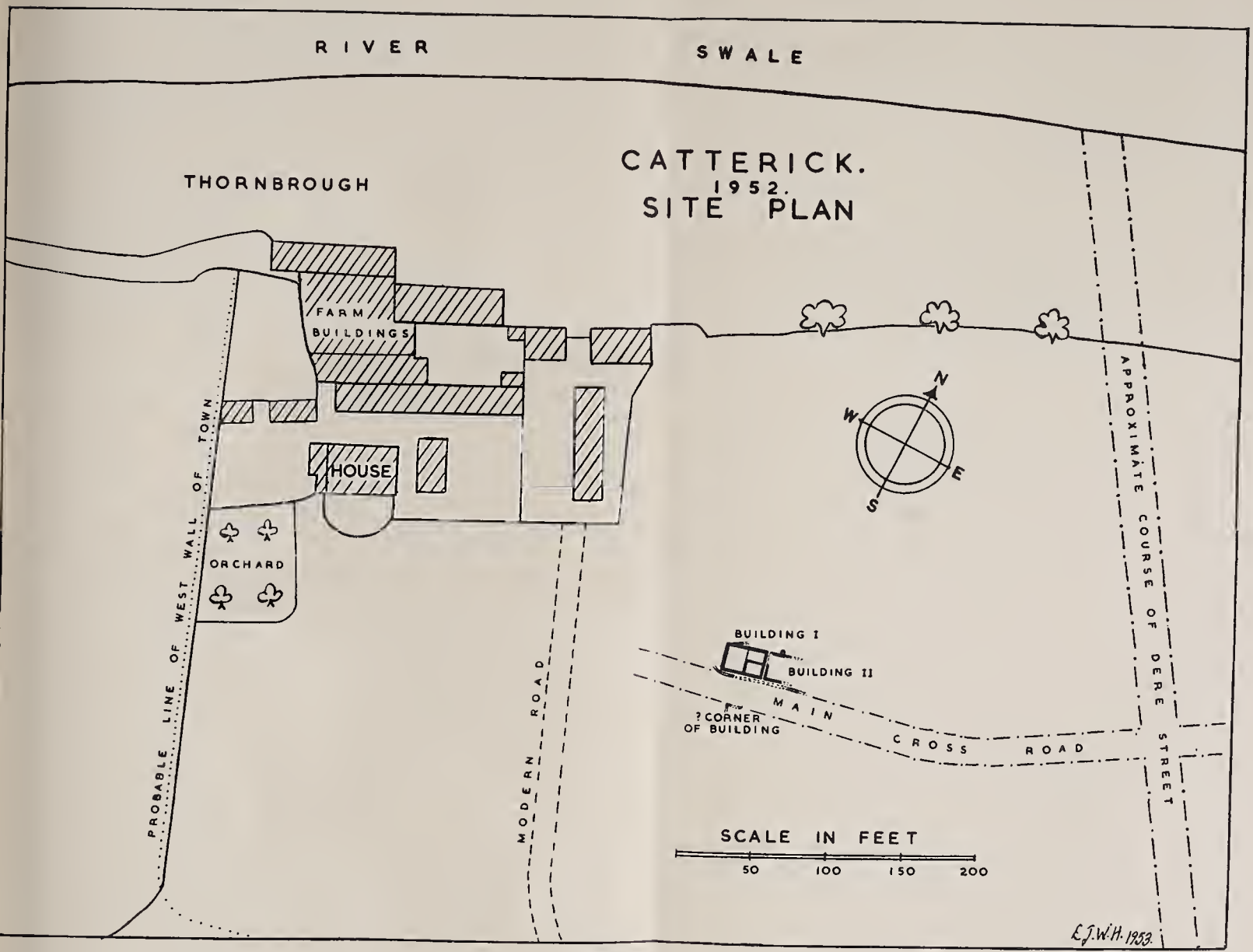

RIVER
SWALE
CATTERICK.
1952.
SITE PLAN
THORNBROUGH
FARM BUILDINGS
HOUSE
ORCHARD
PROBABLE LINE OF WEST WALL OF TOWN
MODERN ROAD
APPROXIMATE COURSE OF DERE STREET
N
W
E
S
BUILDING I
BUILDING II
? CORNER OF BUILDING
MAIN CROSS ROAD
SCALE IN FEET
50
100
150
200
E.J.W.H. 1953.

FIG. 1.

all those . . . . . which are immediately adjoined by early Anglo-Saxon burial places.[1] These sites must be fundamental for the problem of the replacement of Romano-British by Anglo-Saxon population and culture.''[2]

After an abortive attempt to resume excavation soon after the war the Roman Antiquities Committee of this Society was spurred to fresh effort by the generous offer of a grant from the Christianbury Trust by the late Sir Walter de L. Aitchison, Bt., F.S.A. To this the R.A.C. added a like sum and an appeal was made to members of the public likely to be interested. The response to this was not numerically great but three most generous subscribers must be mentioned by name, Mrs. Blow of Richmond and Mr. J. V. Iley and Mr. J. G. Beaston, both of Stanhope.

Apart from direct financial assistance, however, there can seldom have been a dig so favoured by generous help in other ways. First I should mention Sir Ralph Lawson, Bt., and Lady Lawson without whose good offices the excavations would never have taken place and who helped in other practical ways, from circulating the appeal to providing fencing posts and wire and hospitality to the Director. Next I must thank my three hostesses, my aunt Miss C. F. Hildyard, M.B.E., J.P. of Bolton-on-Swale, my cousin Miss E. B. Ringose, J.P. of Middleton Tyas, and my old friend Mrs. W. Baker Baker of Sedbury Hall who between them most kindly provided me with accommodation for virtually the whole four weeks. Mr. J. H. Shepherd of Thornbrough not only allowed the desecration of his best pasture but generously made no claim for compensation even though, owing to the depth of the remains, the area required re-seeding after the fill-in. In this latter connection another generous gesture came from Major E. Renwick of the Swale Gravel Coy. whose bulldozer did this most necessary work entirely without fee.

A source of great assistance came from Group Captain G. M. Gillan, Commanding Catterick R.A.F. Station, who allowed volunteer parties of airmen, led by Squadron Leader L. R. McDonald, Flight-Lieut. D. Peters, and Flight-Lieut. B. Browning, to make no mean contribution to the manual work, in which Dr. K. C. Easton of Catterick assisted. Of members of the R.A.C., Mrs. King gave a week's work, and welcome visits were paid by our former secretary Miss E. M. Walker, F.S.A., my former colleague Mr. W. V. Wade, F.S.A., Messrs. R. H. Hayes, C. E. Hartley, D. Gilyard Beer and G. Davis. I must also not forget my friend Mr. G. V. Snowdon, of Stanhope, whose visit was unfortunately cut short.

On the technical side the greatest contribution to this report has come from my friend and collaborator on other occasions, Mr. J. P. Gillam, F.S.A., whose notable pottery report

[1] For the Saxon burials in a Roman building found in 1939 in the R.A.F. Station, see *Y.A.J.*, Part 150, pp. 241-245.

[2] *op. cit.*, p. 111.

adds greatly to the value of the results achieved. Also of great value have been: Miss Grace Simpson's report on the decorated Samian ware, including the remarkable black bowl, the glaze of which has been kindly analysed by Miss M. Bimson of the British Museum; suggestions by Professor I. A. Richmond, F.B.A., F.S.A., on the early period and remains of the fort; and much assistance on the remarkable buckles by Professor Andreas Alföldi of Basle, and Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A.

I am also most indebted to Mr. W. Bulmer for his report on the glass, to the late Mr. W. V. Wade, F.S.A., for identifying the coins and also for sage counsel in the field, and finally, in the photographic department to Mr. R. H. Hayes and Mr. A. Wilkins. Mr. Hayes generously provided the prints for Plates I, V, VI & IX taken with professional skill. Mr. A. Wilkins spent the second half of the excavation as my assistant and has given great assistance in many ways besides producing the prints for Plates II, III, IV, VII & VIII.

THE EXCAVATION

The Objective.

Work began on June 16th, 1952, and continued for four weeks until July 12th, an average of four paid men being employed throughout. Labour had to be sent from Darlington and consisted almost entirely of students earning money in the vacation. This did not give promise of a good return for expenditure but in fact the team worked most conscientiously and by the later stages were up to reasonable professional standards. In fact it was a matter of regret that nearly all the digging required of them was of a hard and mechanical nature, there was little or no complexity of stratification to test the powers of such intelligent workmen. Furthermore in the whole of the four weeks there was not one stoppage on account of rain, a fact worthy of record.

It had been agreed with the owner-occupier, Mr. Shepherd, that the excavations should be confined to one small area which would be fenced against the numerous inmates of this large eighteen acre pasture and this did not really conflict with the wants of archaeology because all previous work, in the last century and in 1939, having concentrated on the defences, the time was deemed to have come to use the air photographs to test a sample building in the interior.

The most prominent buildings in the air photographs as published were two oblong shop-like structures joined together and facing on the south side of the main cross-street (East-West) of the town. The larger one was estimated at about 95 ft. in length, the shorter at 60 ft. and their breadth about 40 ft. and 45 ft. respectively. As their position, in relation to the farm and farmyard was also very convenient (see Site Plan) it was decided to attempt to locate and uncover one of them. This was done from an enlarged and much clearer photograph, showing more

detail and taken from more overhead, than those published, kindly supplied by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, F.S.A., Curator in Aerial Photography at Cambridge University.

A long trench (TR. I) running West to East was accordingly laid out, designed to strike the more eastern and more distinct of the two buildings. The line of this trench can still be seen on the plan as it ran parallel with, and north of, the balk, the north side of which formed the south side of the trench. On the second day the West wall of Building I was encountered crossing the trench and at first this was thought to be the west wall of the east "shop" since its east side must be the interior, being adorned with plaster with green and maroon decoration. On continuing the trench, however, it was not long before the north wall of the building was met with, running at a very acute angle across the trench. Meanwhile another trench (TR. II) had been started to strike the east wall of the supposed large building, the eastern end of this trench can be seen on the plan south of Building II with a drain running down its centre.

Not only was no wall found in TR. II but TR. I was continued eastwards until the north wall of the building ended in a recess with traces of plaster suggesting an entrance from the east. It now became clear, by the fourth day, that my calculations were at fault, a result not altogether surprising since the photographs had been taken from well south of the modern road, and therefore by no means vertically, and there were, of course, absolutely no surface indications whatsoever.[1] Further study of the photograph, however, made it appear likely that what had been struck was a small oblong building north of the main cross-street and opposite the two large shop-like structures, a notion supported by its position on a line between the corner of the farmyard and one of the large trees on the roadside. All subsequent work confirmed this, the finding of the main street itself, the probable corner of the east shop and the area of disturbance to be noticed later, which may be equated with the vague circular patch almost cutting the eastern corner of the building.

The failure to locate the large "shop" was to prove no matter at all for regret. On the contrary, the small building that was found instead could be examined more completely with the resources available and its situation was found to be a most fortunate one. Its south wall had meanwhile been struck by a trench running south nearly at right angles to TR. I (TR. III). But having located a building it was then necessary to wire in an area as small as reasonably possible and all further work was, of course, conditioned by this fact, as no digging could be done outside the enceinte.

[1] Dr. St. Joseph stated he could see such indications, doubtless in a dry spell, but there were none visible to me at this time of year or, indeed, at any other time I have walked over this site.

BUILDING I.

There is no need from this point to pursue the chronological method of our working and it remains to describe the structure and other features as finally revealed and dated.

The first of these is Building I (see Excavation Plan), the general appearance of which can be seen in Pl. I as can the fact that it was entirely cleared, and considerable portions of the floors also removed, except for part of the diagonal balk, left for convenience of barrowing, the ultimate removal of which time did not permit. Including the footings which were massive, roughly squared blocks, slightly but irregularly offset, the walls except for the east side, were well-preserved, standing up to eight courses high. The exterior was carefully faced freestone (in the manner of many modern buildings in this area), with heavy squared blocks at the corners.

The building, 28 ft. by 18 ft. in exterior measurement with its long axis, East-West, was divided into three rooms. On the West Room I, 17 ft. by 18 ft. occupied over half the space, the remainder being divided almost equally by an East-West wall into two smaller rooms, II and III.

Room I. The stratification of this room can be seen in the section A-B and repeated at right angles in D-C. Below the humus came a deep layer of débris containing masses of late pottery (a stratum repeated all over the site). It also produced the penannular brooch (fig. 5, No. 10). Then came a well-defined layer of fallen wall plaster so compact that it was at first mistaken for a decomposed concrete floor, a notion dispelled by penetration to the black occupation layer beneath, which in turn rested on a well preserved floor of *opus signinum.* There was much late pottery in both layers and on the floor were found, in different parts of the room, both buckles (fig. 6, Nos. 12 and 13) the larger one associated with an illegible 4th century coin (no. 5).

The wall plaster was well preserved and retained traces of a pink and red design which may have been covered by one in green of which there were faint signs on the north wall. There appeared to be two floors, the top one, only one inch in thickness laid direct on the under one. Since there was no dark line or signs of occupation on the lower floor, they may be contemporary, the "upper floor" being merely the finishing layer. The lower floor rested on the usual stone and cement foundation. On the outside a clay "damp course" was noticed adhering to the lower courses above the footings on the north and west sides.

Necessity did not demand nor time allow the complete removal of this solid and well preserved floor but two squares on each side of where the balk had been removed, and in line with TR. III, were excavated to discover if some of the roads outside to the south continued under the building, which they did, and in the hope of recovering dating material. In this latter respect

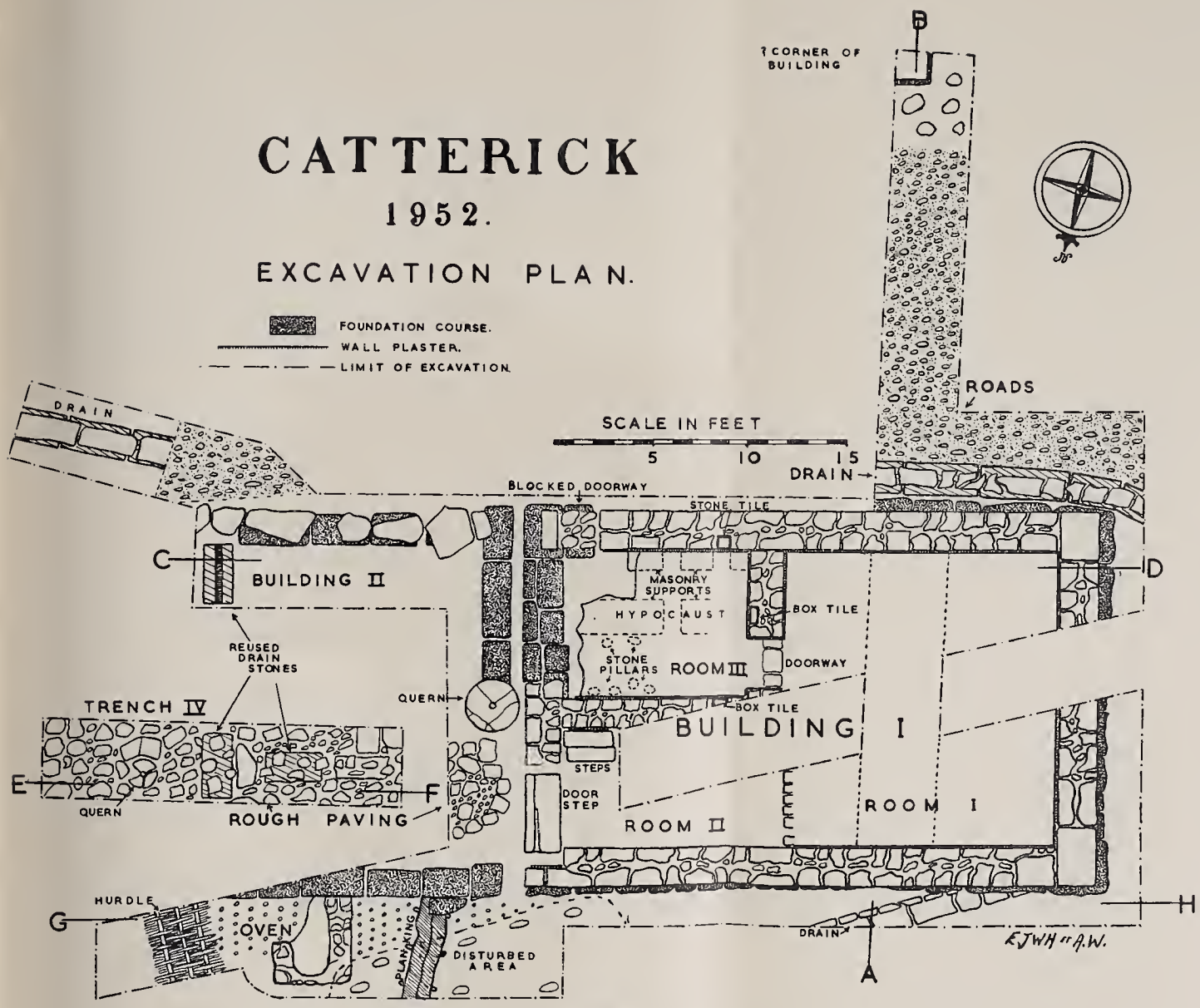

CATTERICK
1952.
EXCAVATION PLAN.
FOUNDATION COURSE.
WALL PLASTER.
LIMIT OF EXCAVATION.
SCALE IN FEET
5 10 15
B
? CORNER OF BUILDING
ROADS
DRAIN
DRAIN
BLOCKED DOORWAY
STONE TILE
C
D
BUILDING II
MASONRY SUPPORTS
HYPOCAUST
BOX TILE
REUSED DRAIN STONES
STONE PILLARS
ROOM III
DOORWAY
TRENCH IV
QUERN
BOX TILE
BUILDING I
STEPS
E
F
QUERN
DOOR STEP
ROOM II
ROOM I
ROUGH PAVING
HURDLE
G
OVEN
PLANKING
DISTURBED AREA
DRAIN
H
A
EJWH & A.W.

FIG. 2.



PLATE I. Building I. General view, looking east.



PLATE II. Building I, Room III. The hypocaust, showing broken east end.

nothing of value was found beneath the floor of Room I. It was noticed that the clay subsoil was drier and darker in the northern square compared with lighter and wetter conditions in the southern.

Room II. This smaller room to the east of Room I was less completely excavated owing to the presence of the balk. It had been divided from Room I by a slight partition wall which had entirely disappeared except for a row of foundation stones. The division, however, was quite distinct. The floor of Room II, which was some 6 ins. lower and was again in two layers, was less well preserved and had a much lighter foundation, and the wall plaster on the north wall ended abruptly at the division. That it had had wall plaster, at least in the earlier period, was proved by its presence on the north side of the recess at the west end of the north wall (see Plan) and on the south wall behind the steps when these were removed. In the later period the room had been altered by the construction of an outside door near the north-west corner and a doorway with steps leading into Room III.

Under these steps and the paving on which they stood was a flanged bowl (no. 15) of late 3rd cent. date. But the main importance of this room was that the floor, when removed, provided secure dating evidence for Building I. This was the group described by Mr. Gillam (Nos. 13 and 14) as "not earlier than A.D. 300, if so early".

Room III. This small room, 9 ft. by 7 ft. 6 ins., was entered from Room I by a doorway in its west wall. The difference in level, necessitating two steps upwards from Room I, made us suspect the presence of a hypocaust beneath Room III, an idea that was duly confirmed when the broken eastern side was reached, revealing the hollow floor (see Pl. II). The difference in level can be seen in the section D-C.

The floor supports were a combination of masonry, thick flags laid like sandwiches between layers of mortar, and small sandstone pillars, the arrangement of which, as far as it could be ascertained without complete demolition of the structure, is shown on the Plan (fig. 2). There is no reason not to think that both forms of construction were contemporary and were used for convenience, the material being probably a re-use of what was to hand. This accords with the general unparticular, but solid and effective, methods of construction of the whole building which are illustrated again in the use of fired box-tiles in the north and west walls and a stone flue in the south wall, all of which, it must be remembered, were well concealed by wall plaster.

The sequence of construction and alteration appeared to be as follows. In the first period there must have been a light cement floor on flags over the hypocaust, which was, of course, then in use, the room being decorated in red striped wall plaster. Later the hypocaust was filled up with rubbish which, besides pottery, included a large number of chicken bones, and a heavy concrete

floor, 5 ins. in thickness laid on the flags, the light floor being first removed. This is shown by the presence of the red plaster behind the thick floor on both north and south walls to within an inch of the flags.

There is no trace in masonry remains of the stokehole and furnace, removed presumably at the time of the hypocaust filling but the presence of a large spread of ash and burnt material containing two 4th cent. coins (Nos. 3 and 4) and the bone pin (fig. 5, No. 6) and overlying the west wall of Building II and mixed probably with its débris and pottery (see Pottery Report, unillustrated) seems to indicate its position with certainty, bearing in mind the assumed presence of the drain outside the south wall.

When the hypocaust went out of use the door in the south wall was blocked (as can just be seen in the background of Pl. III) and a new means of ingress broken through the north wall opposite, into Room II. The pottery from the hypocaust tells a somewhat confused story as can be expected from rubbish material used to fill up a cavity but the latest piece (No. 18) is "typical of the last third of the 4th cent." and the deposit as a whole with its late Castor ware does not do anything to contradict such a dating (see Nos. 16—18). It thus provides a date for the modification of Building I. A new outer door was probably made in the east wall near the north-east corner though it is possible this already existed.

Finally the floor was repaired by a rough relaying of *opus signinum* 1½ ins. thick in which pieces of the original wall plaster were used and even a large square flag was pressed into service (see Pl. IV). On the floor was found the jet-ring (fig. 5, No. 4).

That these two floors must represent an occupation of considerable length is clear from the great mass of very late "4th cent. pottery" from the building and the site generally, and the latest repairs together with, probably, the rough paving outside, characteristic of late sites in East Yorkshire, must take us well into the 5th cent.

BUILDING II.

This Building just appeared in TR. II (which was designed to strike the east wall of what was then thought would be a large building), as a series of large boulders which were later found to have a second course of roughly squared blocks below them. These proved to be the footings of the south wall of a separate and much robbed building. Even if time had allowed, its condition would not have justified a thorough investigation and what was recovered of the plan of north, east and south walls was incidental to the excavation of Building I. The line of a partition wall may be indicated by the re-used drain stones seen in the east end of section D-C and, inverted, in section E-F.

The cutting of a section outside the building parallel with the south walls of Buildings I and II yielded dating information. As the section D-C shows, it possessed a distinct but poorly pre-



PLATE III. East end of Building I, Room II in foreground with steps into Room III, looking south.



PLATE IV. Building I. Room III in foreground with doorway into Room I, looking west.

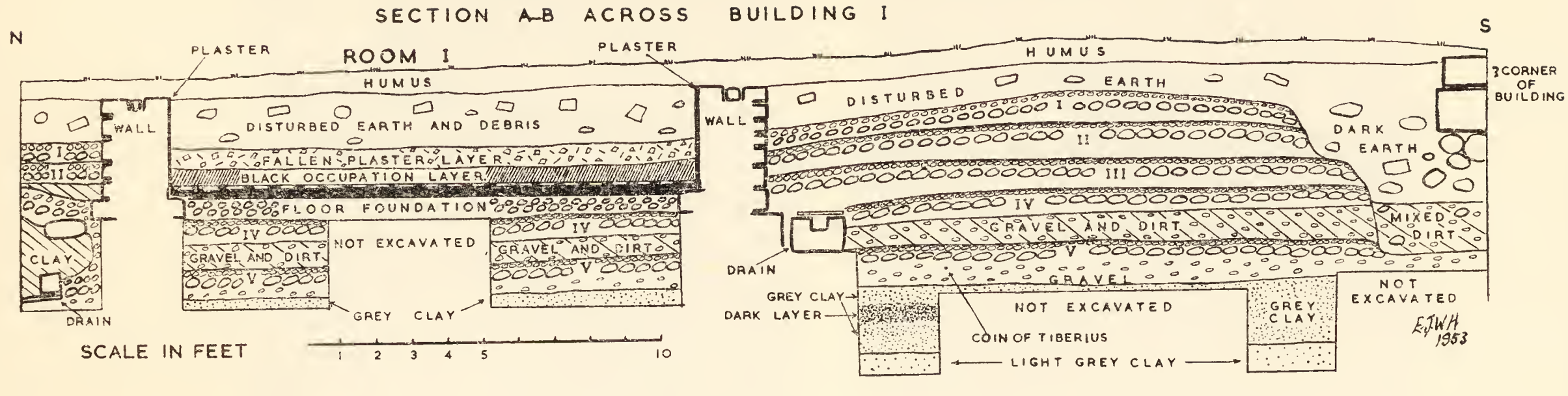
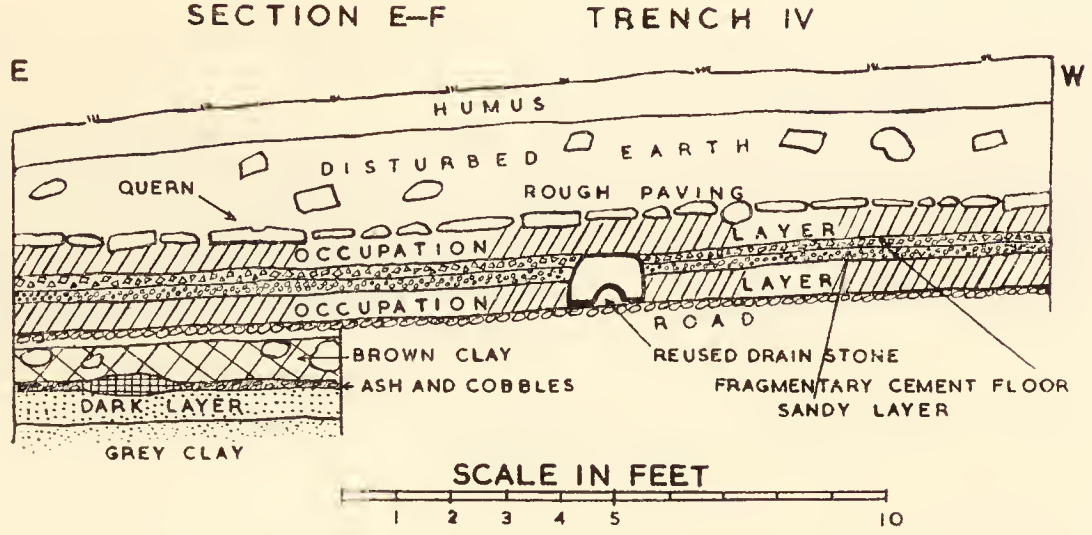

SECTION A–B ACROSS BUILDING I
N
S
ROOM I
PLASTER
PLASTER
HUMUS
HUMUS
WALL
WALL
DISTURBED EARTH AND DEBRIS
FALLEN PLASTER LAYER
BLACK OCCUPATION LAYER
FLOOR FOUNDATION
DISTURBED EARTH
DARK EARTH
CORNER OF BUILDING
I
II
III
IV
V
CLAY
GRAVEL AND DIRT
NOT EXCAVATED
GRAVEL AND DIRT
MIXED DIRT
DRAIN
DRAIN
GREY CLAY
GREY CLAY
DARK LAYER
GRAVEL
NOT EXCAVATED
COIN OF TIBERIUS
GREY CLAY
NOT EXCAVATED
LIGHT GREY CLAY
E.J.W.H. 1953
SCALE IN FEET
1 2 3 4 5 10
SECTION H–G OUTSIDE BUILDING I
W
E
HUMUS
DISTURBED EARTH
HUMUS
I
II
III
IV
CLAY
DISTURBANCE
CLAY
BROWN CLAY
NOT EXCAVATED
DRAIN
DARK LAYER
GREY CLAY
GREY CLAY
HURDLE
SCALE IN FEET
5 10 15

FIG. 3.


SECTION E–F TRENCH IV
E
W
HUMUS
DISTURBED EARTH
QUERN
ROUGH PAVING
OCCUPATION LAYER
OCCUPATION LAYER
LAYER
ROAD
BROWN CLAY
ASH AND COBBLES
DARK LAYER
GREY CLAY
REUSED DRAIN STONE
FRAGMENTARY CEMENT FLOOR
SANDY LAYER
SCALE IN FEET
1 2 3 4 5 10

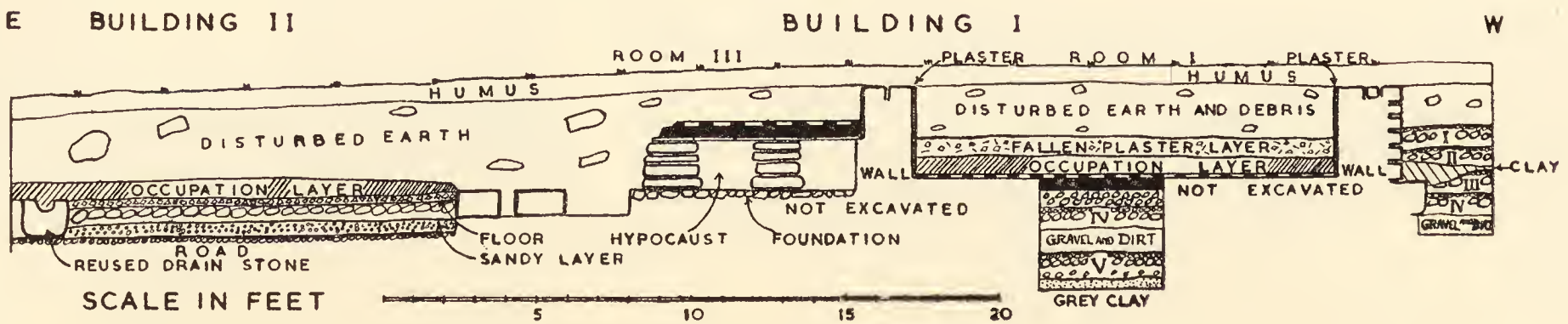

SECTION D–C ACROSS BUILDINGS I AND II
E
BUILDING II
BUILDING I
W
ROOM III
ROOM I
PLASTER
PLASTER
HUMUS
HUMUS
DISTURBED EARTH
DISTURBED EARTH AND DEBRIS
FALLEN PLASTER LAYER
OCCUPATION LAYER
OCCUPATION LAYER
WALL
WALL
NOT EXCAVATED
NOT EXCAVATED
ROAD
REUSED DRAIN STONE
FLOOR
SANDY LAYER
HYPOCAUST
FOUNDATION
GRAVEL AND DIRT
GREY CLAY
CLAY
SCALE IN FEET
5 10 15 20

FIG. 4.



PLATE V. Large drain outside south wall of Building I. Road sections in background.



PLATE VI. Showing the "Disturbance", in section, with brown clay "rampart" behind ranging pole.

served floor. In the occupation layer were a number of bronze beads (fig. 5, No. 7) probably of 4th cent. date but more significantly the base of a 3rd cent. glass bowl (fig. 9, No. 3) and fourteen fragments of a grey, fumed cook pot (No. 4) dated to the later 3rd cent. Sealed beneath the floor was a small deposit of pottery (No. 3) also dated to the same century.

Still more information, however, came from TR. IV (Section E-F) which can be assumed to be within the building. Below the rough paving of late date came an occupation layer with a fragmentary cement floor corresponding to that in D-C. Below it again came a large deposit of pottery (Nos. 5—12), which enables the date of the foundation of Building II to be assigned fairly closely to the middle of the 3rd cent.

The slope of the ground does not seem to account for the ruined condition of Building II. Although built on the same alignment as Building I, facing on the main cross road, it cannot have been in use at the same time if it can be assumed that the furnace and stokehole of that building were built over its western portion, pointing to the fact that it must have been ruinous or demolished when the other building was built. Its life, therefore, would appear to have been a short one, covering the second half of the 3rd cent.

Areas Outside the Buildings.

In the confined space outside the walls of Building I and elsewhere where it was possible to dig within the wire, a number of features presented themselves.

It has already been noticed that TR. III had located the south wall of Building I, and it was continued across the main East-West cross road of the town. The section A-B shows a number of metalled roads with heavy cobbled bottoming laid on top of each other to a depth of some 6 ft. It must be said that the stratification has been shown in a somewhat conventional form as each road or road-repair was not always clearly defined. But the writer and Mr. Wade eventually decided that five superimposed road surfaces with bottoming could be distinguished. Pl. V gives some idea of the appearance of the section.

Part of the object of digging through this extremely resistant section was to obtain dating evidence for the roads but, as usual, little was recovered. Below the lowest road we were fortunate to find a denarius of Tiberius (No. 1) in passable condition; in the dirt layer above the road a small group included fragments of the rare Samian form 43, late 2nd cent. in date. The road above this appears to go with the drain outside the south wall of Building I. From under this road came a much weathered fragment of Samian 37 dated to A.D. 150-190 (No. 12) and in its composition and on top of the drain cover were various fragments of pottery including Rhenish ware, all datable to the 3rd century. (See Pottery Report, unillustrated).

At the south end of TR. III the roads sloped away into a disturbed depression, and at the extreme end of the trench in its south-west corner what appeared to be the first course, footing course and footings of another building just came into view (see A-B). From its position in relation to the road this may be the north-western corner of the eastern of the two large buildings thought to be shops, on the air-photograph. The pottery from this disturbed depression and below the level of the building can be dated to the early 4th cent. (Nos. 19-20) a probable date for the building.

The Large Drain outside the south-west corner of Building I consisted of solid oblong blocks of sandstone up to 3 ft. 6 ins. in length down the middle of which had been cut the channel course. The drain was roofed with small slabs. A similar drain had been located in TR. II and there seems no reason to doubt that this is a continuation of the same one. In TR. II a small deposit of pottery (Nos. 1—2) below the level of the cover slabs was of 3rd cent. date but there were also two pieces of Samian of earlier date (Nos. 8 and 9).

The question remains as to whether this drain had any connection with Building I. The pottery evidence which seems to give it at least an early 3rd cent. date and its general course of direction, especially its behaviour at the south-west corner, rather suggest that its connection is only accidental. The re-use of similar channelled stones in Building II may also imply that the drain precedes both buildings.

A useful discovery was that the drain did, in fact, still perform its function. During the excavation of the lower levels of TR. III many buckets of unwelcome water were poured down it and successfully disposed of.

On the north side of Building I the stratification can be seen in the section H-G. Here, too, as everywhere on the site were a number of stony strata indicating roads or metalled areas of some sort. They tended to be less heavy in composition than in TR. III and contained much broken pinkish sandstone mixed with the gravel and cobbles. The make-up along the west wall was of similar composition. These are not marked on the Plan.

The clearest feature outside Building I on the north was another drain running under the footings at a very oblique angle (see A-B on Plan). This drain had been composed of flat slabs, large ones at the bottom and smaller at the sides, but only the south side set remained and there was no sign of the cover slabs. The whole had been filled up with clay, doubtless part of the levelling process before Building I was constructed. At that time the drain appears to have been already broken and out of use. Part of the clay was carried up to the footings to act as a damp course for the wall. The only find in the clay was the rim of a S. Gaulish form 18, probably of Flavian date (No. 11).

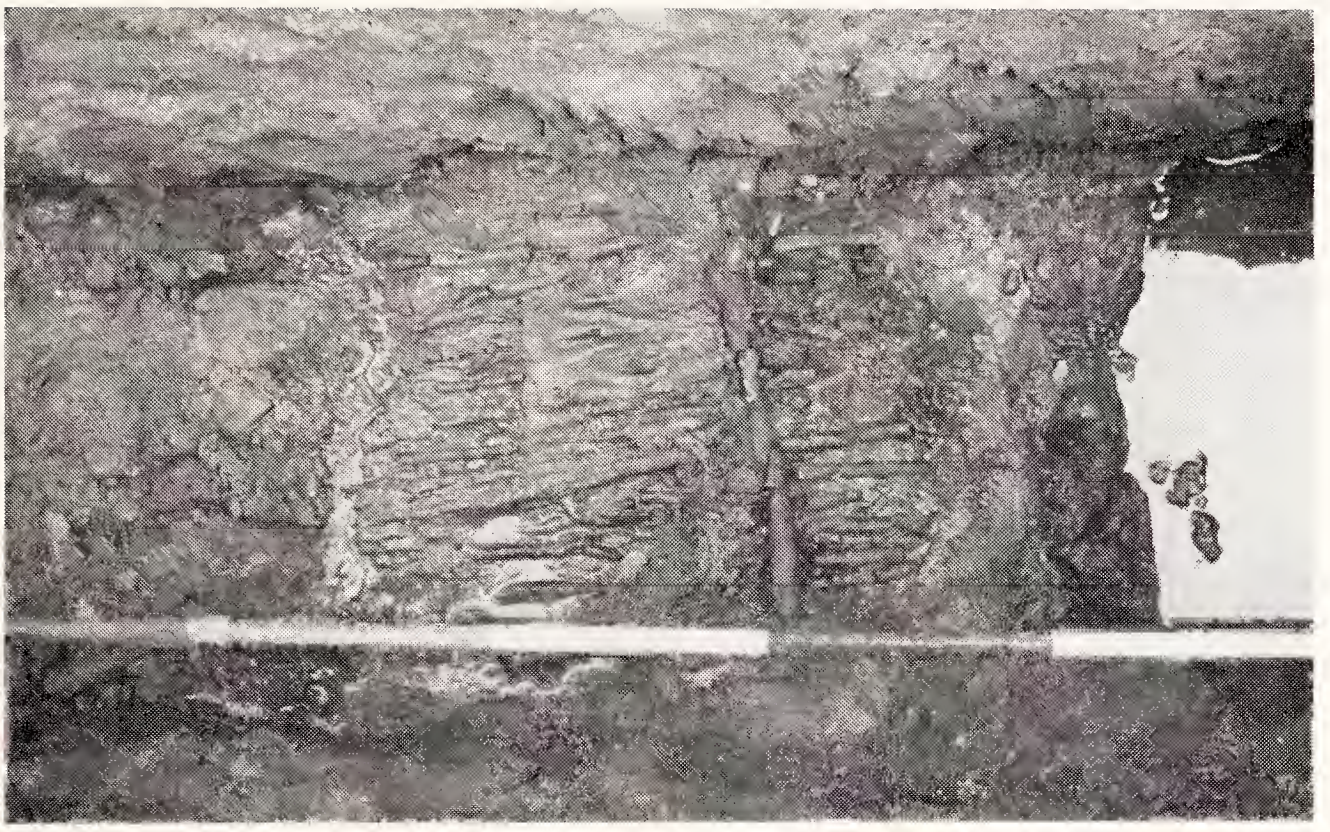


PLATE VII. Birchwood hurdle.



PLATE VIII. The oven with planking in foreground, looking east.

Further east near the end of Building I was encountered the Disturbance, that remarkable disturbed area which can just be seen in section in Pl. I and more clearly in Pl. VI. As to its explanation no tenable suggestion has occurred to the writer but it is clear that all Roman strata were removed at some unknown period to a depth of 5 ft. or more over an area at least 15 ft. across, the cavity being filled with large river cobbles. The Disturbance at least fully explains the surprising appearance of the remarkable black Samian vessel, dated to A.D. 120-140 (see Samian Report, No. 1) at 2 ft. from the surface on a site which everywhere else yielded nothing so early above the lowest levels.

The Early Levels.

In the confined space available for digging, mostly occupied as it was, by Buildings I and II, it was not easy to investigate the lower and earlier levels down to the undisturbed subsoil. The eastern portion of TR. I, however (which had extended partly cut, still further east, this section having to be left outside the wire) was clear of the buildings and this, in conjunction with TR. III already described, was an obvious place for deep penetration.

After the various layers of metalling or road material a dark occupation layer mixed with clay and ash was encountered and a number of pieces of birch wood, preserved by the damp conditions. These varied from twigs to small branches up to two inches in diameter. One of the larger pieces had five grooves on it and these were soon explained as part of a hurdle which gradually came to light, see Pl. VII.

In this same layer above the natural grey clay there were numerous pieces of leather of varying thickness from very thin to stiff pieces 1/10th inch thick. These latter can be identified as waste materials left after the cutting out of heel pieces for leather shoes. More interesting, however, and more significant was the appearance of a number of pieces from military tents (*papiliones*) used by the Roman army. They were all of the strong but pliable calfskin used for this purpose but were all very small fragments except for one oblong strip $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, its breadth varying, owing to one side being torn, between $2\text{-}3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The natural grain, as usual, is outside and on one long side and one short there is a turned over hem, $\frac{1}{4}\text{-}\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide with a row of stitch holes in it. Half an inch from the edge of the hem along both edges runs a parallel series of blind holes or "felling". This arrangement is explained by comparison with the leather tent fragments found at Birdoswald in 1931-2[1] where it is classified as stitch No. 6.[2] This is described as follows :—"The two pieces (or tent panels) to be joined are placed face to face and sewn

[1] C. and W. Trans. New Series XXXIV (1934) pp. 62-90. "Tents of the Roman Army and Leather from Birdoswald" by J. McIntyre and I. A. Richmond.

[2] *ibid.*, pp. 77-8.

with a basting stitch or a back stitch carried through both at a short distance from the edge, usually about ¼ inch. They are then turned on their faces and the two selvedges thus left projecting behind are pressed flat (as in this piece) or laid side by side. This leaves a fragment with edge turned back and a row of stitch holes through the fold . . . . . The seam stitch is accompanied on the rear of the panel by a parallel row of unrelated felling. The holes are made through the flesh (or "velvet" underside of the skin) by an awl held (a) parallel with the seam or (b) at right angles to the seam. Both types represent the common practice of covering the back of a seam in strong leather or cloth by an extra strip of cloth or a welt of leather fell stitched on to the main fabric." In the same levels and associated with these leather fragments were found three bronze needles (see fig. 5, Nos. 1-3) doubtless used for repair to both tents and shoes.

Working backwards (west) from the hurdle the next feature was an area of cobbling stained black by burning and then some 3 ft. behind the hurdle appeared an oblong structure, with oval shaped interior, which had been subjected to great heat, built of freestone and clay burnt red. The north, west and east sides were preserved up to a height of 2 ft. with an opening in the east side (see Pl. VIII). The south end lay under Building II (but probably did not extend far beneath it) but some 5 ft. 6 ins. was uncovered, the breadth was nearly 4 ft. It was surrounded by a spread of burnt red clay and ash overlying the cobble layer on both sides. This structure was clearly a military oven of usual type. From the filling of the oven came two fragments of decorated Samian (No. 16) sufficiently informative to fix its date to A.D. 80-100.

A number of other fragments of plain Samian and coarse pottery, including rustic ware, from these same levels, in the oven or under the cobbles, were all of Flavian date (see Pottery Report, unillustrated groups).

Some 3 ft. west of the oven a curious wooden structure was encountered (see Pl. VIII) and which Mr. Wilkins, who uncovered it, describes as follows : "It consisted of two lines of thin boards or planks (⅛-¼ inch in thickness) butted together side by side and resting immediately on top of a second layer also consisting of two lines of boards similarly butted . . . . . At approximate intervals of 2 ft., lengths of branches 2-3 ins. in diameter had been placed beneath and at right angles to the line of planking. These lengths projected 3-4 ins. beyond either edge, their ends having been intentionally cut short. The width of the planking was 1 ft. 3 ins. and a length of about 6 ft. was exposed." The purpose of this rather fragile structure (which must have been a temporary one) which had apparently collapsed backwards, cannot be explained unless it formed some sort of windshield for the oven.

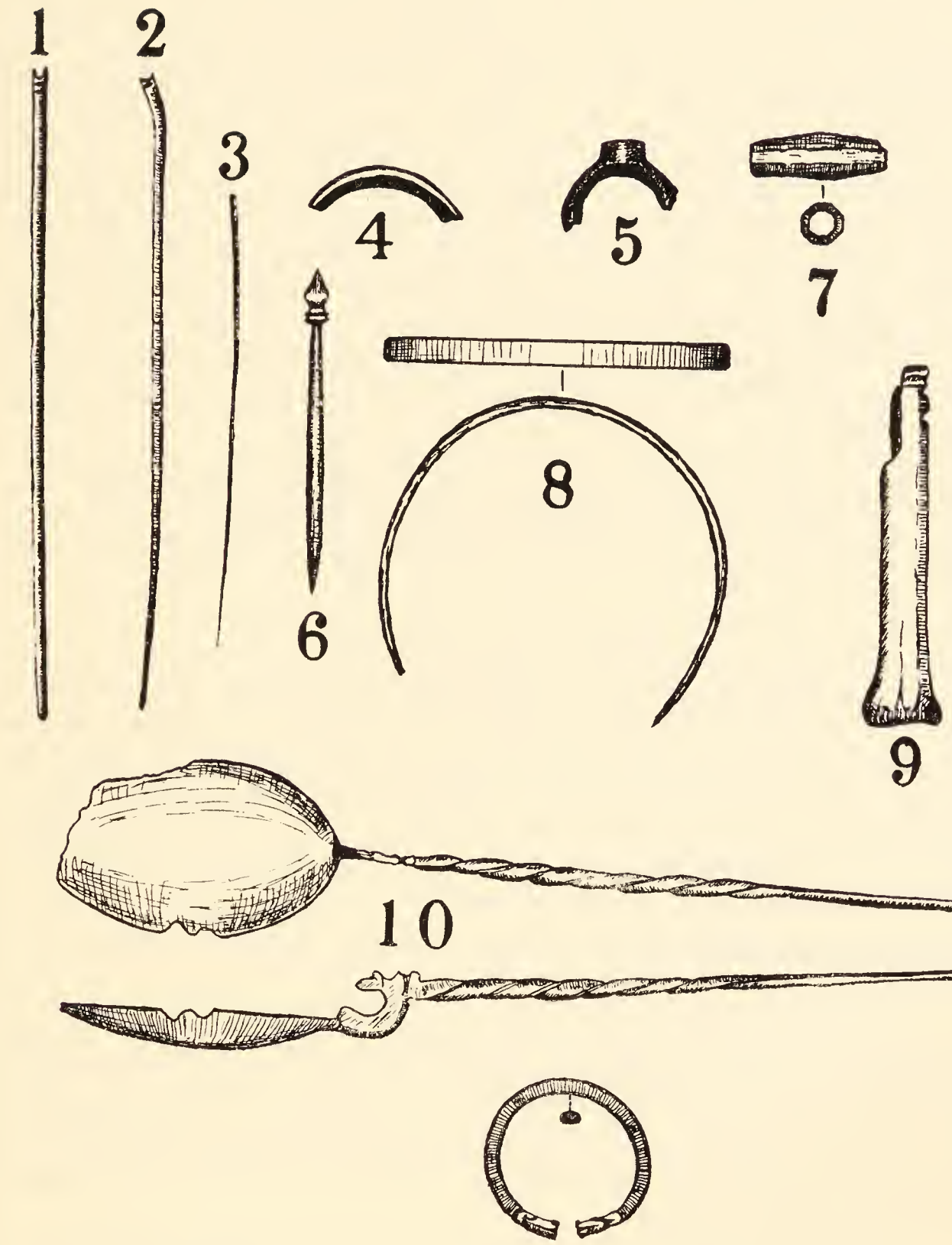


FIG. 5. Scale ½.

The excavation was extended northwards as far as possible to enlarge our knowledge of these early levels but as far as the oven the western portion was bedevilled by the Disturbance which had removed all ancient levels except the lowest. It was, however, noted that the oven appeared to have cut into a deposit of brown clay which seemed to be rising towards the north. Its maximum height was 2 ft. which can be seen in section behind the ranging pole in Pl. VI. In the section H-G the brown clay is shown passing over, but it was in fact behind, the oven. Further west the disturbance had removed it, and it was not possible owing to the dumps and wire to extend further outwards to the north. The brown clay, however, not till then, found elsewhere, certainly suggested rampart material and it reappeared at the only other point where early levels were reached, in the east end of TR. IV, (see Section E-F). Here also it overlay the dark layers and natural grey clay but was only half the depth of that in front of the oven.

There was little pottery from the dark layers in TR. IV but what there was of a distinctive nature consisted of a scrap of Rustic and a decorated Samian fragment (No. 14) dated to A.D. 80-100.

Other Information.

The following scraps of fresh information about Cataractonium outside the excavation may be thought worthy of record.

The footings of the East wall of the town, measuring 7 ft. 6 ins. as usual, were noted very plainly inside the gateway (where the grass was worn off and the soil bare), of the little triangular field east of our pasture not far from the point where the railway diverges northwards from the road.

An old inhabitant paid us a visit one day and volunteered the following information :

(*a*) Walls and a coin were found near the corner of the steeplechase course (presumably when it was being made) some forty years ago. The coin "crumbled" (*sic*) before it was examined.

(*b*) A "pewter pot" found on the site was on view for many years in the old public house at Scotch Corner which preceded the modern hotel.

(*c*) The occupier of the farm on the north side of the river once picked up a gold coin, with the name Caesar on it, in the field opposite the site, (through which Dere Street passes). After carrying it about in his pocket for some years he lost it in his farmyard. Some time later while he was inspecting a horse brought by a dealer to his yard the animal, scraping the ground with its hoof brought the coin to light once more. But before he could recover it the horsedealer had picked it up and refused to surrender it to its former owner. Archaeologically and psychologically, this story seems not improbable.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The Fort.

Although the depth of the remains and the confined conditions limited exploration of the lowest levels, the existence of late 1st cent. occupation of the site was conclusively proved by the small but significant pottery evidence (especially the decorated Samian) and the coin of Tiberius and supported by the nature of the associated remains. To what type of site that nature pointed is also equally clear. The hurdle, oven and planking (their story reinforced by the tent fragments) are, as Professor Richmond has put it, "almost certainly intervallum material" and must surely belong to the Flavian fort that, by analogy, with other sites and for historical reasons, must have existed here as the first phase in the life of Cataractonium. This identification becomes even more conclusive if it can be allowed that the brown clay deposit is part of the Flavian rampart, a notion that could not be proved for certain owing to the disturbance and the limits set for digging, but which seems most probable.

While Flavian occupation had already been proved in 1939 and the presence of a fort could be assumed, it was most satisfactory to alight on actual remains of it in view of the very small area excavated. As to its orientation the position of the oven and the brown clay "rampart" in front of it must mean that these remains belong to the northern defences but there are signs, such as the hurdle and the reappearance of brown clay "rampart" slightly further east, in TR. IV, that the north-east corner may be very close, an idea that accords with the slope of the ground which begins to fall away towards the east about the end of our excavation.

The area dug, and that to the west of it, forms in fact the highest part of the hill on which the Roman site stands and if it can be allowed that the hedge line west of Thornbrough marks the position of the western wall (see site plan), the presence of the fort might account for the re-entrant angle in the town's western defences seen in the air photograph[1] in the same way as the recent discovery of the early fort at London has explained that better known example. At a very rough approximation, such a fort here visualized would have been oblong in shape with the long axis east-west, some 400 ft. by 240 ft., an area of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

The Town.

The second and all subsequent phases in the life of Cataractonium appear to be entirely civil in character. Like the analogous site on Dere Street at Brough-on-Humber (Petuaria) a short military occupation in Flavian times seems to have been replaced by civilian tenure for the rest of the Roman era.[2] It seems likely that the main East-West cross road was

[1] *Y.A.J.*, Part 148, fig. II.

[2] Unlike Petuaria there is as yet no evidence of a pre-Roman native site at Cataractonium.

constructed in the early 2nd cent. and repaired thereafter when necessary, and the flagged drain on the north of Building I probably belongs to this period. There was enough 2nd cent. pottery on the site to indicate the presence of occupation not far away but the ubiquitous road metalling or gravelled area seems to have covered most of the site. A repair to the East-West road about the end of the 2nd cent. may have led to the insertion of the large drain south of Buildings I and II.

About the middle of the 3rd cent., Building II was erected but its life seems to have been comparatively short and this may not be unconnected with the disaster at the end of the century when Hadrian's wall fell and many sites further south suffered from barbarian invaders.

Early in the 4th cent., Building I was built adjacent to the ruins of Building II and possibly partly out of its materials. The large blocks at the corners of Room I almost suggest stones re-used from a more substantial building and the materials incorporated in the hypocaust give a similar impression. There is abundant evidence to show that Romano-British towns, unlike their mediaeval successors, were never tightly packed and there seems nothing remarkable in choosing a new site which may have been recommended by the fact that former gravelled areas underlay it.

It may be guessed that re-building at this time was general in the town for air photography has revealed much of its area covered with buildings which presumably, from their proximity to the surface, on a site of such depth, belong to this period.

Building I was solidly constructed and was provided with the fundamentals of Roman civilization, good concrete floors, wall plaster and a room heated by hypocaust. Later in the century, not perhaps before A.D. 370 the building underwent considerable modification, the hypocaust was filled in, the furnace and stoke-holes swept away, the outer door on the south blocked and replaced by a new entrance near the north-eastern corner, and a new doorway made to join Rooms II and III. A final phase may be detected in the rough repairs to the floor of Room III and in the rough paving east of Building I overlying at some depth the buried remains of Building II. This almost suggests the sort of "squatter's" occupation usually visualized as civilization falls to pieces and we enter "sub-Roman" times.

However this may be, the later phases of Building I and of the site generally were not of short duration as is attested by the great abundance of late pottery. Here, once more, is an instance where it seems impossible to cram so much ceramic material into the last few decades of the 4th cent. Not only occupation of a sort but flourishing life must surely have persisted for many years after A.D. 400.

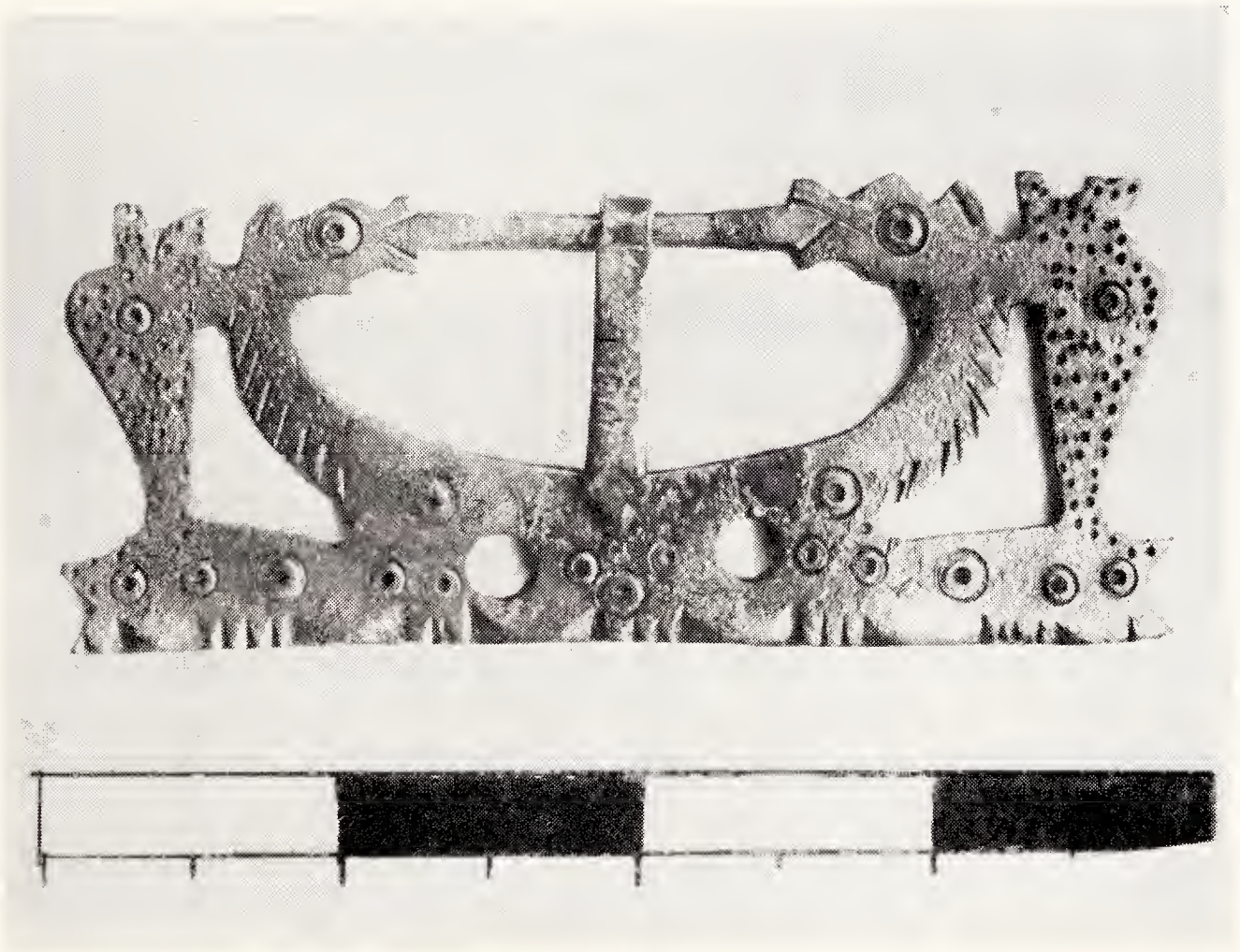


PLATE IX. The Large Buckle. $\frac{1}{1}$.

In this, indeed, Cataractonium differs entirely from Petuaria whose life had shrunk into insignificance long before this date. The explanation, however, seems to be that after the original 1st cent. advance from Lincoln, Petuaria was left in a backwater whereas the other site remained on a strategic and commercial artery of permanent importance. At any rate the continuing economic unity of Cataractonium with the rest of the Province is strikingly shown by Mr. Gillam's statistical analyses of the pottery with its remarkable percentage of Castor ware still reaching the town from its place of manufacture some 140 miles distant. This integration with southern Britain and even beyond is further graphically illustrated by the presence of the two remarkable buckles (Nos. 12 and 13) whose antecedents are discussed elsewhere.

What has been revealed by this small excavation, coupled with the finds of Saxon date already known, does give every sign that Cataractonium may be a key site in the policy advocated by the C.B.A. to investigate "the replacement of Romano-British by Anglo-Saxon population and culture". Sir Mortimer Wheeler in a recent book[1] remarks that "If a site is known to have been occupied, an area excavation, not a trial trench, is usually the effective answer." It is hoped that this excavation has illustrated the truth of that dictum.

THE FINDS.

(I) Small Objects in Bronze, Jet and Bone. (See Figs. 5 and 6 and Plate IX).

1 and 2. Bronze needles of normal type broken, as so often, at the eyes. Found at a depth of 7 ft. 6 ins., in the dark layer underlying the oven. They may appear suitable instruments for the repair of such leather tents with fragments of one of which they were associated.

3. Point and lower portion of a bronze needle, finer than Nos. 1 and 2 near which it was found.

4. Fragment of polished jet ring. Building I Topsoil.

5. Jet finger ring. From floor of Room III. Building I. The object is rough and unpolished and there is no sign of any attempt at decoration on the bezel. The impression given is that of a roughed-out ring from a jeweller's stock which could be polished and finished as to size and bezel ornament according to the individual order.

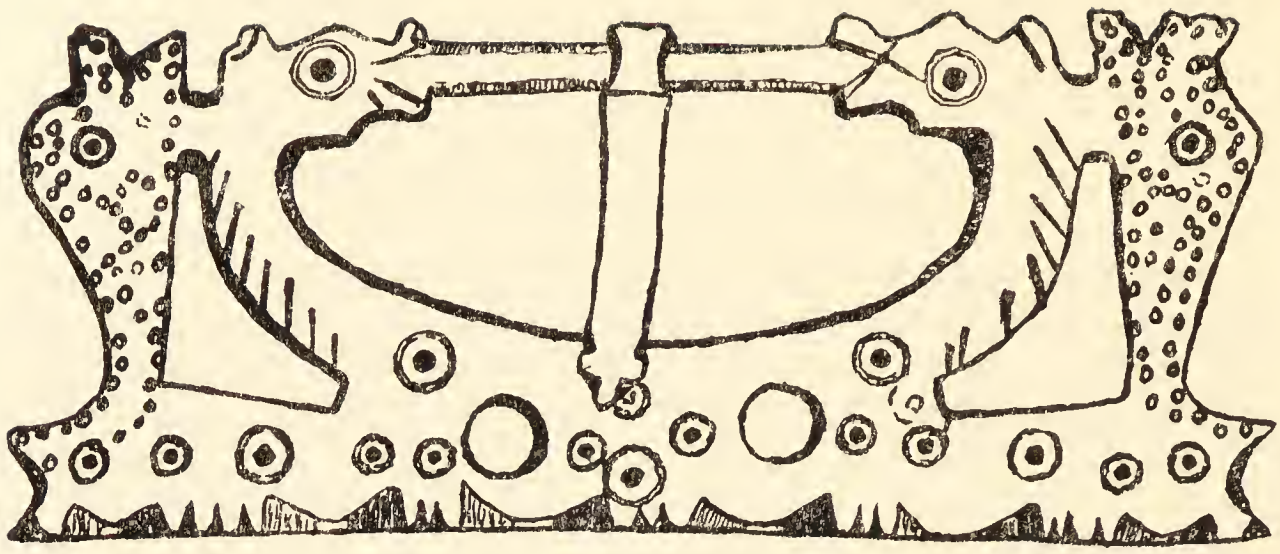
The appearance of jet objects at Catterick is, of course, to be expected. Apart from its proximity to the Yorkshire coast, the source of supply in ancient times, the site stands on the main road from York which is known to have been a centre of the jet industry.

6. Polished bone pin of normal pattern. From stokehole material outside Building I.

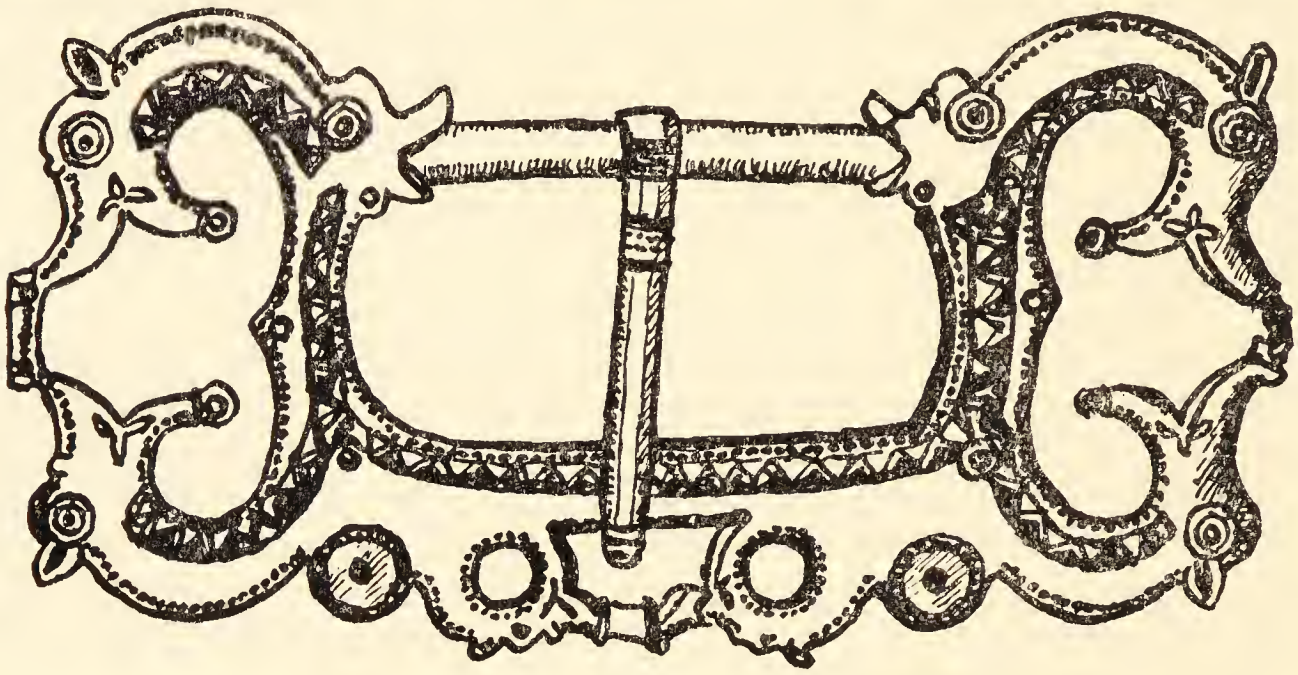
7. Torpedo shaped bronze bead, hexagonal in section. From the occupation layer on floor of Building II. Bronze beads are unusual on Roman sites, the vast majority being of glass or vitreous paste, but there

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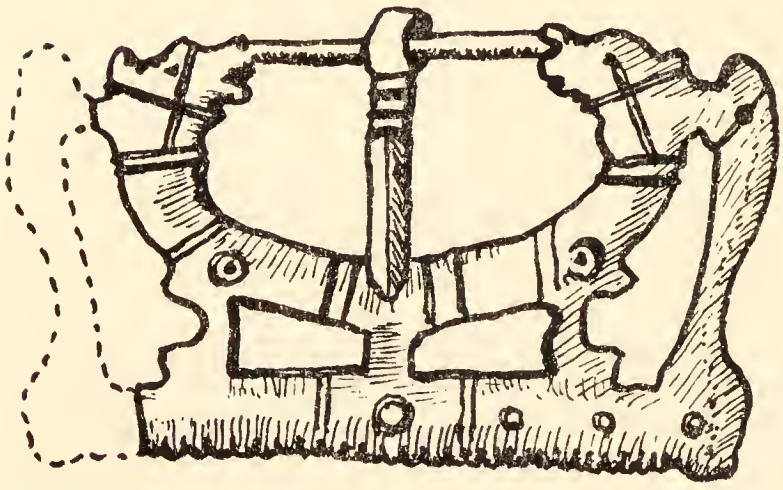
[1] *Archaeology from the Earth* 1954, p. 64.



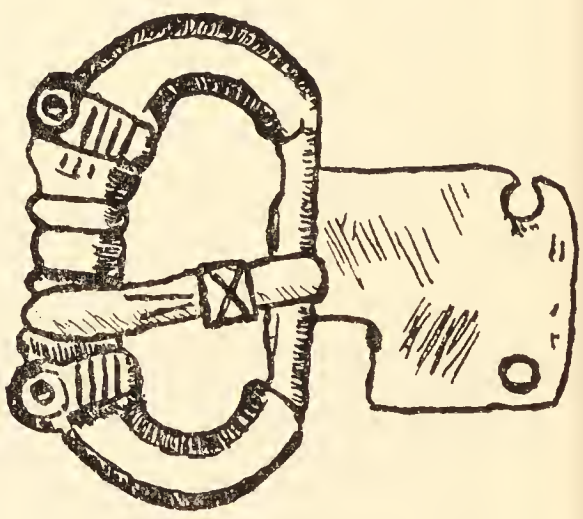
12.



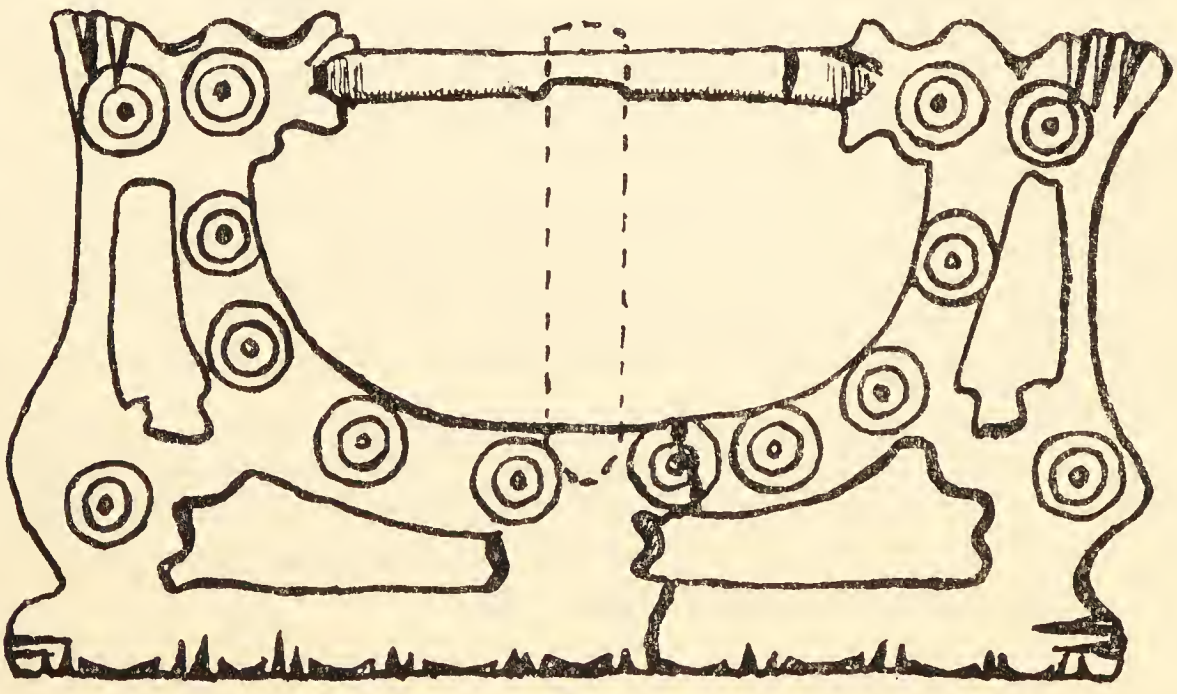
12a.



12b.



13.



12c.

FIG. 6. Scale $\frac{1}{1}$.

is a close parallel from Richborough,[1] which has traces of gilding. In the same layer were a number of fragments of other cylindrical bronze beads decorated with deep corrugations. They may all be assigned to the 4th century.

8. Bone bracelet $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter, nearly rectangular in section. Building I. Topsoil. Bracelets on Roman sites are usually bronze[2] and I have not been able to find a parallel. As it is incomplete it is not possible to say whether it was a complete circle to be slipped on over the hand, or whether the ring was broken and had some form of fastening.

9. Knife handle made from an animal bone (probably a sheep's metatarsal) roughly polished and adapted to hold a blade, part of the tang of which still remains embedded in the bone. There is nicked decoration near the blade. This is a primitive form of table knife, not characteristic of Roman sites and is one of the indications of late occupation at Catterick.

10. Tinned bronze spoon found actually embedded in the filling of the brick box-tile in the north wall of Room III Building I. The spoon was complete when found. This is a cheap version of the type in silver such as occurs in the Mildenhall treasure or at Dorchester.[3] It is a characteristic 4th century type. cf. Lydney fig. 19, No. 89.

11. Penannular brooch with zoomorphic terminals, pin missing. From S.W. corner of Room I Building I unstratified, but associated with masses of late 4th century pottery.

The closest parallel to this brooch is one found at Woodeaton now in the Ashmolean Museum, which Kilbride-Jones[4] calls the earliest specimen of his "Southern Developed Form". But his typology, as far as Britain is concerned, is unnecessarily complicated and is not supported by his distribution map except with the aid of a remarkable theory involving a west coast trade route, and making Hadrian's Wall a barrier to commerce. While it may be allowed that the type formerly called "Welsh",[5] which Kilbride-Jones calls the "Northern Developed Type", is distinctive enough and clearly the ancestor of the great Irish series, the Catterick specimen is equally obviously the ultimate development of his "Initial Type". This passed through three stages from the 1st to the late 4th centuries A.D.

In the first stage the ends of the ring are turned back to act as a stop for the pin-head and are fashioned into more or less definite animal heads.[6] Next the terminal is cast in one with the ring, the animal motif is usually rendered with less care but there is a definite vestigial fold and the terminals are raised in the horizontal plane. Several of the Lydney series are good examples.[7]

Finally in our specimen and in that from Woodeaton the vestigial fold has disappeared except for a faintly engraved line and the terminals are nearly flat with the ring but splayed out enough to stop the pin-head. In both these later types ribbing of the ring is characteristic. The Catterick brooch is well made, with the fine ribbing and small "zoomorphic" features, and need not be regarded as "degenerate".

12. This large bronze buckle (max. length $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.) which I was fortunate enough to find myself, was actually resting flat on the *opus signinum* floor of Room I, Building I, near the W. wall, just north of the balk. Within a

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[1] *Richborough* IV, Pl. LV, No. 247.

[2] There were, for instance, parts of 270 specimens found at Lydney.

[3] *Antiquaries Journal* II, 1922, pp. 89-92.

[4] The Evolution of Penannular Brooches with zoomorphic Terminals in Great Britain and Ireland. *Proceed. of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XLIII, 1937, pp. 379-455.

[5] See Mr. J. Charlton's distribution map in *Arch. Aeliana* 4th series, Vol. XI, p. 198.

[6] A good example with true animal heads is one from Broxtowe (Notts.) a site yielding material of Flavian times but predominantly Claudian, in my own collection (no. 30).

[7] Lydney Report Nos. 34-38. See also *Richborough* I, Pl. XV, No. 25.

few inches of it was an illegible late 4th—5th century coin (No. 5). The front is a straight piece of bronze, its edge broken by six panels of double triangle chipped decoration separated by five groups of thinner triangular chipping; behind, the flat surface is decorated with a series of ring and dot ornament in two sizes, symmetrical in numbers, if not accurate in spacing, and two holes, of a size larger which penetrate through the metal. If these had a purpose other than decoration, it is not apparent.

The back and sides, including the working parts of the buckle, consist of an oval space (to hold the strap) formed by the two stylized horses' (?) heads with elongated, curved necks, gripping in their mouths the bar on which the tongue turns. Behind them, filling up the length of the front, are two stylized dolphins with ring and dot eyes, their bodies, mouths and tails covered with incised dots. Part of the bronze between dolphins' and horses' heads has been cut away to give an openwork effect. The decoration of the pointed end of the tongue is faintly zoomorphic. The reverse side is rough and undecorated. The whole composition gives the impression of an oblong sheet of bronze cut out and chipped, rather than cast, into the desired design.

The pioneer work on these chip carving buckles, which are widely distributed on the continent, is an article by G. Behrens [1] kindly brought to my attention by Professor A. Alföldi and this provides, as will be seen later, the closest analogies to the Catterick Buckle. But there is a small number of bronzes of the same general class and technique which have been found in Britain. Professor C. F. C. Hawkes [2] long ago compiled a short list of buckles from British sites with a pair of horses' heads projecting from the hoop, but these all differ essentially from the Catterick piece, in that the point of the tongue falls between the heads which are placed back to back on the front of the buckle, instead of face to face, grasping the bar from which the tongue hangs, at the back of the buckle.

Nevertheless, as will be seen, the two types are found in association and it cannot be without significance that one of the odd half-dozen is recorded from Stanwick, only a few miles from Catterick.

Of the type with facing heads at the back of the buckle, only five British examples are known to me, three from Richborough [3] and one from Dorchester [4] from the same site that contributed one of those in Professor Hawkes' list, and to these should be added the well-known Smithfield buckle. [5]

It would be difficult to conceive a less classical looking object than the Catterick buckle and since at least six definite Saxon fibulae (including two large square-headed specimens) were found on this site, and Saxon interments, with associated objects (including another large square-headed fibula) were found in a Roman building less than two miles away, [6] it suggested at first a possible link between the Anglo-Saxon invaders and the inhabitants of the town. The continental evidence, however, disposes of such an idea.

Until recently the date and origin of these rectangular chip-carving buckle-plates, and a great range of similar pieces [7] has been a matter of doubt; but Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A., tells me that [8] "Forssander has shown convincingly that they are not Germanic but the product of Roman workshops, probably working in the vicinity of the continental Limes, and producing largely for a market for German auxiliaries and coloni

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[1] G. Behrens, *Schumacher Festschrift* 1930.
[2] *Ant. J.*, XVII, pp. 447-8.
[3] *Rich.* IV, Pl. XXII, Nos. 67-9.
[4] Baldwin Brown, Vol. IV, Pl. CLII, No. 10.
[5] Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, fig. 7.
[6] *Y.A.J.*, Part 150, pp. 241-5.
[7] Baldwin Brown, Vol. IV, Pls. CL—CLIII.
[8] J. E. Forssander, *Privincialrömisches und Germanisches* (meddalen fron Lunds Universitiets Historika Museum, 1937, pp. 11-100).

within the Empire. For example, the bronzes of this class from the cemetery of Germanic Laeti auxiliaries at Furfooz, in Belgium [1] are described without reserve as of Roman manufacture. A group of these objects with which this bronze has strong affinities, is the material from the cemetery at Vermand. The ethnic identity of these people is a matter for argument, but the generally accepted view seems to be that Vermand is a Gallo-Roman burial ground. Here there is plentiful use of the dolphin theme and of the dot and circle ornaments on the bronzes and facetting, as seen on the edges of your buckle and commonly on the rosette plates. I cannot see anything specifically Germanic in your buckle but would regard it rather as a barbarous piece in the late Gallo-Roman tradition. Its date as given by your stratification on the site is late 4th or early 5th century and I should have assigned it to the latter period on general grounds."

At Vermand there appears to be [2] two main types of buckle corresponding to the exiguous lists I have quoted from Britain. Those with animal heads to the front of the buckle (as in Professor Hawkes' list) have facing dolphins, usually grasping a turtle in their open mouths; our No. 13 is a crude example of this type. The other type have animal heads [3] to the back as in the Richborough examples, acknowledged imports. They are larger and more elaborate, though, with one exception, narrower, than the Catterick piece. This is due to the fact that the front is a plain semi-circle, without the openwork decoration which makes our piece rectangular. Furthermore in two specimens [4] the dragons' (or horses') heads are combined with the dolphin motif, though at Vermand these appear as decoration on each side of the lower half of the tongue. From analogy with the Vermand buckles, it may be inferred that the Catterick specimen must also have had a large and probably square chape attached to the bar and holding the tongue (which now slides freely) in position in the middle. This would give an outline rather similar to the Smithfield buckle already noticed. This seems all the more likely from a study of the Catterick buckle, for, as it stands, it is clearly an unbalanced composition, patently lacking a back-plate to correspond with the ponderous front. But while it is clear that the maker of the Catterick buckle was aware of the products of the workshops patronised by the occupants of the Vermand cemeteries, there is still a great gulf in execution. The detail precision, and workmanship of the Vermand pieces, the more elaborate of which are inlaid with silver [5] are on an altogether higher level than the comparatively careless and barbaric Catterick buckle.

To turn, however, to the more exact analogies to this piece, which I have drawn for comparison from photographs or from Professor Alföldi's sketches. All come from frontier sites where troops were stationed in the latest times of the Western Empire (12A) [6] from Warlberla (near Nuremberg) a vigorous piece of work, shows some of the richness in decoration and flowing lines seen in the Vermand bronzes. From the sketch it appears to have had an equally elaborate chape. The animals on the outer sides cannot actually be called dolphins, but their mouths are definitely fishy in character. Otherwise the general arrangement of the buckle as to function and decoration is very similar to ours.

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[1] J. A. E. Nenguin, *La Necropolide Furfooz,* 1953.

[2] T. Eck, 1891, *Les Deux Cimitières Gallo-Romains de Vermandor de St. Quentin.*

[3] These are described as dragons and are more serpentine or fishylike than those on the Catterick piece which I have called "horses", chiefly because of the "mane" effect on their elongated necks.

[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, 3a and Pl. XVI, 8.

[5] There is a silver dolphin disc brooch in similar style from London, B.M. Guide, fig. 12, No. 45.

[6] From Walberla, *Oberfranken* (Reinecke, Prähistorisches Zeitschrift) III, 1911, pp. 163-5.

Still closer, however, are 12B[1] from Bingen on the Rhine near Mainz and 12C[2] from Gellep (near Krefeld in the Ruhr). The former is a smaller and more shoddy production but the latter comes extremely close to the Catterick buckle in style, arrangement and technique, the only significant difference being that the dolphins are inverted.

Of these buckles, Behrens said "In calling chip-carving buckles 'the last noteworthy achievement of West Roman artistic production before it was submerged by Eastern (Byzantine and Gothic) products' one indicates that they probably came from state factories, as witness their frequent occurrence in late frontier forts." The fashion of decorating flat surfaces with chip-carving pattern, he suggests, may be a result of the Germanization of the Western Empire, the Germans having for centuries preferred geometrical to figure ornament. Artistically, as Mr. Bruce-Mitford points out, "it is interesting to see the disappearance of the last remains of plastic feeling and the tendency to treat the subject as flat abstract pattern." Behrens infers that these buckles were made in a plurality of state factories, specifically for military equipment.

The remarkably close standardization of these three specimens (12, 12B and 12C), does indeed suggest a military issue, and there may thus even be some functional explanation of the openwork spaces and holes, the latter being rather puzzling. In this connection Professor E. Birley, F.S.A., has made the interesting suggestion that the finding of the Catterick piece is "presumptive evidence for the presence of a unit of Count Theodosius' field force", an echo, perhaps, of the construction of the Signal Stations.

As to date, the evidence from the Continental examples of chip carving is rather vague, but the general period is clearly indicated as mid to late 4th century. Bearing in mind that such a strongly made object would have a long life, this accords with the local archaeological evidence. There is thus no question that the Catterick buckle can be connected with the Saxon invaders, but equally there can be no doubt that this is an imported continental piece, illustrating from the military (as the Castor ware does from the civil) angle, continuity of communication with the outside world.

13. Small bronze buckle found, like No. 12, on the floor of Room I, Building I but just inside the doorway into Room III. In arrangement this belongs to the other class already noted under No. 12 where the animal heads face to the front of the buckle with the point of the tongue fitting in between them. As in No. 12 the back of the buckle is quite flat. Only the lower part of the chape survives and it is, as usual without decoration.

The execution, however, is so extremely crude that the maker has either abandoned all attempt at naturalistic representation or has had so poor a model that he did not realise what the motif was intended to be. Nevertheless it is clear that this piece must not be added to Professor Hawkes' list of double horse-head buckles, because the blind hole "eyes" and thickened curve of the sides are just sufficient to make it certain that this is an echo of the double dolphin buckles, of which there are several examples about the same size at Vermand.[3] The difference in technical finish, however, between No. 13 and its Vermand analogies is even more marked than between 12 and the larger buckles from that site.

(II) Coins.

Only seven coins were found of which only one was stratified and all but two were in the poorest condition.

1. Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). AR Denarius.
   Obv.—[TI CAE] SAR DIVI AVG F [AVGVSTVS] Head Laureate to r.
   Rev.—PONTIF MAXIM Livia or Pax seated r., holding branch.
   M. & S. 3.
   TR. III. 6 ft. 6 ins. In metalling of Road V.

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[1] G. Behrens, *Kataloge Sudwestdeutscher arch. Sammulungen* IV, Pl. 3.
[2] *Schumacher Festschrift*, Pl. 31, No. 4.
[3] *Op. cit.*, Pl. XV, 1a and 11; Pl. XVII, 15.

2. Theodora. (Wife of Constantine I. A.D. 306-337) AE 15 mm.
Obv.—[FL] MAX THEODORAE AVG. Draped bust to r.
Rev.—[PIET]AS ROMANA. Pietas holding infant.
Cohen 4.
From doorway of Room II above late paving.

3. Constantinian. AE 14 mm.
Obv.—CONST [. . . . . .]
Rev.—Illegible.
In stokehole material outside building I.

4. 4th Century. AE 16 mm.
Illegible.
In stokehole material outside building I.

5. 4th Century. AE 15 mm.
Illegible.
Found with large buckle on floor of Room I. Building I.

6. Late 4th Century. AE 13 mm.
Obv.—Diademed Head.
Rev.—Illegible.
Building I. Topsoil.

7. Fragmentary. AE
Illegible.
Building I. Topsoil.

(III) SAMIAN WARE. (See figs. 7 and 8).

By GRACE SIMPSON.

1. (fig. 7 No. 1 and fig. 8) Form 68.

This rare vase of Black Samian Ware is of especial interest not only for its colour, which is black outside and red inside, and should be distinguished from burnt samian[1] but also because its decoration shows the influence that the potter BVTRIO, to whom it is assigned, had upon later potters. ALBVCIVS, IANVARIS II and PATERNVS had much in common with BVTRIO, and it is probable that they were in his workshop at an early stage in their working-lives. All the features of this vase strengthen this supposition.

The manufacture of Form 68 and of Black Samian Ware was confined to three Lezoux potters, whose names are known to us: LIBERTVS, BVTRIO and PATERNVS. Of these, LIBERTVS may be disregarded because the design is not in his style. The most likely potter on stylistic grounds is BVTRIO, but PATERNVS is known to have made a Form 68 in Black Samian (Dechelette,[2] I, p. 290, 43 and pl. IV).

The figure-types are common to BVTRIO and PATERNVS:—Man standing on a mask, D.327=O. 538; Ariadne and Silenus, D.308 = O. 552, also used by ALBVCIVS.

The decorative details are noteworthy because such ornaments were usually exclusive to a potter or group of potters, and the ornaments on this vase are characteristic of the four potters already mentioned, although they have not all been found upon signed vessels by each potter.

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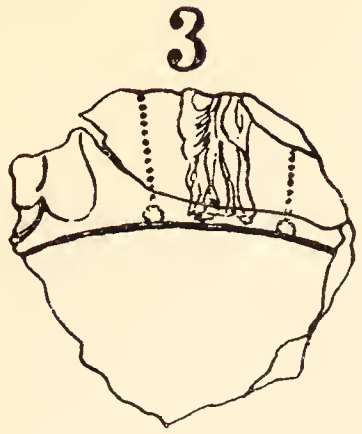
[1] Black Samian Ware may easily be distinguished from red Samian which has turned black as a result of accidental burning. Genuine black Samian has a normal reddish-pink coloured clay body, with a red internal surface, and the black "glaze" on the outside only. Burnt Samian has either (if lightly burnt) red and black in patches on both surfaces with a discoloured clay body, or (if heavily burnt) the clay body has turned grey and both surfaces are black.

Black Samian Ware has been found in Britain at Southampton, London, Margidunum, Camerton near Bath, Heronbridge near Chester, and Leicester. The addition of the Catterick vase increases the number of vessels known in this country to eight.

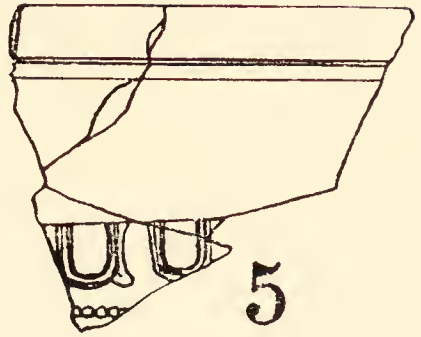
[2] Dechelette : Les Vases Céramiques Ornés de la Gaule Romaine, 1904.



2



3



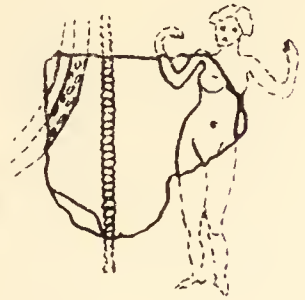
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6



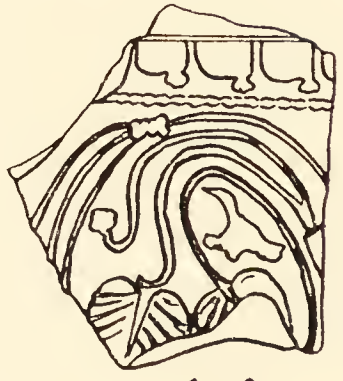
13



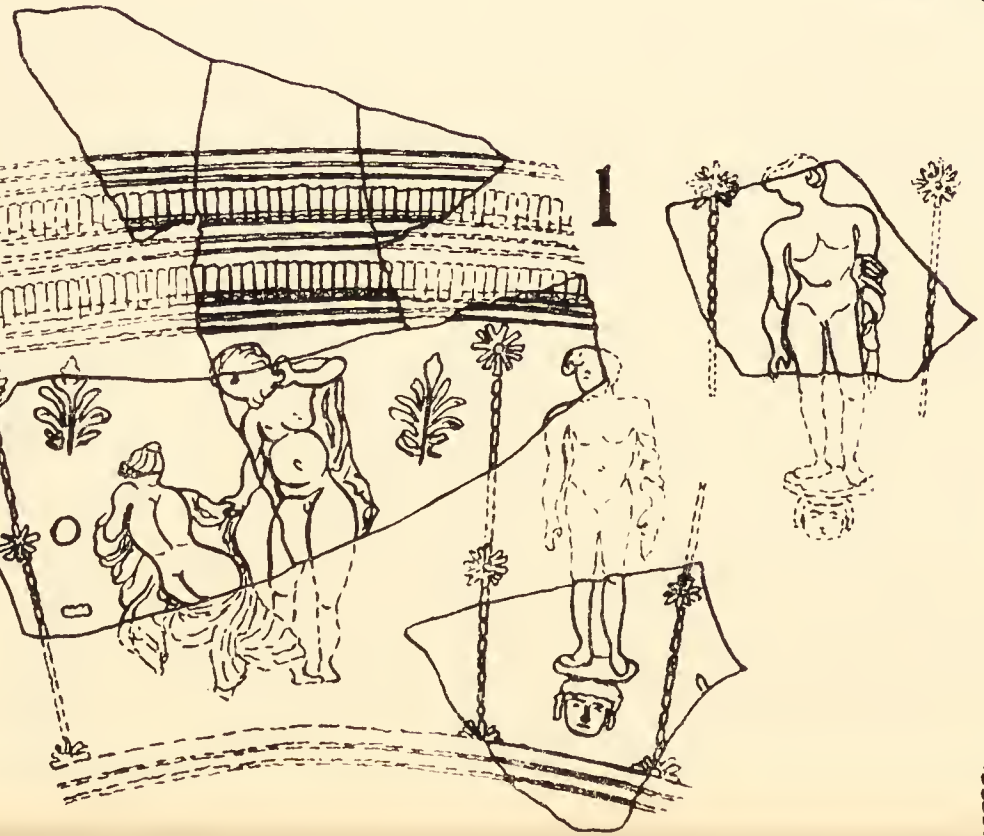
12



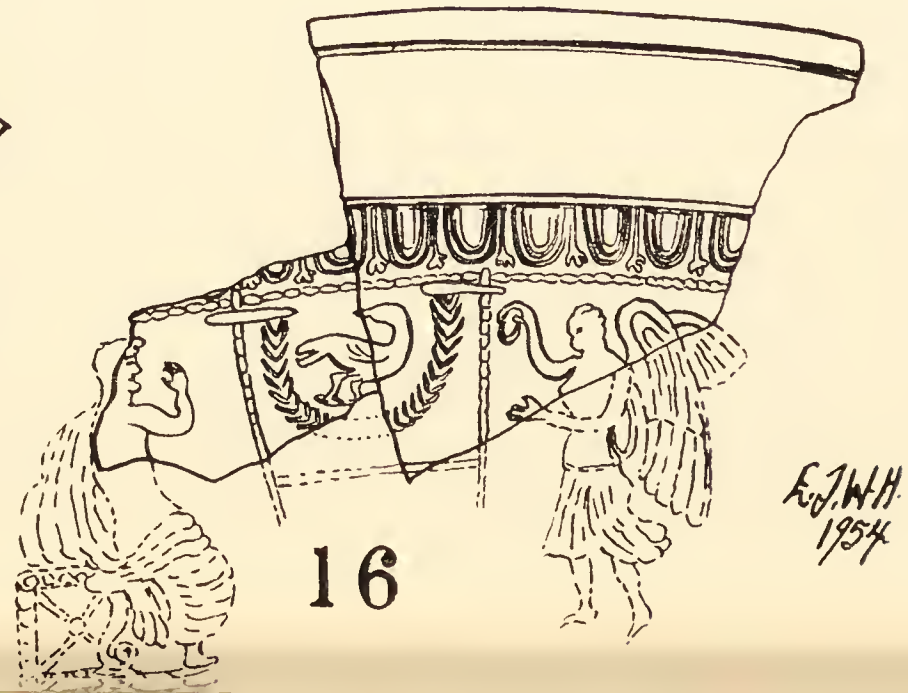
4



14



1



16

E.J.W.H. 1954

The leaf, twice repeated, is a favourite ornament of ALBVCIVS but also appears occasionally on the signed work of PATERNVS and IANVARIS II. It is not known on signed BVTRIO bowls. The large and small rosettes were commonly used by both BVTRIO and IANVARIS II and sometimes by PATERNVS. On the extreme left is a small bud between two tiny leaves, an ornament that is like one characteristic of IANVARIS II, and also known once on an unsigned BVTRIO bowl (Birley Collection, University of Durham, from Lezoux). Finally, such a coarse roped border was occasionally employed by BVTRIO, frequently by PATERNVS, once by ALBVCIVS (Dukes Collection, Wroxeter) and never by IANVARIS II.

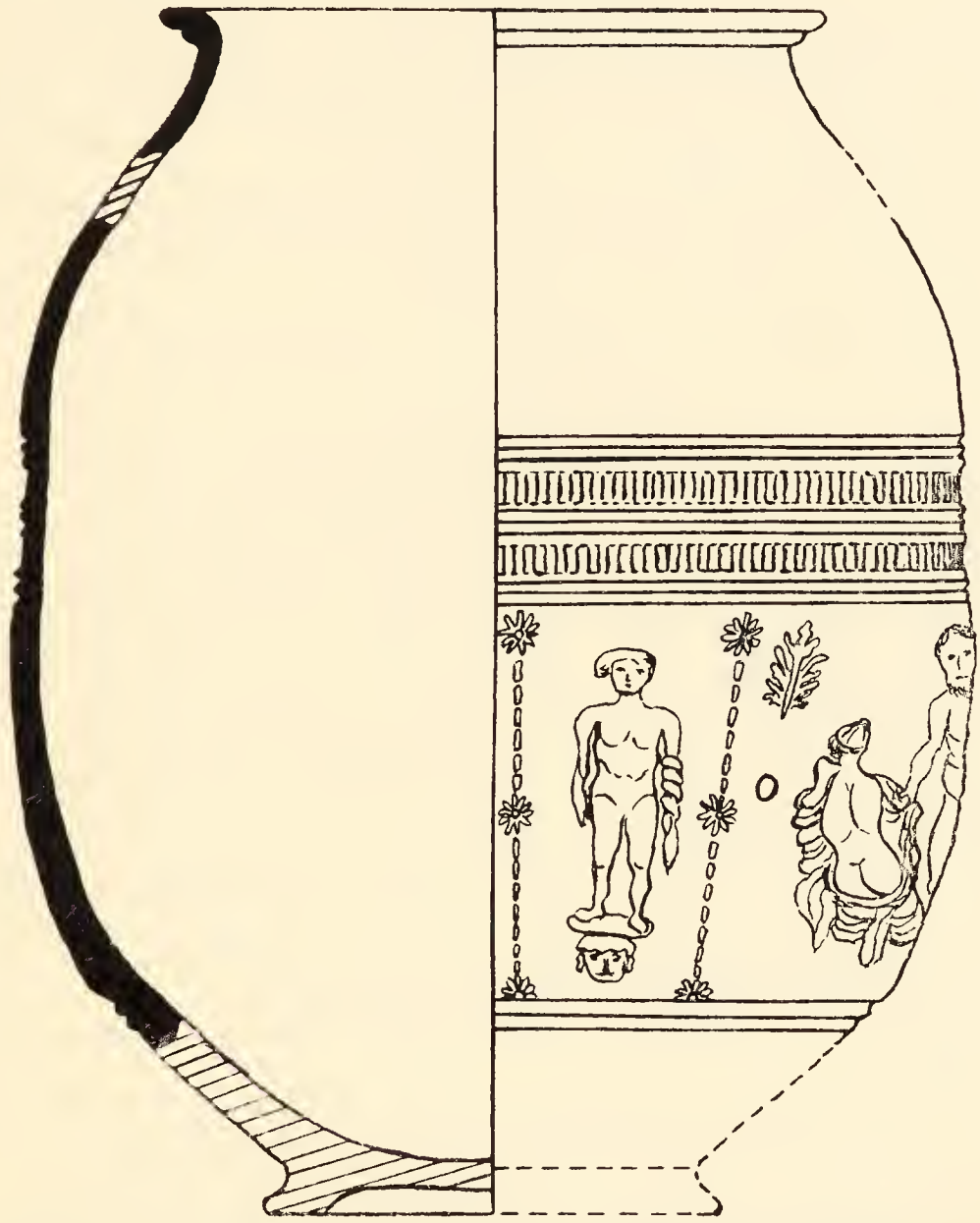


FIG. 8. Scale ½. Reconstructed section of Black Samian Bowl. Form 68.

The vase is very thin, and the fine quality of the work and the neatness of its execution are noteworthy. Such a standard was reached by both ALBVICIVS and INVARIS II and sometimes surpassed by them; BVTRIO's work was usually of this quality,[1] and PATERNVS, who was more concerned with 3
quantity, could hardly have attained it.

The profile at the shoulder appears to be more rounded than Dechelette, I, pl. IV, and corresponds more closely to Silchester[2] pl. XXX, I. The 4
double band of rouletting above the decoration is rather coarse.

While it is to be regretted that the vessel was found unstratified, its period of manufacture was probably *circa* A.D. 120—140.

From the Disturbed area North of Buildings I and II.

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[1] F. Oswald : The decorated work of the potter BVTRIO, J.R.S., 1930, p. 72.

[2] T. May : The pottery found at Silchester, 1916.

Miss Mavis Bimson, of the Research Laboratory, British Museum, reports on the firing as follows:—

The black surface of the specimen is a furnace effect obtained by the reduction of ferric oxide in an atmosphere of carbon monoxide to something approaching magnetite and it should not be described as a glaze. The inside of the sherd (protected in the furnace) still retains its ferric colouration, the iron content being, of course, characteristic of the clay. Given an appropriate clay, it appears that the glossy surfaces of Rhenish, Castor and Samian Wares can all be reproduced, as regards appearance, by variations of the oxidation-reduction process, though the degree of oxidation does not lend itself to recording by chemical analysis.

2. Form 37. The style of IVLLINVS of Lezoux. It is a late example of his work with coarse beaded borders. The small plain double festoon contains one of his special leaf ornaments, and the Pan Mask (D. 675 = O. 1214) is below it. A similar design on a Dr. 30 stamped IVLL has been found at Corbridge. c. A.D. 160—200.

3. Form 37. Panel Decoration showing draped woman and part of base. Might be from the same vessel as the IVLLINVS style fragment.

Nos. 2 and 3 from under floor of Building II.

4. Form 72. Two conjoined fragments from the upper part of the central frieze showing the head and shoulders of an appliqué male figure, with an appliqué leaf above, with stems and tendrils in barbotine pattern. This is an uncommon vessel, and this example had originally a good glaze and was thin-walled. Both fragments have suffered severely from wear, probably as a result of lying about as rubbish in Roman times.

Similar vessels were described by Dechelette (*ibidem* II, p. 167 and Pl. III); and by Oswald and Pryce,[1] who (pl. xxxiv, 1 and p. 230-238) illustrate an almost complete vessel in the Guildhall Museum, London, Lezoux ware. *c.* second half of second century to early third century? From the hypocaust filling.

5. Form 37. Four fragments showing the rim and ovolo only. The bowl may be assigned to PATERNVS of Lezoux because this particular ovolo is only known on his work, and in particular, on his small bowls. PATERNVS worked *c.* A.D. 150-190.

6. Form 37. Tiny fragment showing an ovolo, beaded border and astragalus. Probably an ovolo used by either IVLLINVS or SEVERVS of Lezoux. *c.* A.D. 160-200.

7. Form 37. Fragment of panel decoration. Lezoux ware. *c.* A.D. 150-200.

Nos. 5—7 from lower occupation layer, Building II.

8. Three fragments from Forms 18/31 or 31. Lezoux ware. Probably after A.D. 150.

9. Form 37. A fragment showing a coarse basal wreath and a ? dog or a ? hare above. Late South Gaulish ware. *c.* A.D. 85-100.

Nos. 8 and 9 from below level of drain slabs S.E. of Building II.

10. Form 18. Matt dark red South Gaulish ware. The broken stamp reads VIIP the last letter being probably an R rather than an A. Oswald's *Index of Potters' Stamps*, p. 329-332 records several possible reconstructions. Flavian.

From the Disturbed Area North of Buildings I and II, found near the Black Samian (No. 1).

11. Form 18. Rim. Good glaze. South Gaulish. ? Flavian.

From clay damp course outside N. wall of Building I.

12. Form 37. Very worn fragment. Probably lay about as rubbish in Roman times. In the style of CINNAMVS of Lezoux. An astragalus border divided the sherd, and on the left is part of a double festoon exclusive to CINNAMVS. This particular festoon is broad and dotted with tiny depressions. The figure on the right is Venus D. 173 = O. 278. *c.* A.D. 150-190.

TR. III. from under Road IV South of Building I.

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[1] Oswald and Pryce : An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata, London, 1920.

13. Form 37. Tiny worn fragment showing the large ovolo so commonly used by CINNAMVS of Lezoux. (see above) from under Road IV under Room I, Building I.
14. Form 37. Rough winding-scroll pattern containing a bird and leaves. The ovolo and all the details are blurred, though the glaze is good. *c.* A.D. 85-100. TR. IV. Dark Layer.
15. Form 18. Rim Fragment. Good glaze. Flavian. TR. IV. Dark Layer.
16. Form 37. Ovolo with three tassels. Rather blurred borders. A leafy festoon copied from GERMANVS of La Graufesenque, but not so reduced as the latest copies of his festoon. The figures are : Victory D. 479 = O. 808B; Jupiter D. 6 = O. 5; bird D. 1009 = O. 2247.

Dr. R. Knorr in *Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe des Ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen*, Stuttgart, 1952, Taf. 37, illustrates an example of this figure signed by MASCVVS, found at Cannstatt. See also Hermet, *La Graufesenque*, pl. 86, 13, assigned to the style of CORNVTVS. This latter sherd shows the seated Jupiter also; not yet known on the signed work of any potter. The bird was used by many South Gaulish Potters, but Oswald does not include either MASCVVS or CORNVTVS among them. *c.* A.D. 80-100.
From the oven.

(IV) GLASS.
By W. BULMER.

The excavation produced sixteen fragments of glass. The following three deserve description and illustration. (See fig. 9).
1. From burnt "Stokehole" material outside hypocaust. Handle of a small glass jug : of good quality glass of sea-green colour, with slight opalescent weathering. The maximum length $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; of oval section, minimum $\frac{5}{8}$ in. × $\frac{3}{8}$ in.; short folded thumb-rest, attached to which is a small portion of the neck and beaded rim of the jug. A minute fragment of the body of the vessel is attached to the lower end of the handle.

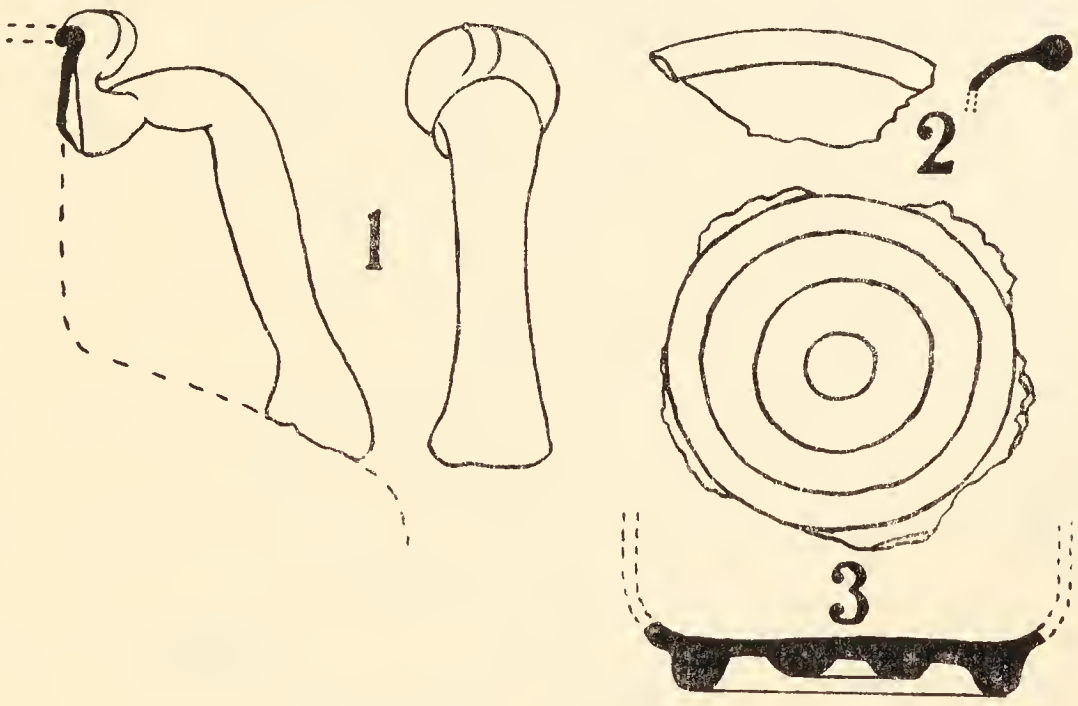


FIG. 9. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

This is the handle of a small glass jug with elliptical or globular body, having a comparatively short neck with a beaded rim and with a prominent and often flaring spout. A very typical specimen is illustrated in Thorpe's English Glass (1949) plate viii, a (Colchester Museum No. 229) and it is probable that the jug from which this handle came resembled this specimen very closely.

Similar jugs are known from Kent, e.g., from the Lockham cemetery, (Arch. Cant. XV, p. 86 and Ward 'Roman Era in Britain', fig. 53) and also from Ospringe (Arch. Cant. 37, p. 129).

The type is well known on the Continent (Morin-Jean type 55 and Kisa type 214) and Morin-Jean attributes them to his period Roman II (i.e. A.D. *c.*200-*c.*400.)

Fremersdorf in 'Die Denkmaler des Romischer Koln' (1938) illustrates on plate 36 a glass jug closely resembling those under discussion, which he describes as being of Cologne manufacture of the second half of the third century.

The type, however, was long lived; F. Rademacher in his "Frankische Glaser aus Dem Rheinland" (Bonner Jahrbucher, Volume 147) illustrates (Taf. 72.2.) a glass vessel with an identical handle and rim which he dates to the middle of the fourth century and also (Taf. 72.3.) one of an identical rim and very similar handle which he attributes to the second half of the fifth century. It seems probable, therefore, that the vessel under discussion may easily be of fourth century date and perhaps as late as the first half of the fifth century.

2. TR. I. Topsoil.

Fragment of blue-green glass $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. $\times$ $\frac{5}{8}$ in., portion of the rim of a vessel having a beaded edge of $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter.

This is a portion of the everted rim of a spherical glass bowl of a type familiar from its use as a cinerary urn. These vessels resemble the glass bowls in which goldfish are frequently kept in modern times. There is considerable variation in size and thickness of metal in the Roman specimens but their shape and proportion remain fairly constant. The greater part of a rim of one of these vessels is in the Reading Museum; this agrees in diameter, profile and metal very closely with the fragment under discussion but is of somewhat heavier section; I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Boon, of that museum, for confirmation of this.

Although frequently used as cinerary urns there is no evidence that these bowls were manufactured expressly for this purpose; they are usually attributed to the second century.

3. TR. II Above floor of Building II.

The base of a straight-sided glass cup with footstand formed by two concentric rings, the outer $\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $\frac{3}{16}$ in. $\times$ $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. outside diameter. The internal diameter of the cup has probably been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and its height about the same. This is one of a large class of Roman cylindrical glass cups (Morin-Jean type 72) whose straight sides curve sharply to join the flat base with its characteristic footstand formed of two concentric rings. They vary greatly in quality of material and workmanship, and to some extent in size. This specimen belongs to the larger type; the metal is of excellent quality and the workmanship, although somewhat rough, is better than that usually found in the large sized cups, which are frequently of rather poor metal and of indifferent workmanship.

The bases of these cups are by no means rare but their bodies are less frequently found. For example, there are between 30 and 40 bases in the Corstopitum Museum but only in one case has enough of the body been preserved to enable a reasonable reconstruction to be made. Evidently the sharp change of direction where the vertical sides join the base, is, as might be expected, a source of weakness and the usual point of fracture. The bases, reinforced by the sturdy rings of the footstand have often survived when the thinner body has been destroyed. The survival of the complete cup is least frequent of all; there is, however, a complete cup, similar in all respects to what we may conclude the specimen under discussion to have been, in the National Museum of Antiquities of Edinburgh (No. E.Q. 150) found at Airlie, Angus, in 1886. W. A. Thorpe in his English Glass (1949), p. 39, attributes this specimen to the Rhenish glasshouses of the third century.

(v) The Coarse Pottery.

By J. P. Gillam, M.A., F.S.A.

The report on the pottery falls into three sections. In the first section those stratified deposits which contained coarse pottery, but no pieces large enough to warrant illustration, are briefly described and related to

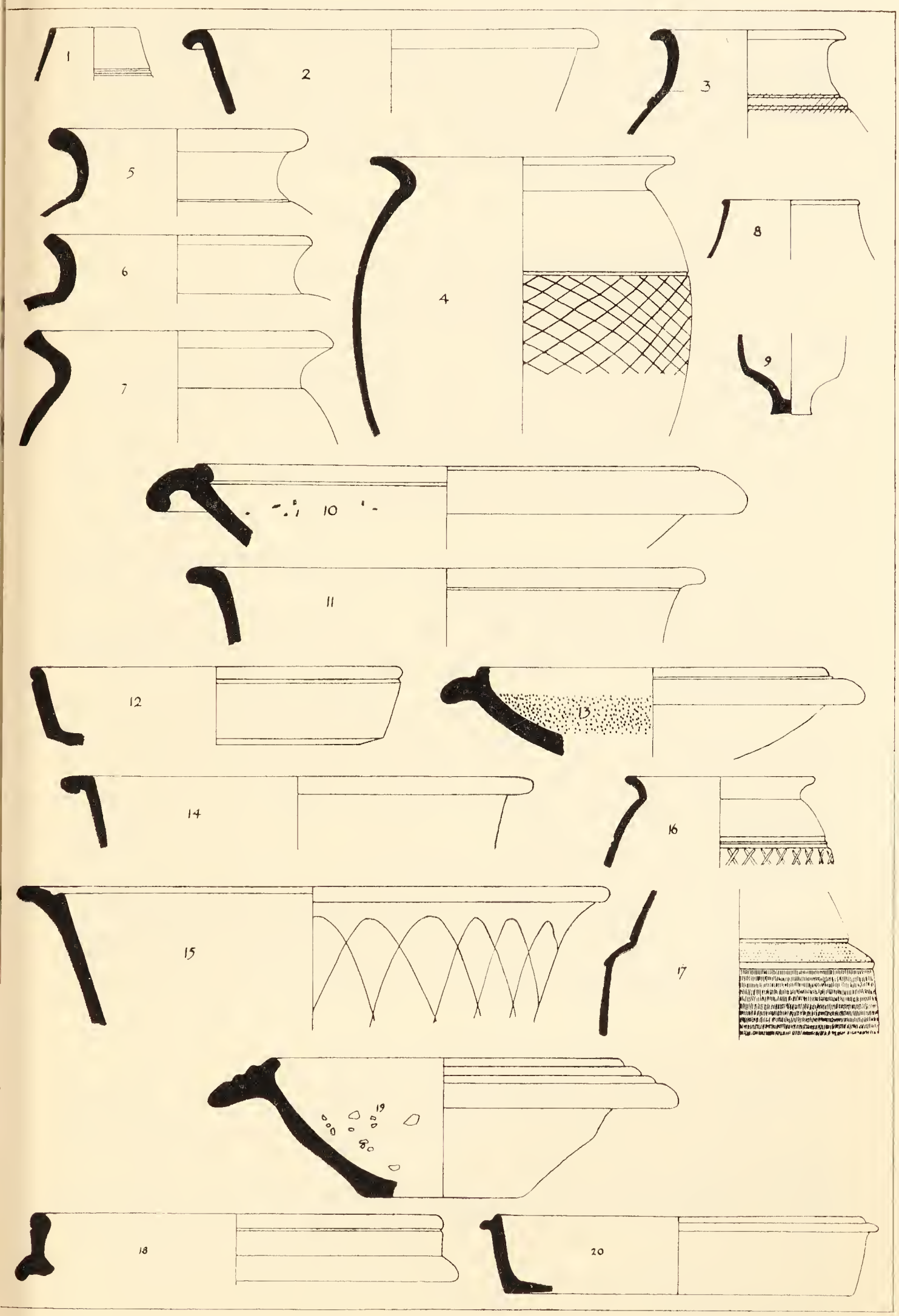


FIG. 10. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

the stratification. In the second section stratified pieces of coarse pottery large enough to be illustrated, in particular those which throw light on the date of foundation of the two houses, and on their occupation, are dealt with. In the third section the pottery from the latest occupation level, together with a large and representative selection of pottery of the same character from the topsoil, is studied as one group. It forms a group large enough to be considered statistically, and it makes a further contribution to our already considerable knowledge of the latest pottery in use in the north of Roman Britain.

Unillustrated stratified groups.

Trench I, extension, under cobbles, 3 ft. west of oven: two grey fragments, one apparently rustic ware.

Trench I, extension, in black: fragment of a South-Gaulish samian vessel of form 18, and other fragments of coarse pottery and plain samian of about the same date.

Trench I, extension, from the hearth or over the oven, at 7 ft. 6 ins.: one fragment from the shoulder of a cooking-pot in dark grey fabric, with a shoulder groove and good sharp rustication.

Trench I, in black material at the east end, at 7 ft. 6 ins. to 8 ft.: fragments from South-Gaulish samian vessels of forms 18 and 27, and fragments of coarse pottery of the same date.

The pottery from the foregoing four groups appears to be all of Flavian date.

Trench III, at 5 ft. 5 ins.: this small group included a broken cooking-pot rim and a fragment of coarse Castor ware, neither of which could well be of earlier date than *circa* A.D. 200.

Outside the south wall of Building I, below the level of the drain; this small group included fragments of colour coated fabric, red body, black coating and white slip-painted decoration, of a date not earlier than the third century.

On top of the drain cover outside the south wall and near the S.W. corner of Building I: this small group included three fragments from a fine Rhenish beaker of the kind which appeared in all the third-century levels at Carrawburgh.

Trench III, dirt layer, at 6 ft. to 6 ft. 6 ins.: this small group included fragments of a samian mortarium of form 43.

Trench I, outside Building I, from the sandy layer: this small group included a fragment of rouletted Castor Wire.

The general effect of the foregoing five groups is to reinforce the third-century dating of the construction of the earlier of the two buildings.

From burnt stokehole material outside the east side of the hypocaust: this large group of small pieces had an extensive range in date, and it included a high proportion of Castor ware, some of which seemed to be of mid third-century date at earliest.

Illustrated stratified groups.

Trench II, under the level of the drain slabs.

1. Fragment from the rim of a Castor cup in pinkish white fabric with shiny reddish brown coating. Cups of this type were found in all the third-century levels at Carrawburgh.
2. Fragment from the rim of a bowl in hard light grey self-coloured fabric, with tiny glistening particles of mica in the body of the clay and on the surface of the vessel. This is an east-Yorkshire type of the period before the expansion of the east-Yorkshire pottery industry; *cf. Langton*, fig. 12, No. 1, third-century.

From the same deposit came a scrap from the lip of a flagon and four pieces of samian.

The group is of third-century date.

Trench II, extension, Building II, under first floor.

3. Fragment from the neck and shoulder of a narrow-mouthed jar in white fabric with a yellowish cream surface: a broad horizontal band of light brown paint covers a cordon at the junction of the neck and shoulder. While vessels decorated in this way are not unknown in northern Britain, for several examples were recovered from graves in York in the last century, these seem to be no published examples from sealed and dated deposits; *cf. York* pl. XIIb, No. 5, undated. *Richborough* No. 184, dated by Bushe-Fox to the third or fourth century, though of a different type, is decorated in the same way.

From the same deposit came eight fragments of samian, including forms 31 and 37, eleven pieces from the wall of a black fumed cooking-pot with right-angled cross-hatching, single scraps from a Hadrianic-Antonine flat-rimmed bowl and of Rhenish ware, and sixteen indeterminate pieces.

The narrow-mouthed jar, reinforced by the coarse Castor ware, dates the deposit with fair certainty to the third century.

Trench II, extension, Building II, occupation layer above cement floor.

4. Fourteen fragments from a grey fumed and burnished cooking-pot *cf. Milecastle* 48, pl. IV, No. 28, third-century. This vessel, with its wide rim and obtuse-angled cross-hatching bounded above by a scored line, belongs to the later rather than to the earlier half of the century.

The only other fragment in the deposit was a single fragment from a coarse red dish.

Trench IV, Building II, below lower occupation layer.

5. Fragment from the rim of a narrow-mouthed jar in light grey self-coloured fabric.

6. Fragment from a jar in dark grey fabric with black burnished outer surface.

7. Large fragment from the rim and shoulder of a cooking-pot in light grey gooseflesh fabric; *cf. Milecastle* 50, No. 117, third century, and *Carrawburgh* No. 53 early fourth-century; nos. 33 to 36 below reveal that the type survived into the closing years of the fourth century, but its earlier emergence is well established.

8. Fragment from the rim of a Rhenish beaker in fine dark red fabric with black lustrous coating, *cf. Carrawburgh* no. 25, late third-century.

9. Fragment from the lower part of a Castor cup with a white body, and a matt coating, partly light orange and partly dark brown; this is from one or other of the two types of castor cup found in all the third-century levels at Carrawburgh.

10. Large fragment from the rim of a mortarium in pipeclay fabric, with large sparse black grit, *cf. Milecastle* 50, third century; not dissimilar pieces appear at Bewcastle and at Corbridge in late third-century contexts.

11. Large fragment from the rim of a bowl in light grey fabric with a darker grey surface.

12. Fragment from a bead-rim dish in grey fabric with black fumed and burnished surface, the vessel, which has a vestigial chamfer, may be a rubbish survival from a second-century occupation in the vicinity, *cf. Corbridge* 1947 no. 87, late second-century.

From the same deposit came eighteen fragments of samian, including forms 31, 33 and 37, three fragments of fine Castor ware, single black fumed fragments from a cooking-pot and a flanged bowl, both late third-century types, and some three dozen indeterminate fragments.

The group, which approximately dates the foundation of Building II, can hardly be earlier than A.D. 250, for though the most significant pieces in it, nos. 7 and 10, are both of types that had emerged before the end of the third century, they are characteristic of the later rather than the earlier half of that century.

Building I, Room II, under second floor.

13. Three large fragments from a mortarium of Corder's type 6, in whitish buff fabric with a grey core; copious small black grit stops short well clear of the bead. Although this type was common at the Crambeck kilns it is absent from the signal stations on the Yorkshire coast and from contemporary

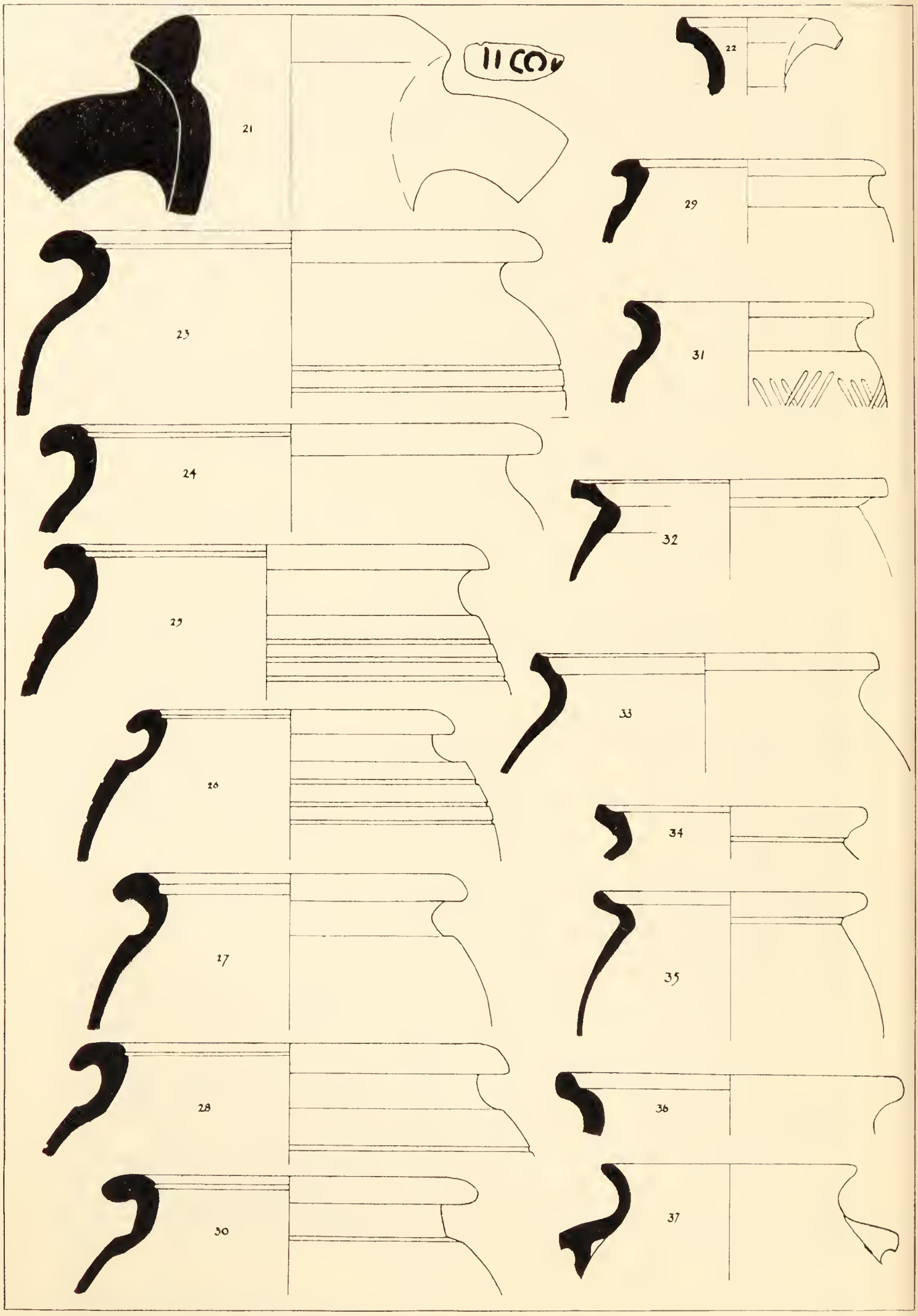


FIG. 11. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

deposits elsewhere, it is also less widespread than the types that appear in the signal stations and must therefore be assigned to a period before the Pict's War of A.D. 367 but as it was made at Crambeck, not long before.
14. Three fragments from a bowl in hard light grey self-coloured fabric with mica particles. In view of the fabric and the context, the resemblance in form to a Hadrianic-Antonine flat-rimmed bowl is probably without significance.

From the same deposit came six fragments from a chamfered bowl or dish in black fumed fabric, three of light brown Castor ware, three of samian, part of the base of a mortarium similar to no. 13, and single fragments of calcite-gritted and grey fabric.

The group, which approximately dates the foundation of Building I, cannot be earlier than A.D. 300, if it is so early.

Building I, Room II, under paving and under steps.
15. Three conjoined fragments from a flanged bowl in highly burnished black fumed fabric; *cf. Bewcastle*, no. 28, *Birdoswald*, no. 78, *Corbridge* 1938, fig. 7, no. 12 and *Lancaster* no. 3, all third-century.

This vessel was the only one in the deposit below the steps which are structurally secondary to Building I; it was probably made late rather than early in the third century.

Building I, Room II, from the hypocaust filling.
16. Fragment from the rim and shoulder of a jar or cooking pot in fine light grey fabric with a darker grey surface. The type of rim and the grooves on the shoulder suggest at first sight a pre-Hadrianic date, but the association with nos. 17 and 18, and the general similarity to Corder's type 11, make it possible that the piece might be a fourth-century revival of a much earlier style. It is most unlikely to have survived in use for two or three hundred years, but it is of course possible that it was present as rubbish in the material used to fill the hypocaust.
17. Two conjoined fragments from the shoulder of a rouletted beaker in light grey fabric with a darker grey smoothed surface. The vessel is of the type described by May as "pentice-moulded", and while the type has much earlier antecedents it appears in fourth-century contexts *cf. Rudchester* no. 106, dated by Hull to the early fourth century.
18. Fragment from a vessel of Corder's type 5b, in hard smooth yellowish white fabric, now smoked grey on the surface by a fire which has also removed traces of the red painted decoration doubtless originally on the outer surface.

From the same deposit came a large fragment, including the complete narrow base, of a fine Castor-ware vessel, five other Castor fragments, three of calcite-gritted fabric, three of grey Crambeck ware, one of black fumed ware and two indeterminate.

The group provides a date for the modification of Building I, while its range is wide if the earlier dating is accepted for no. 16, the latest piece, no. 18, is typical of the last third of the fourth century.

Trench III, south end, beyond the road, dark earth below the level of the building which appears on the aerial photograph.
19. Eight fragments from a reeded hammer-head mortarium in brick red self-coloured fabric, smoked black in places, with large sparse black grit; *cf. Milecastle* 48, pl. V, no. 1, early fourth-century.
20. Fragment from a flanged dish of Corder's type 1a, in grey fabric, this is not one of the types exclusively produced after the Pict's War, and the vessel may well be contemporary with no. 19.

From the same deposit came two fragments of Castor ware.

Pottery from the latest levels.

The seventy vessels described and discussed below are a representative selection from several hundred. Some were found on the latest floor of Building I, in an occupation deposit sealed by fallen plaster; others came from among the fallen plaster, and others from above it; the pieces selected for illustration from these deposits are assigned to their place of discovery.

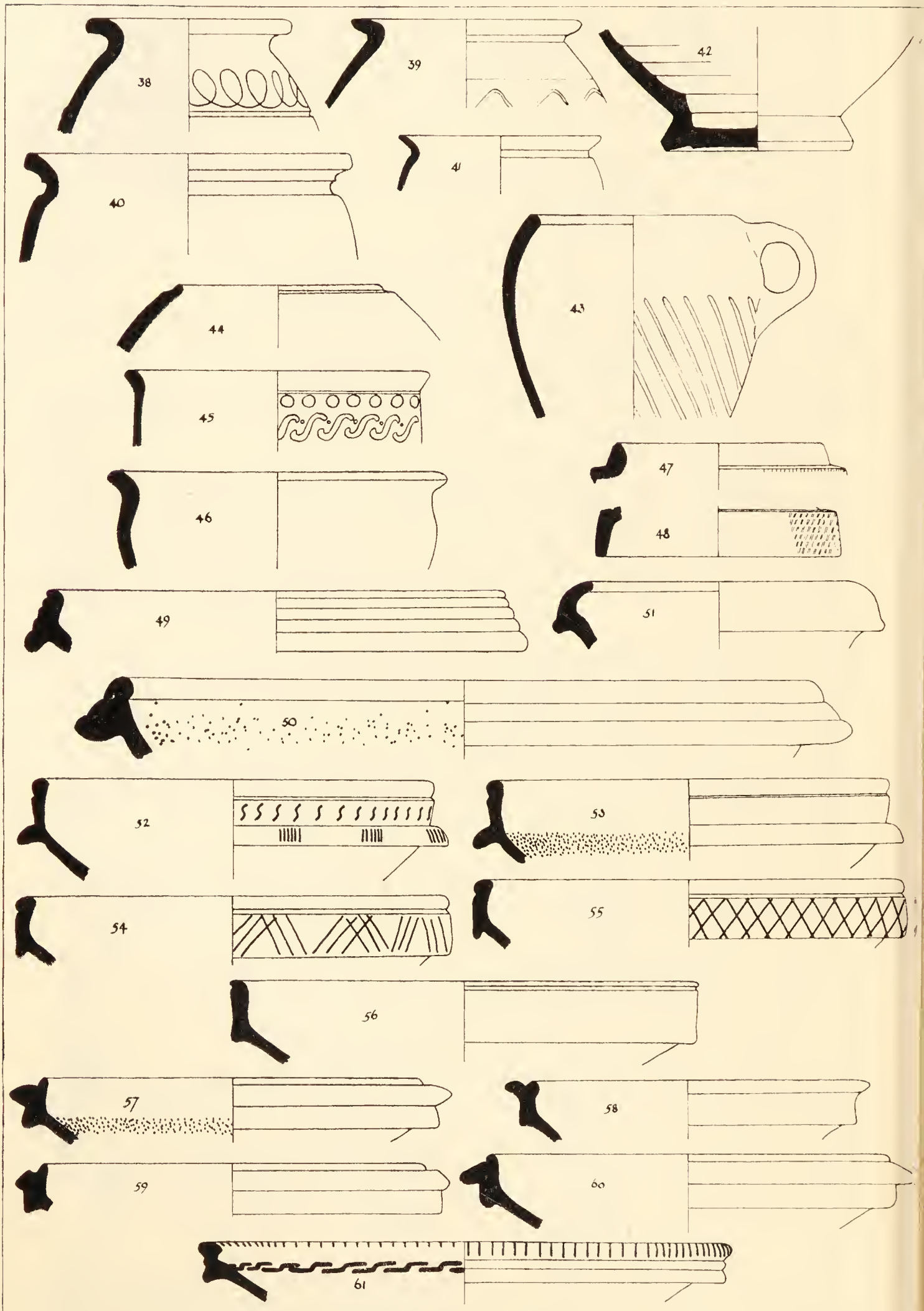


FIG. 12. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$

The remaining pieces came from each of nine deposits, all either in the topsoil or unsealed by structures, and these are not assigned to their place of discovery. The pottery from all twelve deposits is of the same character. Except where otherwise stated the parallels quoted below are all from late fourth-century deposits.

21. Large fragment from the neck and handle of an amphora in orange self-coloured fabric, on the handle the stamp IICOV appears. This second-century vessel must be regarded as a survival, whether in use or as rubbish, in its late fourth-century context.

22. Complete rim from a single-handled flagon in white-bodied Castor ware with orange to dark brown coating; *cf. Great Casterton Villa*, no. 4.

23—30. Rim fragments from cooking-pots of the Huntcliff type, Corder's type 16 and Hull's type 26. All are in black fabric heavily charged with large pieces of white calcite grit. Nos. 23, 24 and 25 are respectively from below, in and above the plaster.

31. Fragment from the rim and shoulder of a cooking-pot in heavy thick black burnished fabric with decoration lightly scored on the body with a blunt tool; *cf. Birdoswald*, no. 21 and *Signal Stations*, fig. 9, no. 13.

32. Fragment from the rim and shoulder of a cooking-pot in the same calcite-gritted fabric as nos. 23—30, but of different form, and possibly of earlier date *cf. Rudchester*, no. 121, not clearly dated.

33—36. Fragments from the rims of cooking-pots in hard grey fabric, heavily charged with small hard and sparkling grit which gives the surface a gooseflesh texture, quite unlike the smooth soapy feel of the calcite-gritted wares; *cf.* No. 7 above and *Signal Stations*, fig. 9, No. 2. The type evidently had a long life, it emerged before the end of the third century and was still being produced late in the fourth.

37—40. Fragments from the rims of vessels of Corder's type 3 and Hull's type 2, each in a light grey fabric with a smooth darker grey surface. No. 37 is from above and No. 40 is from below the plaster.

41. Small fragment from the rim of a fine grey cooking-pot.

42. Base of a jar or cooking-pot in white bodied Castor ware with a cherry red external coating; a large splash of the liquid used for colour coating has fallen on to the otherwise untreated inner surface, *cf. Great Casterton Villa*, no. 54.

43. Large fragment from a hand-made handled beaker in coarse grey fabric with darker surface.

44. Small fragment from a neckless cooking pot of Hull's type 25, in sparsely calcite-gritted fabric.

45. Fragment from a beaker in burnished bright orange fabric with white slip decoration.

46. Fragment from a wide-mouthed jar or bowl in the same fabric as nos. 37—40. It was found below the plaster.

47. Fragment from the rim of a box or lidded jar in white-bodied Castor ware with a matt bright orange coating, burnt black and irridescent in places; from the fracture it is evident that the vessel has been rouletted, *cf. Burrow in Lonsdale*, no. 33, dated to the early fourth-century.

48. Fragment from the lid of a box of the same class as no. 47, it is in rouletted white-bodied Castor ware with a dark orange-brown coating.

49. Small fragment from a reeded hammer-head mortarium in pipeclay fabric.

50. Two conjoined fragments from a mortarium in pipeclay fabric with small reddish brown grit; *cf. Bewcastle*, no. 66 and *Carrawburgh*, no. 56, both mid fourth-century.

51. Small fragment from a mortarium in smooth pink fabric, smoked grey in places.

52. Large fragment from a mortarium of Corder's type 5*b* and Hull's type 6, in smooth light biscuit-coloured fabric, traces of red paint appear on the rim; there is no grit.

53. Fragment from a vessel of the same type as no. 52. It has copious small black grit, evident flaking by fire has removed the decoration. It was found below the plaster.

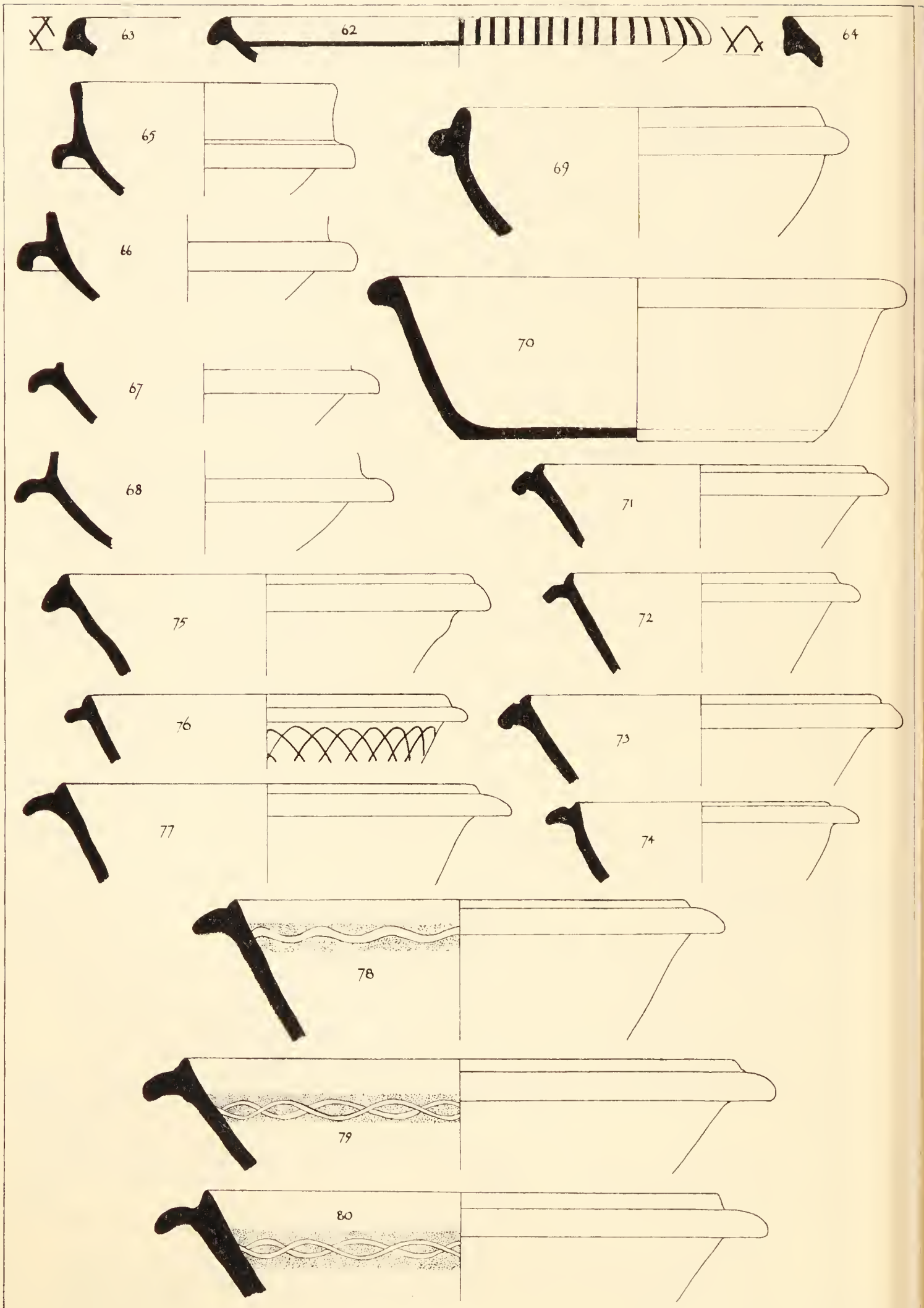


FIG. 13. Scale ¼.

54 and 55. Fragments from mortaria of Corder's type 7 and Hull's type 8, in the same fabric as nos. 52 and 53, with painted decoration surviving. No. 55, which is darkened by smoke, is from below the plaster.
56. Fragment of a mortarium of the same type as nos. 54 and 55, flaked and blackened by fire, neither paint nor grit survives.
57—60. Fragments from mortaria of Corder's type 8 and Hull's type 11, in the same fabric as nos. 52—56. Copious small black grit survives in no. 57, but red paint survives on none of these vessels.
61. Three fragments from a dish of Corder's type 9 and Hull's type 8, in the same fabric as the mortaria, orange painted decoration survives.
62—64. Fragments from dishes of Corder's and Hull's type 10, in the same fabric as No. 61; orange painted decoration survives. No. 64 was found in the plaster.
65 and 66. Fragments from hemispherical flanged bowls in imitation of the samian form 38, each in white-bodied Castor ware with light brown coating. No. 65 was found below the plaster.
Nos. 67 and 68. Fragments from vessels of the same type as nos. 65 and 66, in a burnished orange fabric similar to that of no. 45 above, and clearly imitating samian fabric, as do some examples of Corder's type 5.
69. Large fragment from a curved-sided flanged bowl in coarse grey fabric.
70. Nine fragments forming the greater part of a bowl with a rounded rim, in grey fumed and burnished fabric; *cf. Carrawburgh*, no. 38, third-century.

As it was found outside Building I, and was not sealed by structures this well preserved and comparatively early vessel has been treated as unstratified; nevertheless it probably dates from the beginning of the occupation of Building II.

71—75. Fragments from the rims of straight-sided flanged bowls in white-bodied Castor ware with dark brown to black coating. There is some variation in type, but taken as a whole these vessels are very close both in fabric and form to *Great Casterton Villa*, nos. 35—37.
76. Three fragments from a flanged bowl in black fumed and burnished fabric with external decoration *cf.* no. 15 above. These fragments, clearly from the same long-lived vessel, came from separate points in trenches II and IV.
77. Fragment from a straight-sided flanged bowl of Corder's type 1 and Hull's type 7, in the same light grey fabric as nos. 37—40 above.
78—80. Fragments from straight-sided flanged bowls of Corder's type 1b and Hull's type 7, in the same light grey fabric as no. 77.
81. Two fragments from an unusual flanged bowl in hard blue-grey fabric. These fragments, while clearly from the same vessel, came from widely separated points, in trench IV, and above Building I, Room II.
82—84. Fragments from plain-rimmed dishes in white-bodied Castor ware with darker coating, *cf. Great Casterton Villa*, no. 40.
85 and 86. Fragments from plain-rimmed dishes of Corder's type 2 and Hull's type 18, in the same light grey fabric as nos. 77—80.
87—89. Fragments from large coarse dishes of Hull's type 31, in the same calcite-gritted fabric as nos. 23—30.
90. Fragment from a wide dish, or possibly from a lid, in grey fabric sparsely charged with fine calcite grit.

The seventy drawings nos. 21—90, represent two hundred and fifty separate vessels from the latest level or the topsoil; this figure is based on account of all the recognisable rim fragments submitted for examination, which were not demonstrably from the same vessel. The bulk of the pottery is uniformly of late fourth-century date. Vessels of earlier type appear among them, nos. 32, 41, 47, 48, 49, 50, 70 and 76, together with a number of fumed-ware cooking-pots that have not been illustrated, but the proportion of these to the mass of later types is low. Altogether the earlier types form no more than about a tenth of the total. Their main significance is that they provide evidence for the occupation of the site in the first two thirds of the fourth century.

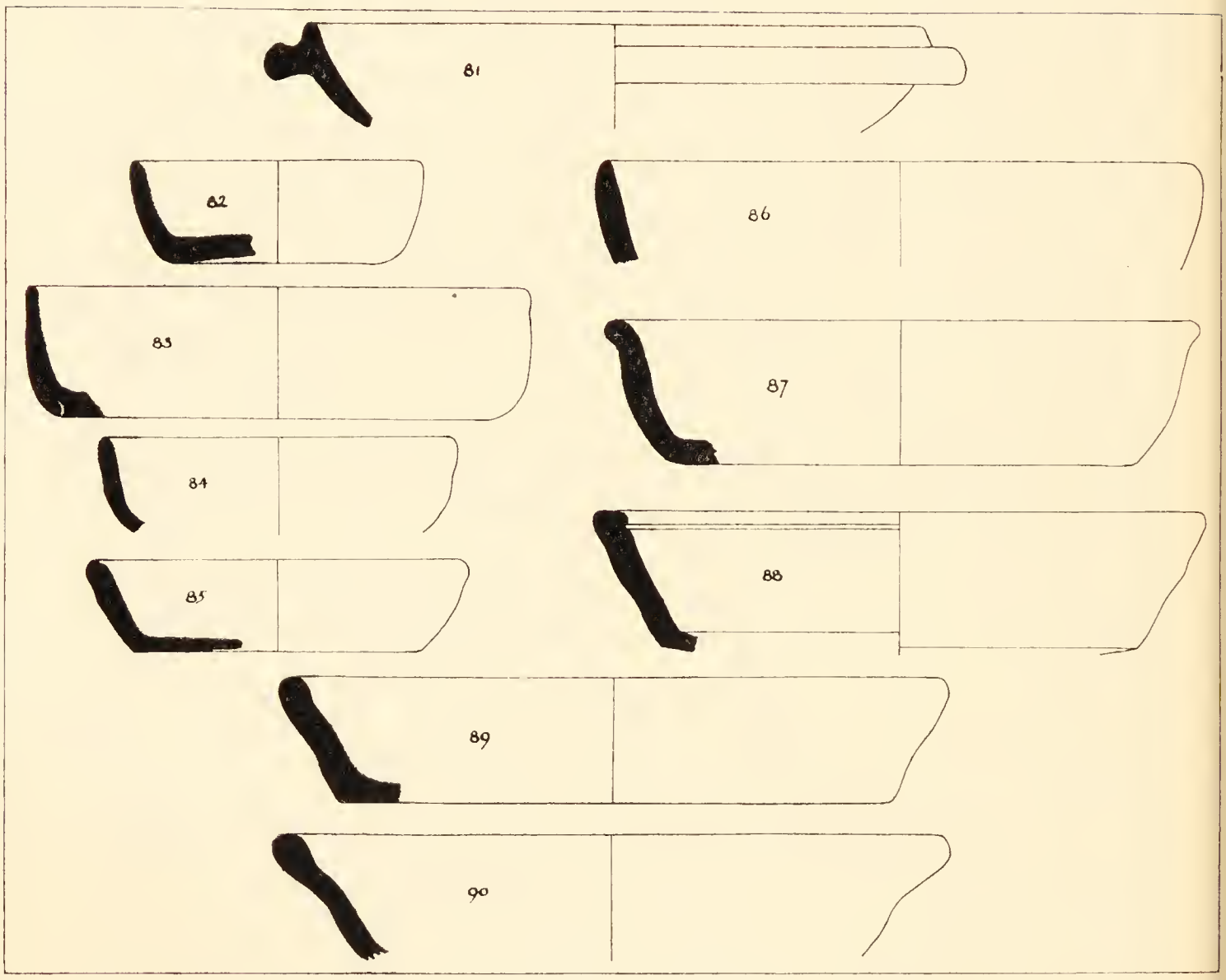


FIG. 14. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

The yield of late fourth-century pottery is very large indeed, and it indicates that, while there is no detectable typological change in the pottery of the period beginning with the Picts' War of A.D. 367 and ending with the end of the Roman occupation, the post-Pict-War occupation of Building I at Catterick was far from short.

The group is sufficiently large for its detailed composition to be studied. The first table shows the number of vessels of various types and fabrics making up the group. Those to which a Crambeck number can be assigned are dealt with first, and then the remainder, in class order. Where applicable the Crambeck type numbers are given in the first column, the class of the vessel in the second, the fabric in the third, the serial numbers of examples illustrated in this report in the fourth, and the number of examples in the group as a whole in the fifth.

TABLE I.

Crambeck No.	Class	Fabric	Examples illustrated	Quantity
1 and 1b	Bowl	Grey	77—80	14
2 and 2a	Dish	Grey	85—86	8
3	Jar	Grey	37—40	11
4	Wide-mouthed	Grey	46	1
5	Dr. 38	Glossy	67—68	2
5a	Dr. 38	Grey	69	1
5b	Dr. 38	Light	52—53	4
7	Mortarium	Light	54—56	8
8	Mortarium	Light	57—60	4
9	Mortarium	Light	61	1
10	Dish	Light	62—64	4
16	Cooking-pot	Calcite-gritted	23—30	97
	Flagon	Castor Ware	22	3
	Beaker	Calcite-gritted	—	1
	Beaker	Fumed	—	1
	Beaker	Grey	43	1
	Beaker	Glossy	45	1
	Cooking-pot	Calcite-gritted	32 and 44	6
	Cooking-pot	Castor ware	42	2
	Cooking-pot	Fumed	—	7
	Cooking-pot	Grey	33-36, and 41	19
	Cooking-pot	Unusual	31	2
	Mortarium	Light	49—51	8
	Bowl	Castor ware	71—75	8
	Bowl	Fumed	70 and 76	7
	Bowl	Grey	81	1
	Dish	Calcite-gritted	87—89	6
	Dish	Castor ware	82—84	6
	Dish	Fumed	—	5
	Dr. 38	Castor ware	65—66	2
	Other types	Various	21, 47, 48 & 90	9
				250

The commonest single type present is Corder's Crambeck type 16 (the Huntcliff cooking-pot), of which there are 97 examples (39%). More than half of the other Crambeck types, in fact all the common ones, are also present; there are 58 examples of Crambeck types 1 to 10 (23%). Finally there are 95 vessels (38%) to which a Crambeck type number cannot be assigned. Of these a certain number, including doubtless all the calcite-gritted vessels additional to the Huntcliff type, are almost certainly, like the Huntcliff type, of East Yorkshire origin. The remainder are either of East Midland or unknown origin.

In the second table only those vessels are considered to which a Crambeck type number can be assigned; its purpose is to compare the proportions of Crambeck types at Catterick, both with the proportions at other sites drawing from the same source, and with the proportions at the centre of manufacture. The numbers of examples of each Crambeck type at Catterick are given in the first column, the percentages of the total number of Crambeck types at Catterick in the second, the corresponding percentages in the Signal Stations in the third, and the percentages at the Crambeck kilns in the fourth.

TABLE II.

Crambeck Types	Catterick Actual	Catterick Percentages	Signal Stations, Percentages	Crambeck 1936 Percentages
1	14	9	8	53
2	8	5	2	10
3	11	7	12	8
4	1	1	0	2
5, 7, 8, 9 & 10	24	15	13	8
16	97	63	65	2
Others	0	0	0	17
	155	100	100	100

The correspondence between the Catterick and Signal Station figures is strikingly close. The figures for type 16 are almost identical, and the figures for other types are very near. It is clear that Catterick and the Signal Stations consumed Crambeck types in much the same proportion. The figures tend to confirm each other, and would doubtless be similar in any large late fourth-century group in the vicinity.

On the other hand the figures for the Crambeck kilns are strikingly different, at two particular points, from those for the sites. The figure for type 16 is 2% as compared with 63% or 65%. It is known that type 16 was made at Knapton. It now appears from the figures that Knapton was the main source of supply, and that the comparatively small number of fragments of type 16 found at Crambeck came, not from vessels made on the site, but from vessels used by the potters themselves. The potters evidently concentrated on the production of grey fabrics and light fabrics decorated with red paint, and left the production of all calcite-gritted wares, including Crambeck type 16, to other potteries in the district.

The other difference is more difficult to explain. Type 1 is much commoner at Crambeck than on the sites. In general the proportion of the grey wares, types 1, 2, 3 and 4, is higher at the kilns, and the proportion of the painted ware is higher on the sites. As the numbers are small the differences may not be significant; they are nevertheless remarkable and somewhat puzzling.

In the third table, fabrics only are considered, its purpose is to compare the proportions of fabrics at Catterick with those in a contemporary deposit on a site which drew none of its pottery from Crambeck, but was much nearer to the source of supply of some of the other Catterick pottery. The numbers of vessels in each fabric are given in the first column, the percentages in the second and the percentages of each fabric in the late fourth-century group at the Great Casterton villa, a mere ten miles from Castor, in the third.

TABLE III.

Fabrics	Catterick actual	Catterick Percentages	Great Casterton Percentages
Calcite-gritted	111	45	20
Grey Crambeck	35	14	—
Black fumed	20	8	—
Other dark	22	9	10
Light Crambeck	21	8	—
Other light	10	4	8
Castor Ware	26	10	57
All others	5	2	5
	250	100	100

Not only is no Crambeck ware present at Great Casterton, but the calcite-gritted ware is almost all of a different kind from that in East Yorkshire, and it is used for vessels of different types. While very much smaller than that at Great Casterton, the proportion of Castor ware at Catterick is far from negligible. It follows, then, that, even towards the close of the Roman period, the Midland potters were still able to compete successfully in the northern market, while, by contrast, the northern potters supplied little to the midland market.

As more statistical information becomes available that summarised in the first table will doubtless yield further evidence. It is already clear that in the closing years of the fourth century a flourishing community situated on an axial road, less than forty miles from Crambeck and Knapton, and more than a hundred miles from Castor, drew its pottery supplies from all three sources. When survivals and pieces of unknown origin are ignored, it appears that more than half of the supplies came from such native potteries as Knapton, while of the balance two thirds was supplied by Crambeck and one third by Castor.

References to site reports quoted in the report on the coarse pottery are as follows :—

AA 4	*Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series.
CW 2	Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch. Soc., new series.
Bewcastle	CW 2, xxxviii, 219.
Birdoswald	CW 2, xxx, 187.
Burrow in Lonsdale	CW 2, xlviii, 35.
Carrawburgh	AA 4, xxix, 62.
Corbridge 1938	AA 4, xv, 266.
Corbridge 1947	AA 4, xxviii, 177.
Corder's types	See *Crambeck*.
Crambeck	Antiquaries Journal, xvii, 392.
Great Casterton	P. Corder, *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland*, 1951.
Hull's types	See *Signal Stations*.
Knapton	See *Langton*.
Lancaster	Trans. of the Historic Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire, cv, 13.
Langton	P. Corder and J. L. Kirk, *A Roman Villa at Lanton, near Malton, E. Yorkshire*, 1932.
Milecastle 48	CW 2, xi, 447.
Milecastle 50	CW 2, xiii, 339.
Richborough	J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Second Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, 1928.
Rudchester	AA 4, i, 110.
Signal Stations	Archaeological Journal, lxxxix, 220.
York	T. May, *The Roman Pottery in York Museum*, Part II, 1910.

EXCAVATION OF ROMAN ROAD IN TREASURER'S HOUSE, YORK, 1954.

By Peter Wenham.

With a note by Herman Ramm.

Introduction. About 1898-1900, during renovations by the late Mr. Francis W. Green to Treasurer's House, York, alterations were made in the basements which revealed what were alleged to be Roman remains. The record[1] is of the slightest and reads :—" . . . . . the remains of some classic columns and the foundations of walls etc., were uncovered, and are supposed to be *in situ:* it is imagined that they formed part of the Imperial Palace which is known to have stood between Aldwark and the Minster, the level being some twelve feet lower than the present ground floor." Claims similar to these, repeated in almost the same words were made in an article[2] by Mr. Christopher Hussey with, however, one important addition *viz.* " . . . . . in its [Treasurer's House] cellars are the bases of columns, said by some to be

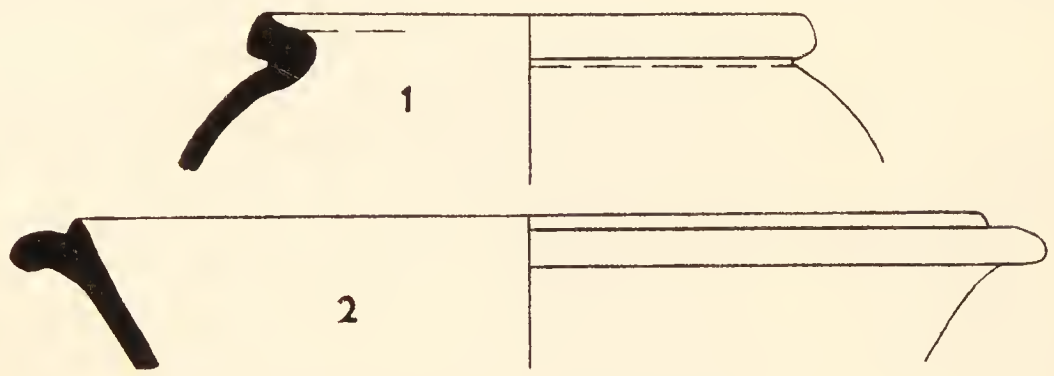


Fig. 2. Scale $\frac{1}{8}$.

those of the imperial palace, by others the barracks, situated beside *the road, of which a section remains* (my italics)" . . . . . The current Official Guide to the house is based on this article (and its sequel dated a week later) and as far as the Roman finds are concerned adds nothing to the 1900 and 1922 accounts. It says (pp. 6-7) that the "Roman columns" are believed to be "in their original position", that "they probably formed part of the Imperial Barracks, which are said to have stood . . . . . near the Roman road which runs under part of the existing house".

[1] *Yorks. Phil. Soc. Report for* 1900, p. 34.
[2] *Treasurer's House, York,* in *Country Life,* 29th July, 1922, p. 114.

TREASURER'S HOUSE - YORK

1954 EXCAVATION

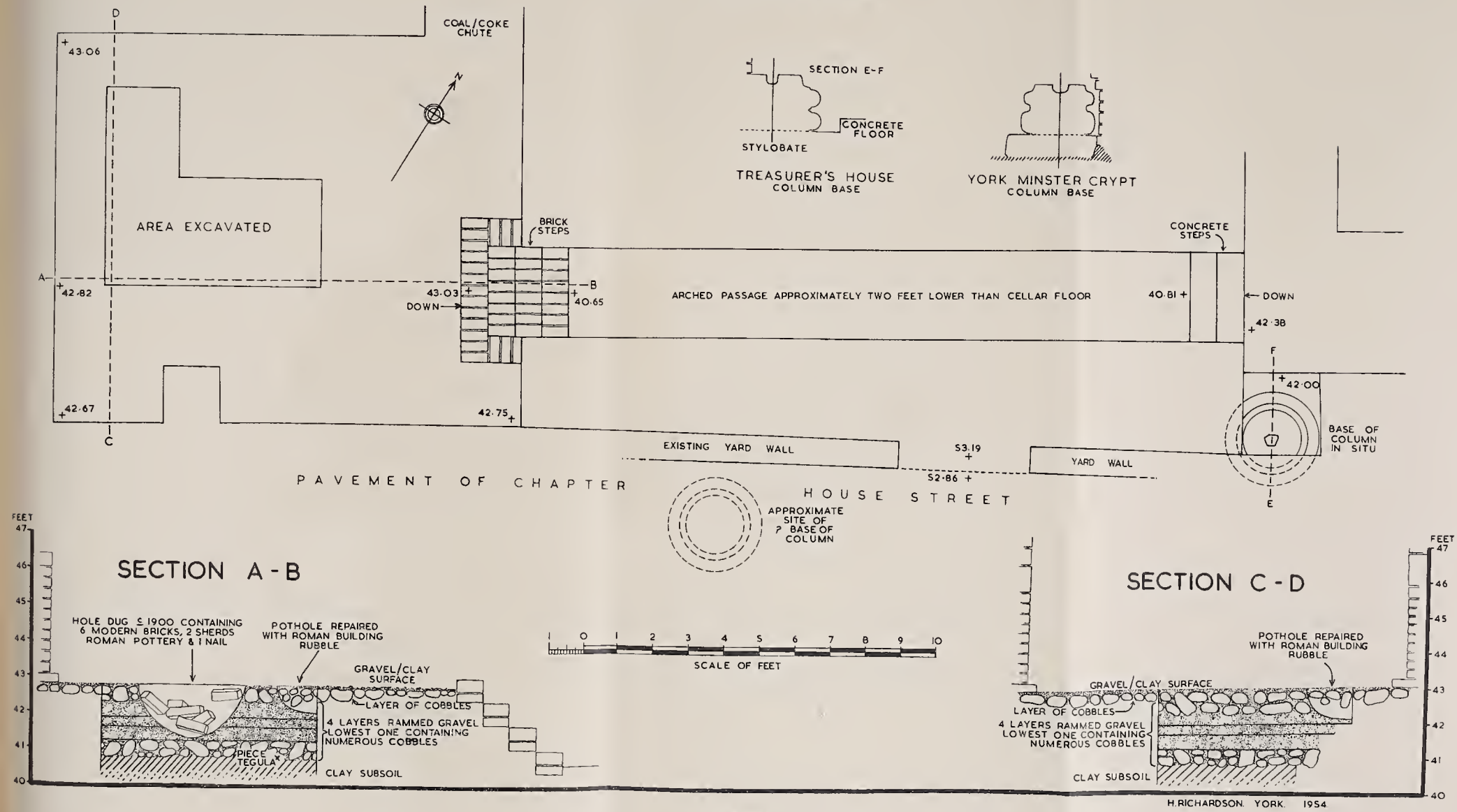


FIG. 1.

One of these Roman finds is still in the basement of the house[1] and consists of an Attic base (plate Ia and fig. 1)[2] of coarse yellow gritstone resting on another block of the same stone. The diameter of the base at its point of junction with the column is 18 ins., its maximum diameter 2 ft. 8 ins. and its height above the stylobate 1 ft. 7 ins. There is an irregularly shaped dowel hole in the centre of the top of the base for fixing the column. The sides of this hole are broken, and it may have been originally hexagonal. The size of the stylobate cannot be determined as the edges of the stone are concreted over. The top of the stylobate is 10 ft. 10 ins. below the surface of the nearby pavement in Chapter House Street.

It is possible that in 1952 the base of a column similar to the above was seen by workmen in a deep hole in Chapter House Street during repairs to a sewer. The writer only heard of this discovery some months after the hole had been filled in. On questioning, the workmen described their find as "a curved piece of stone" and, on being shown the base in Treasurer's House were confident that what they had seen was similar. It was discovered, they said "about 10 feet deep" under, and some 9 ins. inside the edge of, the pavement in Chapter House Street just outside the boundary wall of Treasurer's House. Assuming that it was a base of similar dimensions to that preserved in the house, the distance, from centre to centre, between the two would be 15 ft. 10 ins. on a bearing of 220° (see fig. 1). If the two belonged to the same line of columns they are, therefore, not quite on the alignment of the long axis of the fortress (bearing

[1] The reference to "classic columns", "Roman columns" and "the foundations of walls" in the above accounts certainly suggests that there were other discoveries besides this base; only one of these can be identified now. This is the fragment of another Attic base—smaller and more elaborately moulded than the Roman one described above—which now lies in the Great Hall (its precise find spot is unknown); it is of limestone and Dr. Eric Gee of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments dates it to the early 17th century. The five columns supporting the gallery in the Hall were erected by Mr. Green during his 1898-1900 restoration and were modelled on this fragment.

It may not be without significance in connection with the above mentioned discoveries to point out that the various rooms and passages comprising the cellars and basements of the house as it is now, are at varying levels. The reason for this is not everywhere apparent and could be due to the irregularities caused by walls and foundations preserved beneath them. Most of the concreting in these basements appears to have been done at the time of Mr. Green's restoration.

[2] G. Home, *Roman York*, 1924, p. 149 shows a section of this base and a reconstruction of the column upon it; his drawing of the former is, however, suspect (cf. that drawn on fig. 1). Home shows his reconstructed column, including base and capital, as 16 ft. high but gives no indication as to how he arrived at that figure. If classical proportions were followed (and this may not have been the case as the base is a poor one) and if the order was Roman Doric, then by taking seven diameters as indicating its height we get a measurement of 10 ft. 6 ins. for the column, including base and capital.

222°) and the possibility that the second "base" was in fact no more than a detached piece of fallen column, not *in situ*, cannot be entirely dismissed.

Some 22 ft. to the west of the base *in situ* in Treasurer's House is an area of cobbling forming the floor of what was until recently a coke cellar (see fig. 1); it must have been uncovered at the same time as this base. This conclusion is based on the following note :—[1]

> "1898 May. The house recently occupied by the late Dr. Matterson, in Chapter House Street, was demolished in the restoration of the old residence of the Treasurers of the Minster. The deep excavations brought to light part of the old Roman street which runs from this part of the City under the Minster by way of Stonegate to St. Helen's Square . . . . ."

A plan of Treasurer's House[2] showing the "division of ownership" in 1868 when the house was divided amongst five different owners/occupiers shows that Dr. Matterson then lived in the south-east wing. The cottage belonging to him which, according to the above account, was pulled down in 1898, is shown on the site of the present vestibule and cloakroom abutting on to Chapter House Street. This means that the alleged "old Roman street" found below the cottage was, in fact, the cobbled floor of the cellar now lying under this vestible and cloakroom. This cobbling is the subject of the present excavation.

Examination of the cellar mentioned shows that the floor of the earlier one belonging to the cottage was some 2 ft. higher, and that its walls are represented by the roughly hewn limestone blocks which, on three sides of the cellar, now cease some 2 ft. above the existing cobbled floor : between the bottom of the lowest limestone course and the top of the cobbling are 9, 10 or 11 courses[3] of the late 19th/early 20th century brickwork; the footing course projects some 3-6 ins. beyond the rest of the walling and is built resting on the cobbles; nowhere does it penetrate them. The cobbling must, therefore, extend beyond the cellar on all four sides. Evidence of the steps which gave access to the original cellar can still be seen in the north corner in the present coal/coke chute; they end at the bottom of the limestone walling. It is therefore clear that in, or about, 1900 the cellar was deepened, and the present chute constructed. The discovery of an already prepared cobbled surface would come as an unexpected, and not altogether unwelcome, surprise to those engaged on the work and they would readily adopt it as their new floor. That they dug a hole through the cobbles in order to find out something about their purpose is also evident. This was proved by the discovery during the present excavation, of a

[1] T. P. Cooper, *York Miscellaneous Notes* (MSS. in York Public Library), p. 30.

[2] Mrs. Edwin Gray, *The Mansion House of the Treasurers of York Minster now Treasurer's House and Gray's Court*, Ben Johnson 1933 Plan II (at end); see also p. 46.

[3] Their number varies because the bottom of the lowest limestone course is uneven.



(a) Column base in Treasurer's House.



(b) Column base in York Minster.

PLATE I

Photo by kind permission of Mr. J. Green, Clerk of Works, York Minster.

shallow trench in the middle of the cellar measuring roughly 3 ft. by 2 ft. and 1 ft. 6 ins. at its deepest (see fig. 1, section A-B). In the back filling of this trench were found six bricks similar to those used in the brickwork in the lower courses of the surrounding cellar walls, a rusty nail (date unknown) and two sherds of coarse Roman pottery (fig. 2). This trench was doubtless dug by Mr. Green during his renovations and it was presumably on the authority of this—together with additional information which may have been to hand and which is discussed in the next paragraph—that he dubbed this cobbling as part of a Roman road.

The brickwork of the passage connecting this cellar with another passage running at right angles to it (the junction of the two being near the base of the Roman column already described[1] is similar to that of the lower courses of the cellar and is actually bonded with it near the entrance; cellar and passage were therefore contemporaneous. In fact, with the conversion of the flight of steps of the old cellar into a chute, this passage became vital, as the sole entrance into the new deepened cellar. In order to provide headroom in passing under a sewer. the passage had to be more than 2 ft. lower than the adjoining cellar. As will be made clear later the Roman gravel/cobble feature still *in situ* in the cellar—unquestionably a Roman road as will be established later—must have existed originally throughout the entire length of this passage. Unless it had been destroyed already (undoubtedly in post-Roman rather than Roman times) before Mr. Green carried out his alterations here, he must have removed it and presumably would have had ample opportunity of establishing its purpose. It may be that he was referring to cobbling found in this passage as well as to that discovered in the cellar when he wrote of "the Roman road which runs under part of the existing Treasurer's House". The present passage floor is unpaved and consists of clinker laid direct on the clay subsoil.

By kind permission of the National Trust, the writer was enabled to re-examine the cobbling in the cellar. The actual digging was done by Messrs. P. N. Davies, V. E. Lumby, J. D. Rodwell and M. B. Sharpe, students of St. John's College, York. The photographs were taken by Mr. R. A. Hill and the plans &c. were drawn by Mr. H. Richardson.

THE EXCAVATION. A trench 6 ft. long and 3 ft. wide was dug near the middle of the cellar as shown on figure 1; it was everywhere dug down to the subsoil. At its western end an annex, 2 ft. by 2 ft. 6 ins. was added after its completion. The annex was not dug down to the subsoil throughout; instead, in part, the various "levels" as established by the initial trench were exposed in "step" fashion and photographed as shown on plate II.

Two sections have been drawn of these trenches (fig. 1, sections AB and CD). Except where the stratification had been destroyed by the late 19th century hole these showed four main

[1] For the layout of these various passages see fig. 1.

horizons :—(i) a surface layer of tightly rammed gravel with a considerable clay content, some 1-2 ins. thick overlying (ii) a cobbled stratum 6-9 ins. thick on top of (iii) four distinct layers of sandy gravel 15-18 ins. thick which, in turn, rested on (iv) the subsoil of clay. These four horizons are best considered separately.

(I) *The gravel surface layer.* This did not exist throughout the whole of the cellar floor but was only found in patches, the largest of which measured 2-3 square yards. It was not clear whether this "patching" was due to wear in Roman times or to post-Roman destruction, though there were hints that it was perhaps due to the former. In three places where the gravel had disappeared pieces of flat freestone slabs measuring roughly 8 by 6 ins. were found which might have been *in situ;* one of them is to be seen on plate II. They were similar to, but larger, than the fragments mentioned later which were found in certain places under the cobbles of the second layer and they could have been fragments of roofing tiles.[1] In one place, though one of these stones had itself disappeared the impression made by it (7 x 4 ins.) was clearly visible in the surrounding gravel. It is just possible that these fragments might represent surface "patching" by means of small, thin flags.

The surface gravel contained a large proportion of clay and pebbles. Where the latter were exposed on the surface they showed signs of considerable wear. Bound firmly to the cobbles beneath, they formed a very smooth, solid and hard wearing surface.

Reference to the O.D. Spot Heights shown on fig. 1 indicates that the gravel/cobble surface is some 1½ ins. higher on the north side of the cellar as compared with the south side—possibly evidence of a camber.

(ii) *The cobbles.* These were carefully laid, generally speaking in two distinct layers, the cobbles averaging 3-4 ins. in diameter, though here and there were single, much larger, ones. The upper surfaces of the cobbling showed evidence of wear, particularly where the gravel surface was missing. They displayed no sharp edges, were everywhere rounded and were smooth and slippery. This last characteristic was clearly demonstrated when it was necessary to remove soil deposited on them; they formed a solid, unyielding face along which the shovel slid easily and quickly without dislodging or disturbing any individual stone. (The gravel where it existed on the surface had the same character). The cobbles were very firmly embedded in position. They had knit so closely together and with the gravel which was above

[1] Fragments similar to, but larger than, these were found on the site of a Roman building discovered during excavations in 1953-4 (report as yet unpublished) near a Roman road junction on the west side of the modern Blossom Street. It was clear from their context that they were roofing tiles.



PLATE II.

Section of road in cellar of Treasurer's House, York.

(i.e. where it existed), around, and below them that the conclusion was inescapable that they had been subjected to considerable and prolonged pressure from above.

Lying here and there between the individual cobbles, and also between the cobbled stratum and the top of the gravel layers below were (a) small fragments of the freestone tiles similar to, but smaller than, those already described as found on the topmost gravel surface layer (17 were counted); (b) pieces of limestone, some with cement still adhering as though they had originally been used as building stones (one may be seen on plate II): and (c) fragments of red (Roman) building bricks (25 were counted). These finds were not evenly spread throughout the area examined but were concentrated in two particular

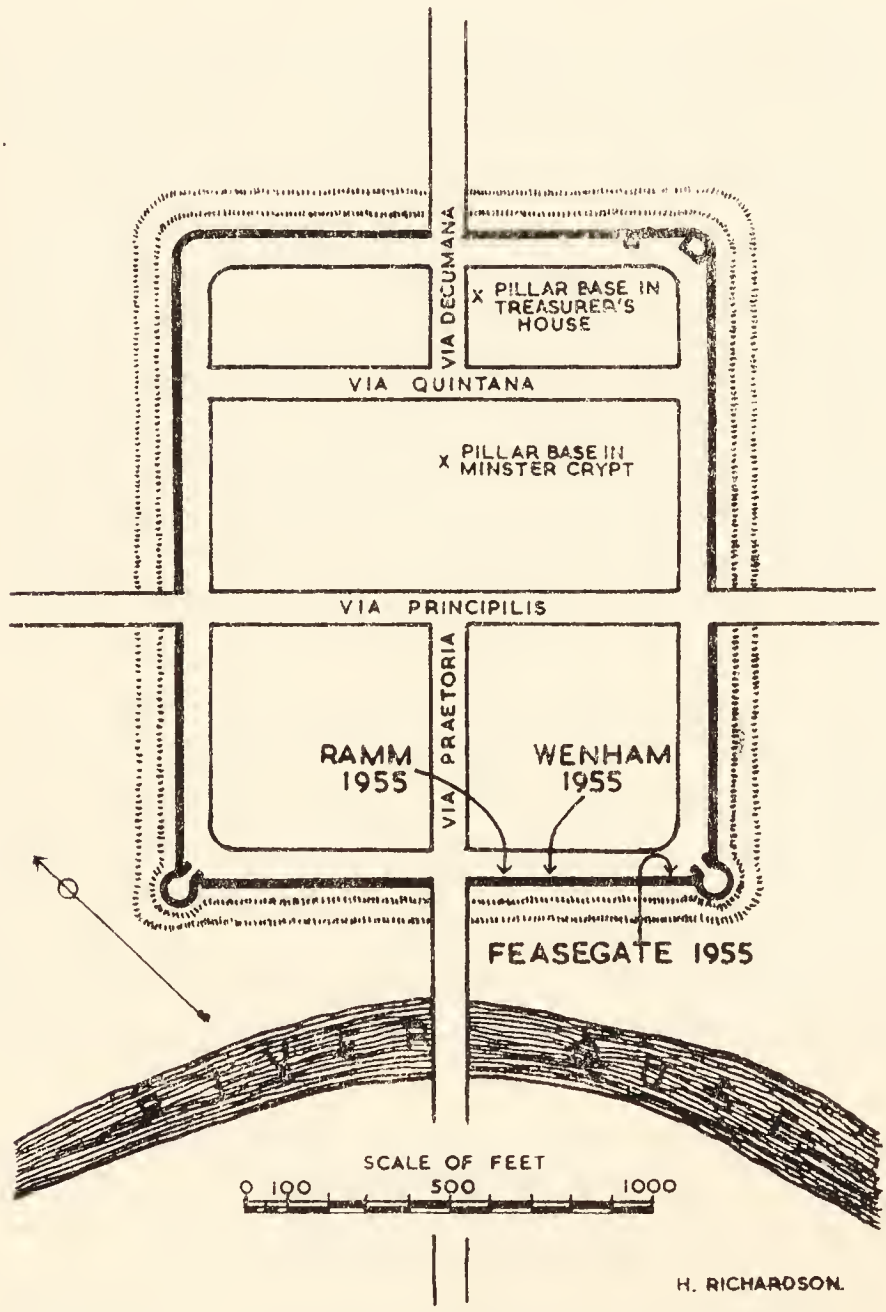


FIG. 3. Legionary Fortress of Eboracum.

"holes", as shown on figure 1 (sections AB and CD); it was concluded that they represented something in the nature of building rubble used to repair potholes. In the two places where they were

encountered the cobbles had been replaced over them (though perhaps not quite so carefully as elsewhere) together with the gravel surface.

(iii) *The four gravel layers.* These were separated from each other by three very thin, continuous lines of grey clayey soil similar in texture, but not in colour, to the clay subsoil found below them. Though roughly parallel to each other these lines sloped slightly, but perceptibly from north to south and from east to west.

The upper three gravel layers were each about the same thickness (4 ins.); the fourth and lowest was thicker (6-8 ins.) and its content was much coarser than that of the others. Besides gravel, it contained numerous cobbles (clearly shown on plate II) averaging 4-6 ins. in diameter with many considerably larger.

The discovery of a large piece of *tegula* lying on the top of the clay subsoil and immediately below the lowest gravel level implied that the whole of the Roman topsoil down to the clay had been removed before the gravel filling had been put in. Except for the piece of *tegula* no stratified Roman artifacts were found anywhere in the gravel layers. This fact, considered in conjunction with the thinness of the three clay "lines"[1] suggests that the latter could not possibly have represented different occupation or surface levels : they were the levels at which the gravel had been rammed, the soiled clay having been deposited at the surface of each layer from the soldiers' boots and ramming implements during that operation. It follows, from this, that the structure as a whole was put down in its entirety at one and the same time.

(iv) *The subsoil.* The geological map, of York shows boulder clay as the subsoil in the area around Treasurer's House; this was confirmed by the excavation. The uppermost 3-4 ins. of this was greyish in colour (representing staining by decayed organic matter, roots &c.), tapering off to a yellowish-white below. Here and there the face of the subsoil displayed a certain "raggedness" which is best explained by supposing that it was caused by the haphazard penetration of spades and picks during the removal of the topsoil.

The finds. The only datable Roman finds were the two sherds of pottery (fig. 2) found-unstratified—in the back-filling of the late 19th century hole in the middle of the cellar. It seems reasonable to suppose that they were first uncovered either in the gravel/cobble Roman filling which must have come from this hole or on top of the Roman gravel/cobble surface before it was removed. In either case they must be later than the original structure and they therefore supply a *terminus ante quem*—

[1] It is difficult to ascribe any specific thickness to them as they were so slight; they were certainly nowhere thicker than one-twentieth of an inch.

admittedly only a rough one—for the latter. Mr. John Gillam of the University of Durham has kindly examined them and reports as follows :—

1. Fragment from the rim and shoulder of a cooking pot in dark grey fabric, with a smooth yellow-brown interior surface, and purple-brown exterior surface, smoked black on the outer rim. Form and fabric combine to suggest a Flavian-Trajanic date, but, as it is difficult to quote precise parallels, this is not completely certain.
2. Fragment from the rim of a straight-sided flanged bowl, in smooth fabric, once doubtless black or grey, but burnt to a lighter colour, shading from white through light grey to pinkish yellow. This piece is securely datable to the late third or early fourth century; cf. *The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh, Arch. Aeliana* 4th series xxix 1951 pp. 76-7 no. 49. There is a widespread error that the type emerged in the second century.

Conclusion. It will be evident that the conclusion reached as a result of this excavation was in agreement with that of the late Mr. Green following his investigations *c.* 1900, i.e. that the cellar floor represents part of a Roman road, a road, it may be added, which shows signs of great care in its construction and of some wear and tear during the period that it was in use. Fig. 3, which shows the site of the discovery in relation to the road plan within the fortress, makes it clear that it was part of the *via decumana*. As to the date of its construction the first of the two pieces of pottery found suggests that it might be as early as the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century. This view is supported by the almost complete absence of Roman artifacts in the road metalling (i.e. in the gravel layers which might be taken to suggest that it had been laid down at an early date in the history of the fortress before much building debris (which was certainly used subsequently in its repair) was available and easily obtainable. A possible date would seem to be *c.* A.D. 106 when we know that the early clay/timber fortress was rebuilt in stone.

Besides the Roman column base in the Treasurer's House there is, at the present time, one other such base *in situ* available for inspection within the legionary fortress at York. This is in the crypt of the Minster. It has recently been re-examined by the writer and by Mr. H. Ramm of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. This seems an appropriate place to publish a short note on it.

ROMAN COLUMN BASE IN THE CRYPT OF YORK MINSTER.

By Herman Ramm.

A column base and a wall fragment, part of one of the central buildings, but too far back to be part of the Headquarters Buildings, were found in 1930 during excavations preliminary to the furnishing of the crypt as a chapel in memory of Sir John Maxwell (Plate Ib and sectional drawings figs. 1 & 4). In the course of the excavations, "with the floor lowered, and the high causeway

across the crypt removed, the excavations revealed the outlines of an old apse the existence of which had not been suspected before, and a few feet below the level of the outer circle of the apse were found the remains of the base of a Roman pillar,

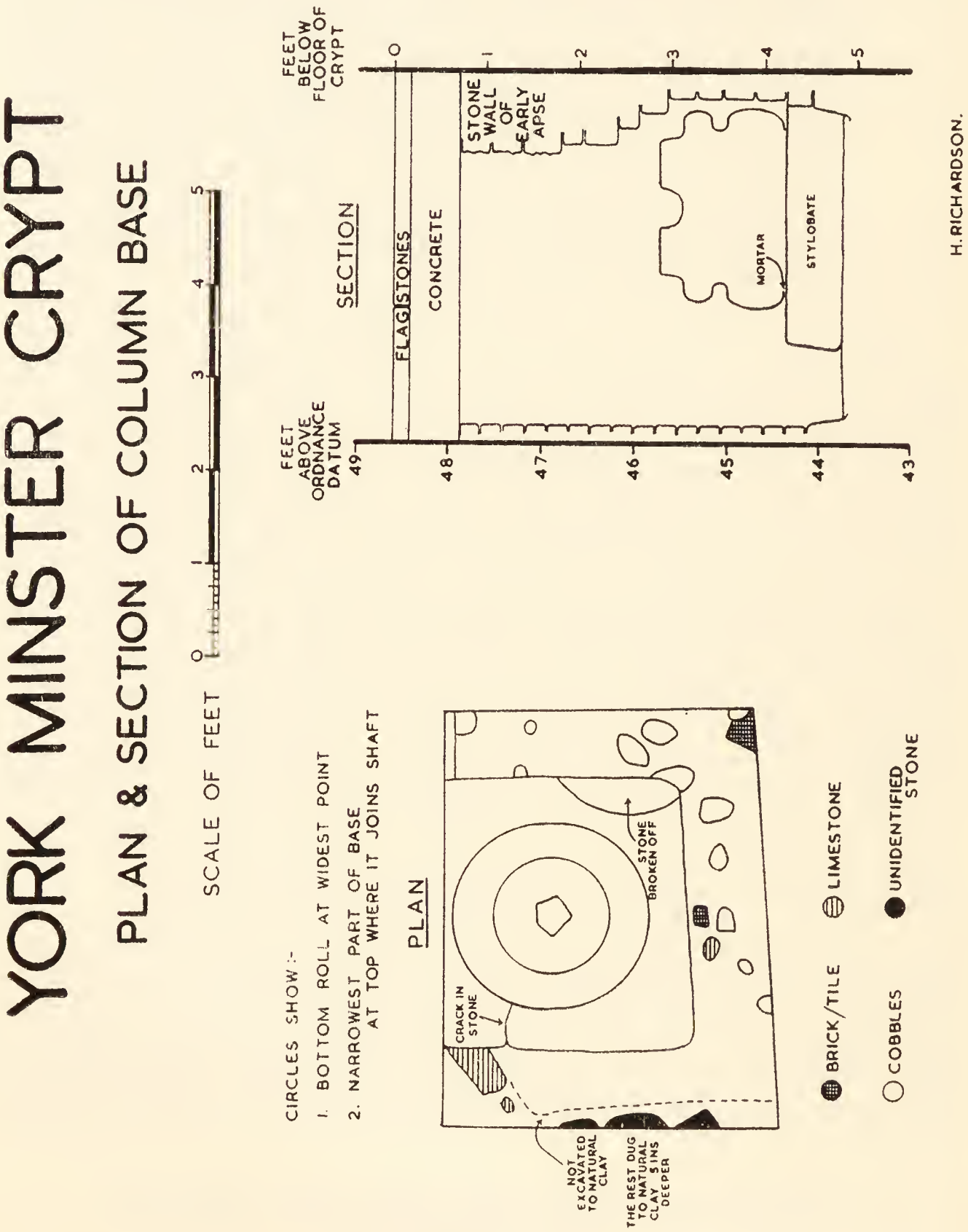


FIG. 4.

standing upon a rough Roman tesselated pavement floor".[1] This base is now preserved in a special brick-lined well approached by a trap door in the crypt floor. The base is a very crude version of an Attic base, with thick and heavy rolls of an almost equal diameter but of different thicknesses. It is considerably

[1] *Third Annual Report of the Friends of York Minster,* p. 22-30; *The excavations in the crypt.*

clumsier than the base beneath the Treasurer's House. As usual in Roman York with an architectural feature of monumental character gritstone has been used. The dimensions of the base are as follows :

Height of base above the stylobate :	1 ft. 5 ins.
Maximum diameter of base (lower roll) :	2 ft. 1 in.
Diameter of upper roll :	2 ft.
Diameter of base (junction with shaft) :	1 ft. 5 ins.
Stylobate :	2 ft. 8 ins. x 2 ft. 7 ins. x 6 ins.
Probable height of original column :	*c.* 10 ft.

In the centre of the base is an irregular shaped dowel hole 3 ins. deep. The stylobate is a large flat slab of gritstone. It is fractured and chipped and at sometime one of the cracks has been repaired with mortar. It is a separate stone from the base.

The "rough Roman tesselated floor" is a mistake. The excavation had been carried out regardless of statification to the base of the stylobate, and the so-called floor in fact consists of the base of a layer of building debris embedded in the natural clay. This layer contained fragments of tile and/or brick, limestone, freestone, and a few cobbles. That it originally extended at least 5 ins. higher is shown by the fact that it still does so in the small amount of the section still exposed below the brickwork in the sides of the well. It appears to have been a loose layer with a considerable amount of black earth in it. The debris continues under the stylobate and cannot therefore be derived from the building to which the column belonged. It may represent waste accumulated while the actual building operations were in progress or it may imply that more than one period of building is represented on the site. The difference in the mouldings of this base compared with that found under the Treasurer's House suggests that the two buildings were built at different times.

The apse foundations contain a re-used block of gritstone with Roman tooling, 9 ins. by 1 ft. 5 ins., as well as fragments of Roman brick or tile. It is possible also that the stones in the herring bone wall of the same building as the apse are re-used Roman stones since they correspond in size and dressing to the small blocks of magnesian limestone usually employed by the Romans in York and differ greatly from the roughly dressed blocks usually employed by the Normans for this style of building.

In addition to the base certain other finds were made at Roman level in the crypt. At two points marked on the plan published in the report to the Friends of York Minster already quoted, Roman paving is noted. In view of the way the debris layer was described no confidence can be placed in this description. More important is the site of a wall marked on the plan. A limestone wall 2 ft. thick, as far as discovered 4 ft. long, continuing in a north westerly direction and possibly also to the south east, lay approximately parallel to the stylobate (bearing 134 degrees) and at a distance of 46 feet west of it.

TWO DISCOVERIES OF THE ROMAN ROAD BETWEEN YORK AND TADCASTER.

By Peter Wenham.

(i) Streethouses.[1]

A section of the *Calcaria-Eboracum* (Tadcaster-York) road was exposed at Streethouses (near Bilbrough) in November 1955 by Messrs. W. Ingham, builders, of Tadcaster during extensions to two cottages belonging to the J. F. Montagu Trust (Nat. Grid. Ref. SE/527455). These cottages lie immediately north-east of the junction between the modern York to Tadcaster road and the green lane lying to the north of the modern road (see fig. 1a). Along the line of this lane the Roman road was uncovered in 1928 and 1929, the discoveries being briefly reported in the *Journal of Roman Studies*.[2] A more detailed account of the earlier of these two excavations appeared in a typescript bulletin which was issued periodically by the Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (by whose kind permission it is reproduced here) and circulated among members only. Bulletin no. viii (February 1929) contained this report :—

> "The Roman Road between Tadcaster and York—Communicated by the Rev. A. Raine.
>
> By kind permission of Sir Edward Brockbank, Bart., who also supplied two diggers, an examination of this road was made on the 1st August last year. The spot selected was in the Green Lane which runs from the Catterton Road in the direction of Streethouses. This lane is about a mile long, enclosed by hedges, with trees on either side, and like so many Roman Roads forms a parish boundary.
>
> The road was exposed in three different places being found at a depth of only 6 ins. to a foot. The reason for this shallow covering seems to be that this lane has never been used for anything else but for a bridle-track.
>
> The width of the road tested in two places was 25 feet over all, this including a kerb on either side 14 ins. in width. This kerb was well defined and standing in places 4 ins. to 6 ins. above the road surface. No traces of ditches were found.
>
> The road was made of cobbles laid on a prepared foundation. The cobbles were much of a size, none giving a larger measurement than 4 ins. at their greatest width or less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The cobbles of which the kerb was composed were larger, some measuring 7 ins., the average being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at greatest width.
>
> The road still showed traces of having risen to a crown in the centre. The road surface was surprisingly well preserved considering the little covering it has had through the centuries. It would be a simple and inexpensive matter to expose a considerable stretch of road.

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[1] Mr. H. Ramm of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments visited the scene of the discovery with the writer and this report has been drawn up in collaboration with him.

[2] Vol. xviii (1928), p. 196 and xix (1929), p. 186.





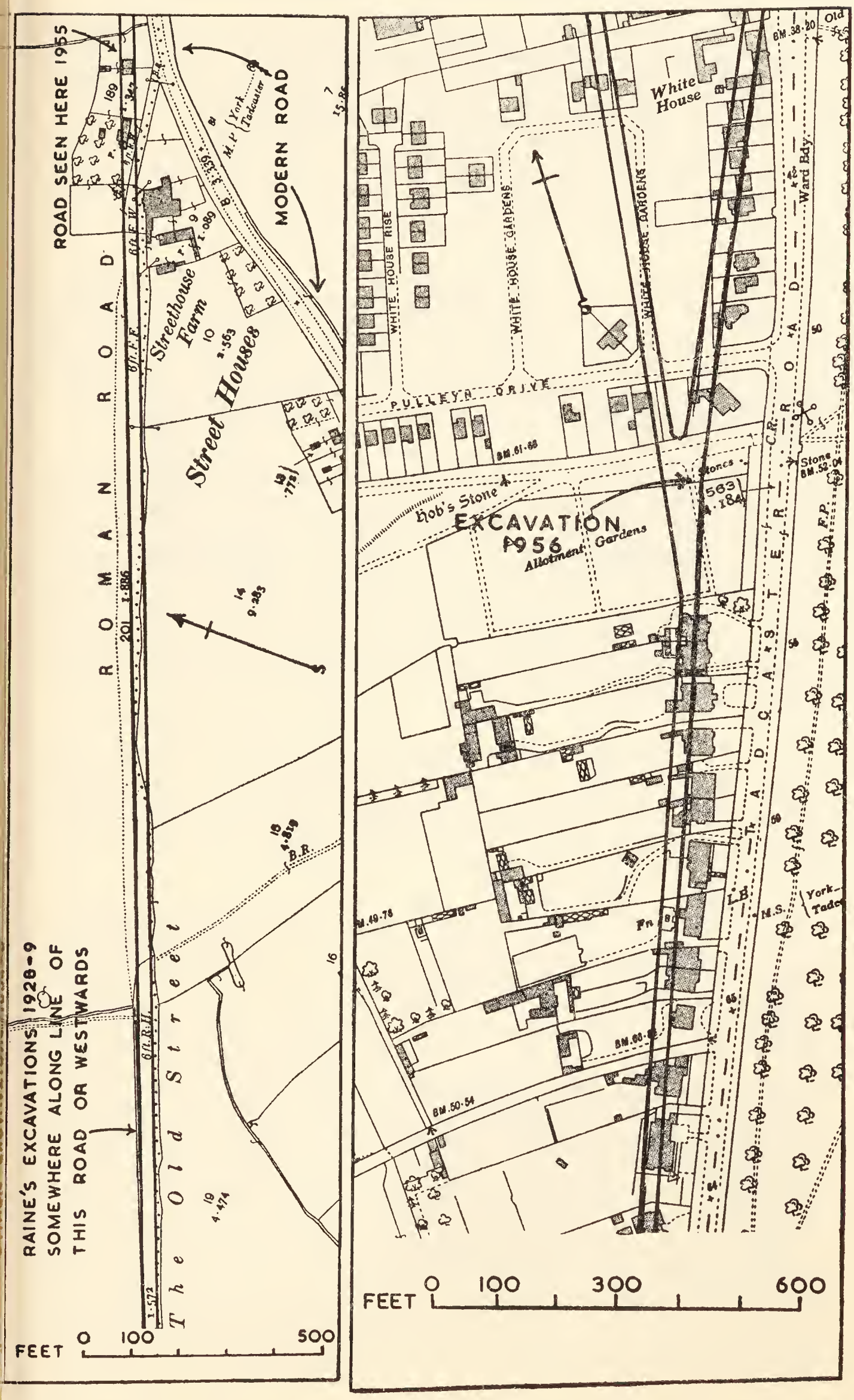






PLATE I.

Top—Streethouses. Left, kerbstone; right, the road.
Bottom—Hob Moor. Left, part of the road in trench 5.
Right, sections cut into it.



(a) Roman Road, Streethouses. (b) Roman Road Hob Moor Lane, York.

FIG. 1.

(Based on O.S. maps by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office)

> The foundation of the road was about 7 ins. in thickness and rested on the natural soil which had been beaten. It consisted of cobbles, fragments of limestone and a large proportion of finely broken brick and tile. In taking a section of the road to examine the foundation two horseshoes were discovered of early character.
>
> Nothing was found to date the road. The presence of so much brick and tile in the foundation may favour a later rather than a very early date or it may just indicate a repair and be a feature of this particular place."

To return to the 1955 discovery. The shallow foundation trenches put down by the builders (depth 22-26 ins.), extending at either end of the cottages to east and west for a distance of 12 ft. 6 ins., showed on their floor the surface metal of the road (fig. 2), which was here running on a bearing of 66 degrees. The cottages lay almost fully upon the road, being aligned with it.

The surface of the road was remarkably well preserved, consisting of gravel, of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter—fairly uniform in size although there were also a few small cobbles—rammed down to an even surface (Plate I). Two shallow depressions some 5ft. apart could well be wheel ruts. The camber was slight. No kerbs were visible *in situ*. Where exposed to its full width east of the cottages the road was 21 ft. 8 ins. wide. West of the cottages the road was probably robbed along its northern edge, only a width of 16 ft. remaining.

No section was cut through the road, but the evidence of several large cobbles in a field gutter cutting the road 50 yards east of the easternmost trench suggests that, as found in the 1928 excavations (the report of which is quoted above) the road had a fairly heavy bottoming.

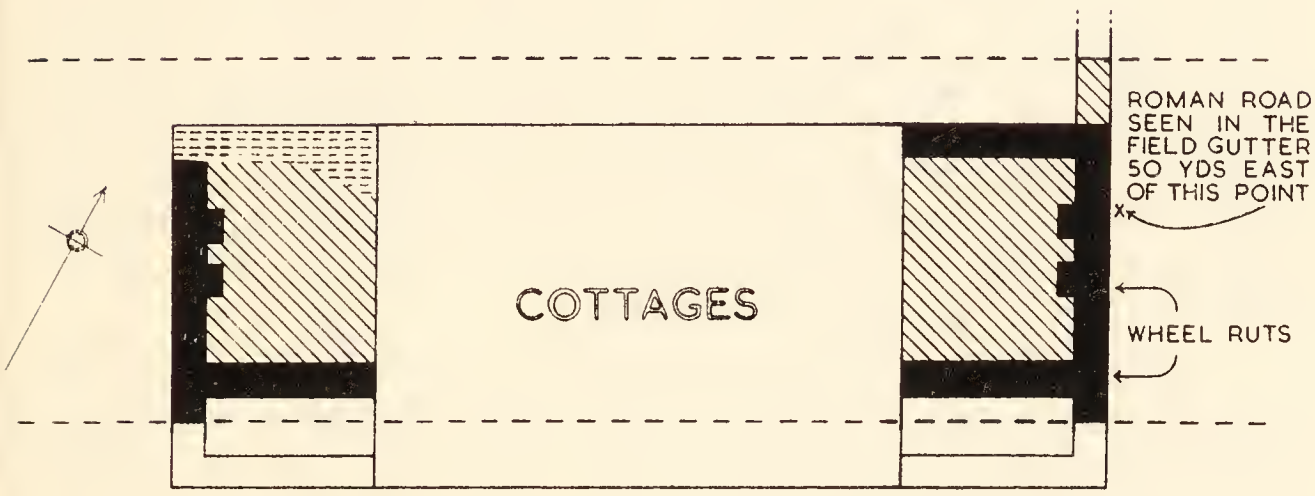
Lying in the cottage garden was a large worked gritstone, 21 × 14 × 8 ins. (Plate I and fig. 2). It had been fractured at one end. Of the two large faces one was smooth and showed no sign of working or wear, while the other showed traces of oblique tooling considerably worn. The slight depression on this face towards the fractured end is either adventitious or due to wear. Of the two long narrow sides the one shows the oblique tooling with no trace of wear whilst the other has been weathered or worn so that it shows only the barest trace of the tooling. Of the two ends of the stone one is a fracture whilst the other shows the tooling perfectly and is unworn; the scars of the tooling are up to 2 ins. long and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep. This weathering or wear of the stone is consistent with its having been a kerb laid alongside the road, either level with, or slightly projecting above, the surface, whereby only its upper face and outer side would be exposed to weather and wear. The additional width of these kerbs would bring the overall width of the road to 24 ft.

THE ROMAN ROAD AT

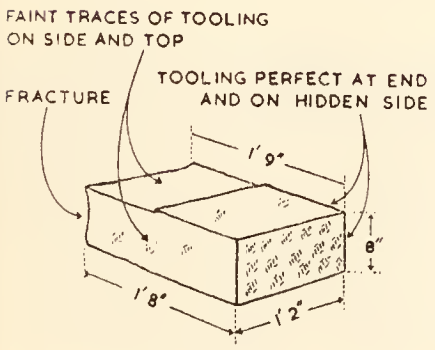
STREETHOUSES

1956 EXCAVATIONS

PLAN



KERBSTONE



RECONSTRUCTION



FIG. 2.

(ii) Hob Moor Lane, near York.

This report is based on two excavations carried out in June 1954 and June 1956 respectively as part of the Field Studies of the Advanced History Students of St. John's College, York. The work was supervised by the writer.

While the course taken by the *Eboracum—Calcaria* (York—Tadcaster) Roman road in the 1½ mile sector between Dringhouses and where it crosses the *Colonia* walls near Micklegate Bar is fairly well established,[1] only in one place, behind the houses on the north side of Blossom Street, 150 yards outside the Bar, has it ever been sectioned under strict archaeological supervision.[2] Building development in this sector has reduced the sites open to excavation to a mere handful; one of these is the site under discussion here (fig. 3). Hob Moor Lane leading from the main (modern) Tadcaster road to Hob Moor has a wide grass verge on its western side and it was here (Nat. Grid. Ref. SE (44) 59005039), by kind permission of the Corporation of York, that the six trenches shown on figure 3 were dug.

Trenches nos. 1-3 produced nothing of archaeological interest: 20-24 ins. below the modern surface the undisturbed subsoil, of sandy clay, was encountered. The Roman road was, however, found in trenches nos. 3-6, some 15 ins. below the modern surface. The metalling (brown clay and water-worn gravel, tightly rammed) was only 6-8 ins. thick : this rested on the subsoil which was the same as in trenches nos. 1-3. As will be seen from the plan (fig. 3), a section across the whole of the road was not dug (owing to the intervening right-of-way into the adjoining allotments), 37 ft. 6 ins. being uncovered in trench 5, and 4 ft. of it in trench 4 : these established the two edges. The intervening distance of 23 ft. 9 ins. was probed at intervals of a foot and in every instance, at approximately the same depth (14-17 ins.) solid, impenetrable material, undoubtedly of the road, was encountered. Trench 6 was put down as a check opposite this "gap" and the metalling was duly encountered again. These sections established the overall width of the road as 67½ ft. and indicated a slight camber to it.

In four places (see section, figure 3 and plate I) the road was cut through to the subsoil and its composition thus established. The clay and gravel of which it was composed had been tightly rammed. The "surface" of the road as exposed presented a solid, unyielding appearance similar to the surface of this same road as uncovered at Streethouses and discussed above. Although 6-8 ins. of metalling on this comparatively soft subsoil may seem in-

[1] See the writer's *Course of the Roman Road from Sim Balk Lane to near Micklegate Bar, York, Report of Yorks., Archit. and York Archaeol. Soc.*, 1953-4, pp. 24-31 and following p. 288, fig. 5 of this volume of the *Y.A.J.*

[2] *Report of the Yorks. Archit. and York Archaeol. Soc.*, 1953-4, pp. 11-12.

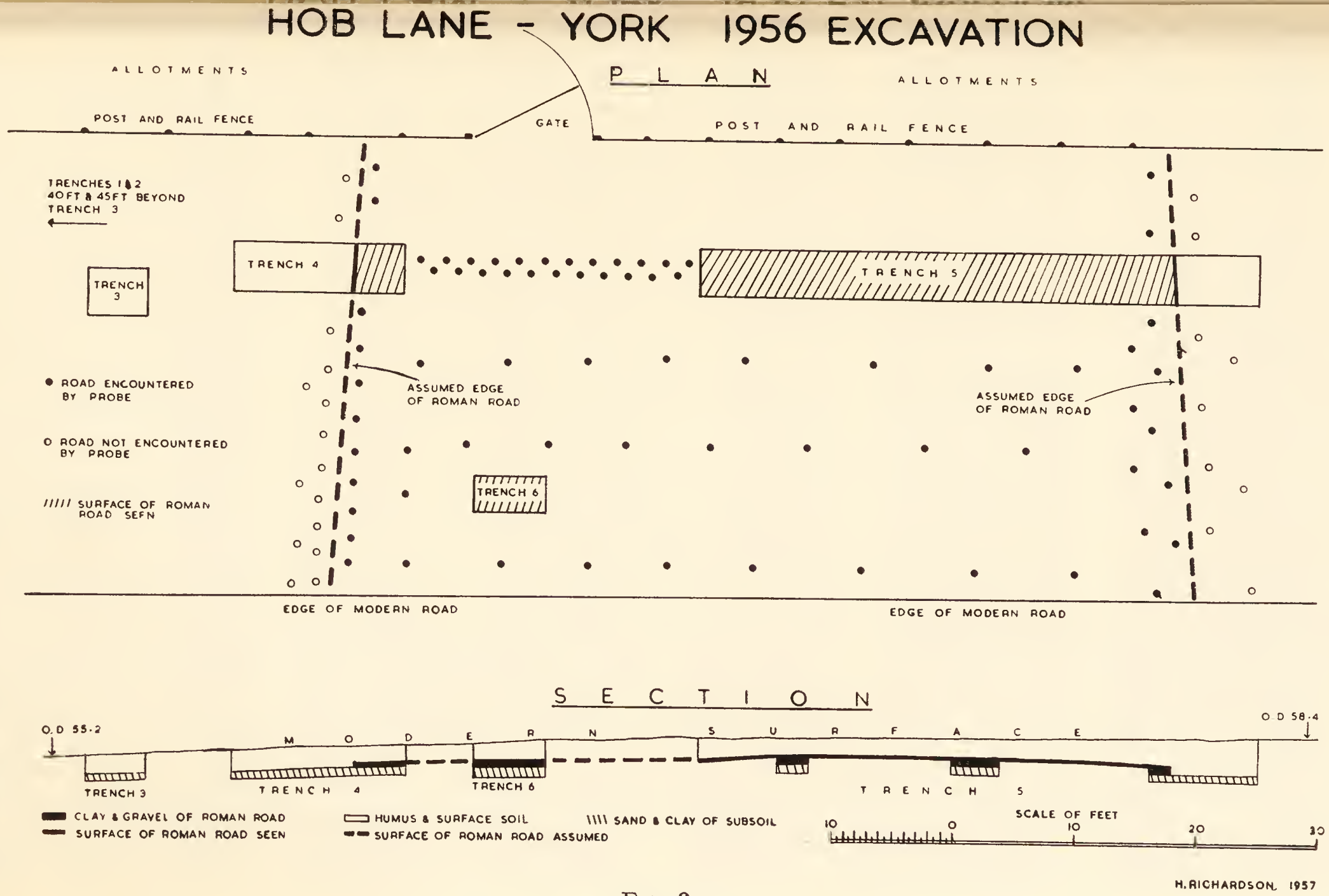

HOB LANE - YORK 1956 EXCAVATION
PLAN
ALLOTMENTS
POST AND RAIL FENCE
GATE
ALLOTMENTS
POST AND RAIL FENCE
TRENCHES 1 & 2
40FT & 45FT BEYOND
TRENCH 3
TRENCH 3
TRENCH 4
TRENCH 5
TRENCH 6
ASSUMED EDGE OF ROMAN ROAD
ASSUMED EDGE OF ROMAN ROAD
● ROAD ENCOUNTERED BY PROBE
O ROAD NOT ENCOUNTERED BY PROBE
////// SURFACE OF ROMAN ROAD SEEN
EDGE OF MODERN ROAD
EDGE OF MODERN ROAD
SECTION
O.D 55.2
MODERN SURFACE
O.D 58.4
TRENCH 3
TRENCH 4
TRENCH 6
TRENCH 5
CLAY & GRAVEL OF ROMAN ROAD
SURFACE OF ROMAN ROAD SEEN
HUMUS & SURFACE SOIL
SURFACE OF ROMAN ROAD ASSUMED
\\\\ SAND & CLAY OF SUBSOIL
SCALE OF FEET
10 0 10 20 30
H. RICHARDSON. 1957

FIG. 3.

adequate for a Roman road of the importance of the one under discussion the description of the road as given to the writer by the Rev. Angelo Raine, who saw it in 1938, exposed in the side of the trench dug to take the sewer in Pulleyne Drive, 60 yds. north of the Hob Moor excavation (see fig. 1b for the site) is almost the same as that given above. Mr. Raine describes[1] his find as consisting of a clay and cobble bottoming 8-10 ins thick laid on the clay/cobble subsoil, with a surface of rammed gravel and an overall width of 25 ft.

The grass verges on both sides of the road were systematically probed and, at the places indicated on fig. 3, hard unyielding material—presumably the Roman road—was encountered at depths of between 14 and 18 ins. The allotments adjoining the area excavated were also probed here and there (systematic probing was impossible owing to the growing crops) on the presumed line of the road and nothing whatever indicative of it was encountered.

No artifacts were found in the road. No kerbs or indications of kerbs were found. Nothing indicative of ditches alongside the road was discovered, though on the south-east side (modern Tadcaster road) there were hints of what might be termed gravel wash from the road.

The only matter calling for comment is the width of the road—67½ ft. This must indicate one of two things—either the road here had a triple trackway or it bifurcated at about this point. The first possibility is unlikely—the road was 33 ft. as found in Blossom Street, 27 ft. as found in Streethouses, Mr. Raine gives its width nearby (in Pulleyne Drive) as 25 ft. and, if the reports of the other chance finds of it in the Dringhouses-Micklegate Bar sector[2] are to be trusted, it was never more than 25 ft. Evidence is, however, accumulating in support of the second possibility—that of bifurcation—which the writer hopes to bring together in a future paper. The net-work of Roman roads in the Mount area, for which there is now evidence, is shown on fig. 5, following p. 288.

In both these sections the photographs were taken by Mr. Robin Hill of the Castle Museum, York, and the plans and sections were drawn by Mr. H. Richardson, also of York.

[1] By word of mouth to the writer : nothing has previously been published of this find.

[2] See my "Sim Balk Lane" article quoted earlier.

DISCOVERIES IN THE ROMAN CEMETERY ON THE MOUNT, YORK.[1]

By Charles Dickinson and Peter Wenham.

An extensive Roman cemetery has long been known to exist alongside the Dringhouses-Micklegate sector of the south-west approach road to the legionary fortress and *colonia* of *Eboracum*[2] (figs. 1 and 5).

In 1952, when lecturing in York on this subject, the second of the joint authors urged anyone with first-hand knowledge of finds from the area under discussion—known locally as "The Mount"—to volunteer such information. Contact was thus made with Mr. Charles Dickinson of Bognor Regis, Sussex, and with his nephew, Mr. Norman Morrell of York, who gave the following valuable account of extensive finds of a Romano-British nature made by them and by Mr. Dickinson's father during the period 1897-1945 in the area known as Holgate Bridge Gardens. Messrs. Dickinson and Morrell have supplied the information on which the plans (figs. 2 and 3) and much of the text of this paper have been prepared. It has proved simpler to leave the narrative in the first person as told by Mr. Dickinson. Any interpolations in square brackets are the second writer's sole responsibility as are all the footnotes and the conclusions.

Figure 2 shows the fields in the Holgate Bridge area which were worked by my father and myself during the period 1897-1945. For reference purposes the areas have been numbered 1, 2, 3a, 3b and 4, and the periods when they were worked were as follows:—

Areas 1 and 2 . .	. . 1897-1935
Areas 3a and 3b . .	. . 1897-1945
Area 4	. . 1935-1945

In areas 1, 2 and 4 we found few or no Roman remains and certainly nothing which we preserved. In the case of areas 1 and 2 this is significant as these fields were among the most intensively worked by us. I feel myself that if there had been such remains there—and certainly if they had been in any way comparable in

[1] The following abbreviations are used in this paper:—ANL=*Archaeological News Letter;* CIL=*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* vol. vii; CWT2=*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society,* new series; JRS=*Journal of Roman Studies;* O and P=F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *Terra Sigillata* 1920; O's *Index*=F. Oswald, *Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata,* 1931; YAJ=*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal;* YAYAS=Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society; YMH=*A Handbook to the Antiquities . . . . of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society,* 8th edn. 1891; YPSR=*Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.*

[2] Excavations into that part of this cemetery centring on Trentholme Drive (noted on figs. 2 and 5) were carried out in 1951 and 1952. A full report has not yet been published; interim reports have appeared in *YAYAS Reports* for 1951-2, pp. 20-5 and 1952-3, pp. 8-10 and *ANL* vol. 4, No. 7 (March-April 1952), pp. 109-11.

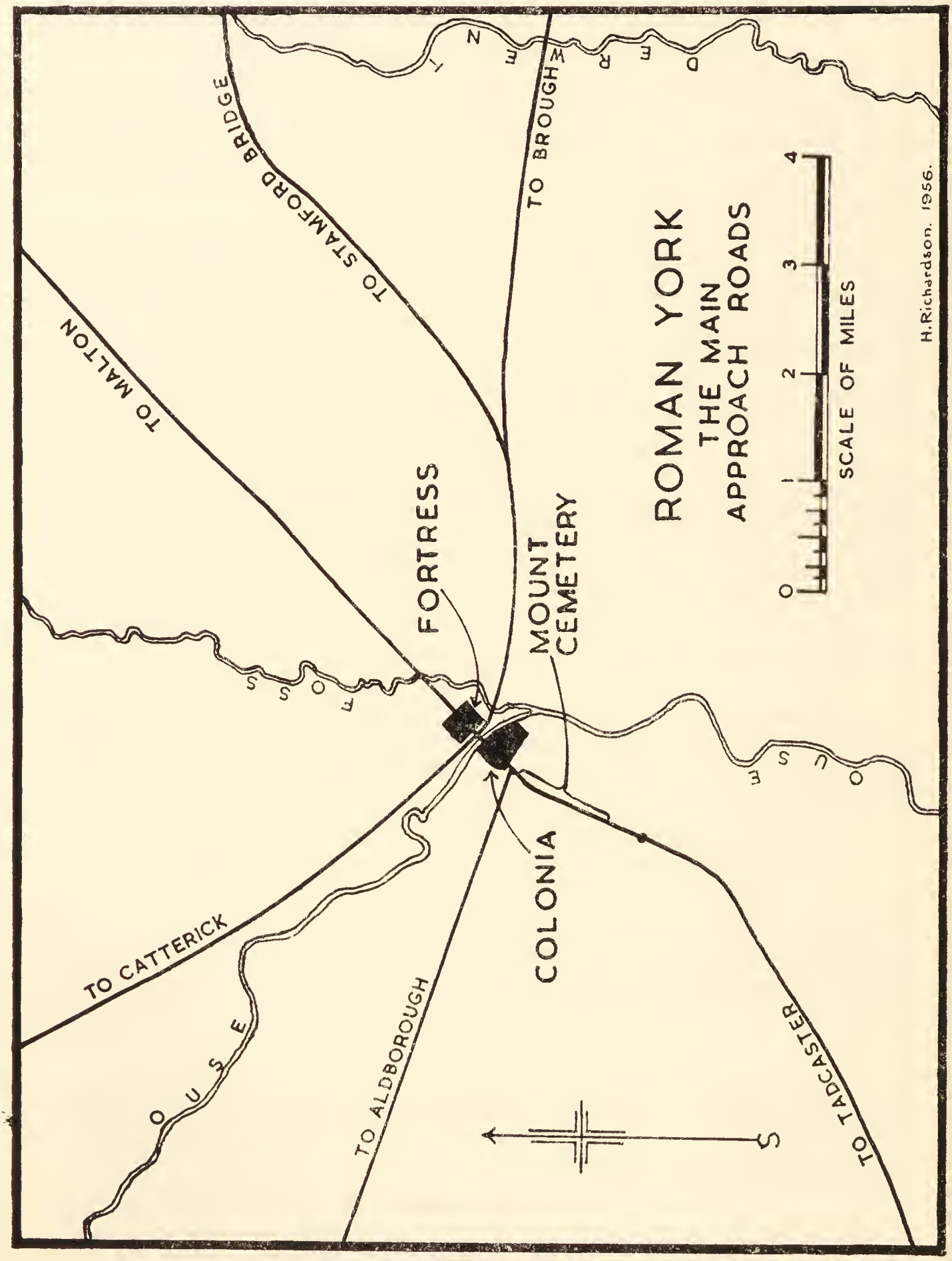

ROMAN YORK
THE MAIN
APPROACH ROADS
SCALE OF MILES
0
1
2
3
4
H. Richardson. 1956.
TO MALTON
TO STAMFORD BRIDGE
TO BROUGH
FORTRESS
MOUNT
CEMETERY
COLONIA
TO CATTERICK
TO ALDBOROUGH
TO TADCASTER
OUSE
FOSS
OUSE
N
S

FIG. 1.

quantity with those found in area 3a, for instance, we should have come across them. As far as I know nothing was found when the Mount Vale Estate, of which Towton Avenue (at the southern end of my property) was one of the thoroughfares, was developed between 1933 and 1939. We found very little in area 3b, but in area 3a we were constantly finding pieces of Roman pottery, complete pots, coins, skeletal remains, metal objects and other things of interest. As working the land for a living was our primary object, we could not afford to carry out extensive or "scientific" excavations. However, most objects (except skeletal remains and small shards of pottery) were kept and, with the exception of one item—given to the Yorkshire Museum—are now in the possession of myself or of my nephew, Mr. Morrell. In the late summer and autumn of most years it was our custom to put down trenches here and there on our property, either between the growing crops (mostly rhubarb) or in those places where no crops were being cultivated at that particular time. We did make some effort to keep a more careful account of these "excavations", and my nephew, in particular during the years 1932-1935, kept a rough diary of where we dug and what we found. This diary is still in existence and the following account is based on it, supplemented by additional details of what we can now remember.

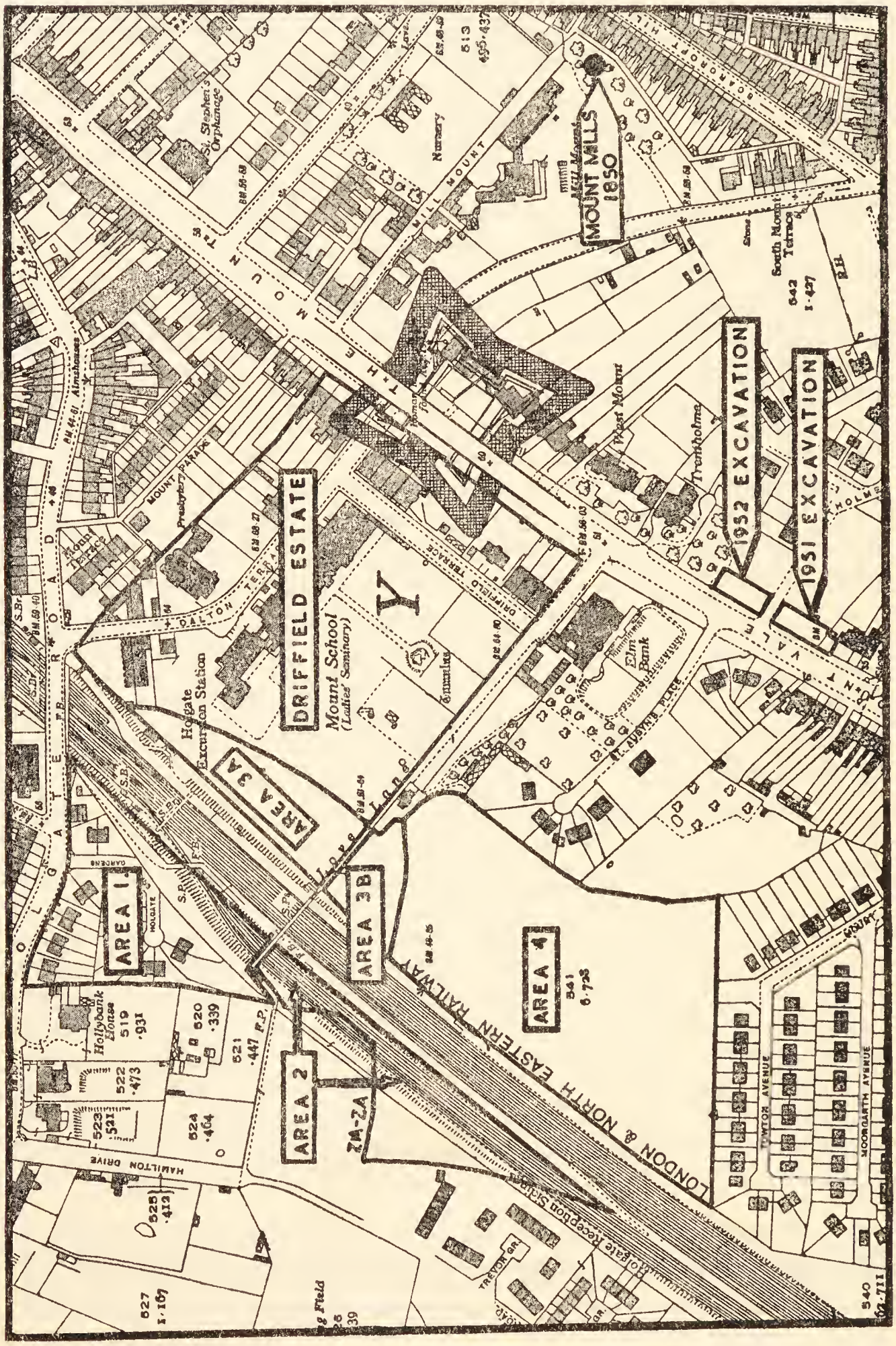
Figure 3 shows area 3a—now incorporated into the grounds of the Mount School—on a larger scale and on it my nephew and I have plotted the find-spots of many of the objects we uncovered. I can vouch for the general accuracy of these find-spots as many of them are based on measurements taken at the times of discovery and still preserved in the "diary" referred to above.

I should explain that when we worked the southern part of this area we were convinced that once—undoubtedly in post-Roman times, and perhaps within the last 150 years—it had been a small gravel pit or quarry. Ploughing subsequent to its use as such had eradicated the steepness of its sides and in my time there was only a gentle slope from the top to the bottom of the declivity, the top being some twelve feet higher than the bottom.[1] In 1905 my father and I were finding at Y[2] human bones at what we described at the time as "a sandy outcrop" and which was doubtless the lip of this quarry-depression. On digging further in this area three complete skeletons were exposed together with a few large-headed rusty nails; the burials were spaced and separate. One skeleton had the remains of a

[1] Today—following the incorporation of this area into the grounds of the Mount School—the hollow has been filled in and levelled. Some idea of its original extent and depth can be gauged, however, from the section still clearly visible in the southern face of the railway cutting which adjoins the property on the north.

At the beginning of the 19th century, gravel pits were being worked in this area on both sides of the present railway line, especially in areas 1 and 3a, as shown on figure 3.

[2] Unless otherwise stated all these find-spots relate to figure 3.


DRIFFIELD ESTATE
Mount School (Ladies' Seminary)
MOUNT MILLS 1850
1932 EXCAVATION
1931 EXCAVATION
AREA 1
AREA 2
AREA 3A
AREA 3B
AREA 4
ZM-ZA
LONDON & NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY
Hollybank Houses
Nursery
Elm Bank
Trenholme
West Mount
Holgate Excursion Station
Holgate Reception Sidings
MOUNT TERRACE
DALTON TERRACE
DRIFFIELD TERRACE
HAMILTON DRIVE
TRETTON GR.
NEWTON AVENUE
MOORGARTH AVENUE
MOUNT PARADE
Presbytery
Almshouses
St. Stephen's Orphanage
South Mount Terrace
Y

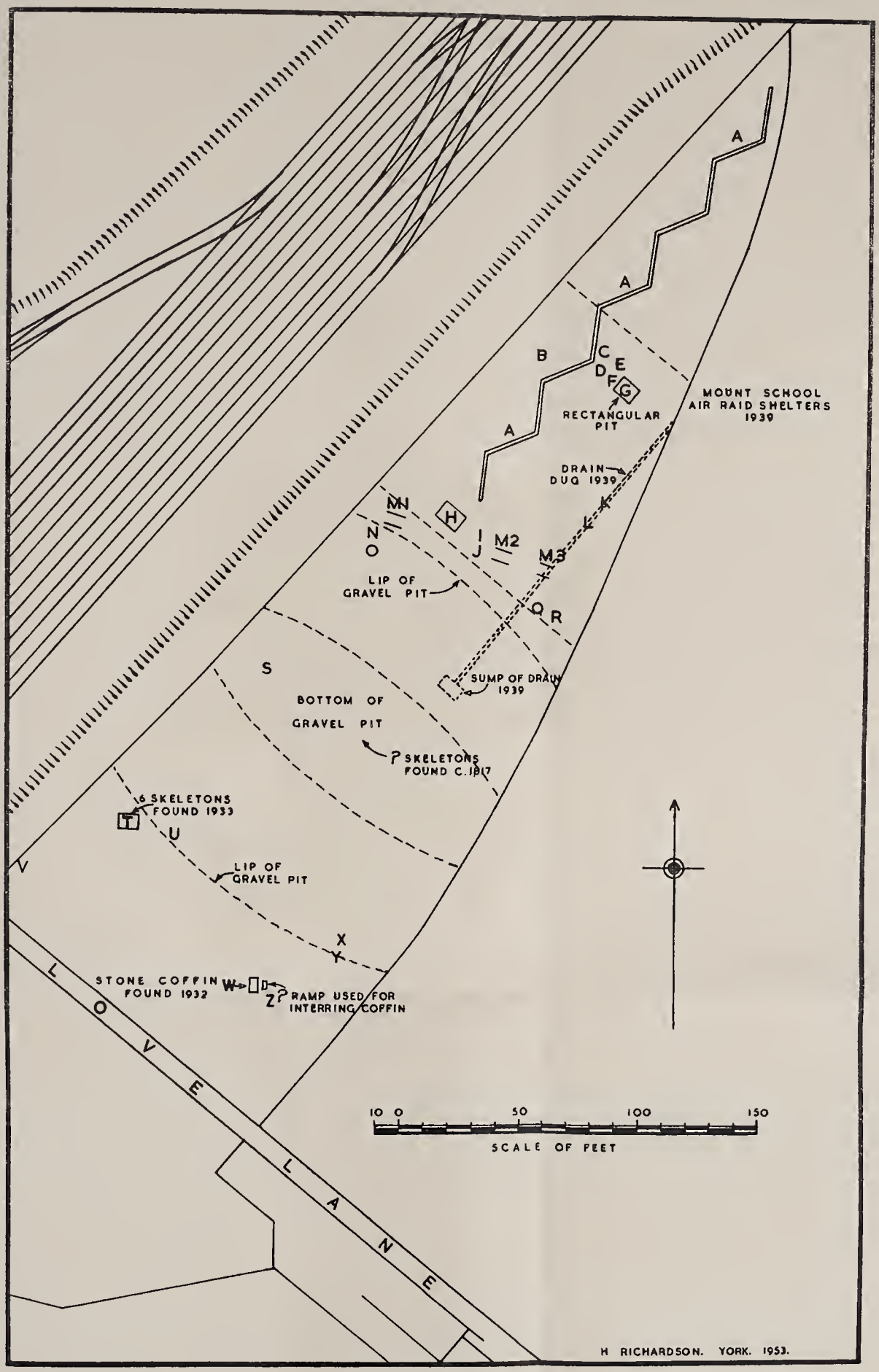
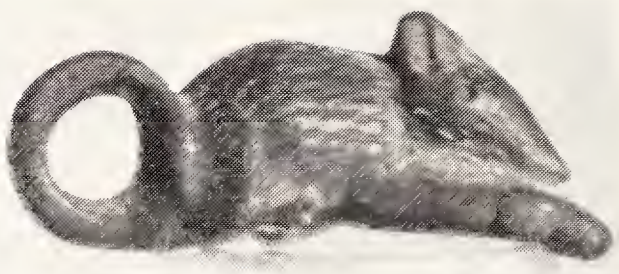


Fig. 3.
Details of Dickinson Area 3a.



(a) Amphora







(b) Bronze Mouse. Scale $\frac{1}{1}$

PLATE I.

long, linked chain leading from its waist to its arms which were folded over its chest. On the chest—presumably originally attached to the end of the chain—was an iron key (fig. 15, no. 109).[1]

About three feet away from these skeletons at X was found an almost complete amphora containing calcined bones, its top being only a few inches below the present ground surface (fig. 16, no. 117 and Plate Ia). It had been very carefully chipped and tapped into two parts at the middle so as to make it possible to place inside it the human ashes[2] which appeared to have been wrapped in a cloth. This was suggested by the impression of the weave left on the bones. The neck contained a granite bung, and there were traces of a pink cement which had joined the broken middle. The amphora was given to the Yorkshire Museum;[3] [it is still there].

Also found in this vicinity on the surface and therefore, if they had originally been connected with burials, disturbed, were two red ringstones (one is now lost, the other is illustrated, fig. 16, no. 118), and a miniature bronze mouse (fig. 13, no. 79 and Plate Ib).

At R was found a grey ware *olla* (now lost), some thirteen inches tall; among the calcined bones inside it was a curved bronze handle, the knob of which represents various fruits (fig. 13, no. 80). Found not far from this was a smaller grey ware beaker (now lost) which had half an unburnt left side lower jaw—still in my possession—of a sheep or goat[4] laid inside it on the calcined bones.

At O on fig. 3 a complete grey ware *olla* (fig. 6, no. 3) containing calcined bones was found; it was surrounded by numerous pieces of Samian ware. From these I pieced together one complete cup (fig. 11, no. 49)[5] and the parts of ten other cups, dishes and plates (fig. 11, nos. 42-4, 48, 49 (two almost identical), 52 and 54-6).[6]

The pieces comprising these vessels showed differing degrees of burning and the conclusion I formed was that the complete vessels had been placed on a funeral pyre where they had been cracked by the heat with the result that some fragments had fallen away from the fire and consequently showed few signs of

[1] For another instance in York, in the cemetery on the site of the present Railway Station, of a key being found on the breast of a Romano-British skeleton (described as that of a "young man") see *YMH*, p. 132g.

[2] *Roman London* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments) 1928, p. 159 and fig. 65, 26′; describes and illustrates an amphora similarly split to admit an urn (covered with a dish) which contained calcined bones, found in Great Alie Street, London, in 1904. The group was "probably of early second century date".

[3] Cf. *YPSR* for 1906, pp. 9-10 and 30. For a contemporary newspaper account of this discovery, see Appendix I.

[4] This has been kindly examined and reported upon by Miss Judith E. King of the Natural History Department of the British Museum.

[5] Dr. Form 35.

[6] Nos. 42-4, Dr. Form 27; nos. 48 and 49 (two), Dr. Form 35; no. 52, Dr. Form 18/31; no. 54, Dr. Form 27; and nos. 55 and 56, Dr. Form 15/17.

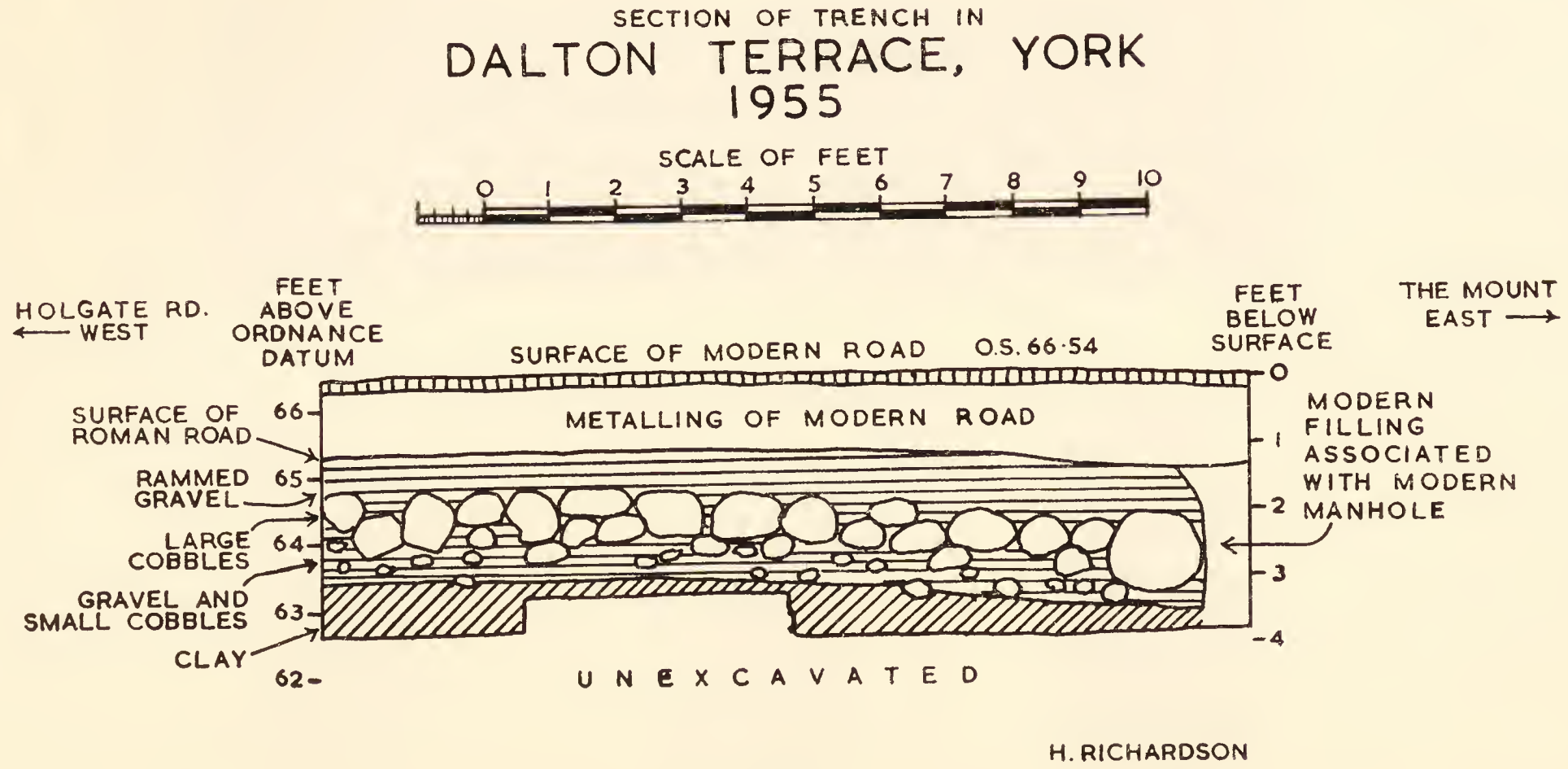

SECTION OF TRENCH IN
DALTON TERRACE, YORK
1955
SCALE OF FEET
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
HOLGATE RD. ← WEST
FEET ABOVE ORDNANCE DATUM
SURFACE OF MODERN ROAD O.S. 66·54
FEET BELOW SURFACE
THE MOUNT EAST →
METALLING OF MODERN ROAD
MODERN FILLING ASSOCIATED WITH MODERN MANHOLE
SURFACE OF ROMAN ROAD
RAMMED GRAVEL
LARGE COBBLES
GRAVEL AND SMALL COBBLES
CLAY
66
65
64
63
62
0
1
2
3
4
UNEXCAVATED
H. RICHARDSON

FIG. 4.

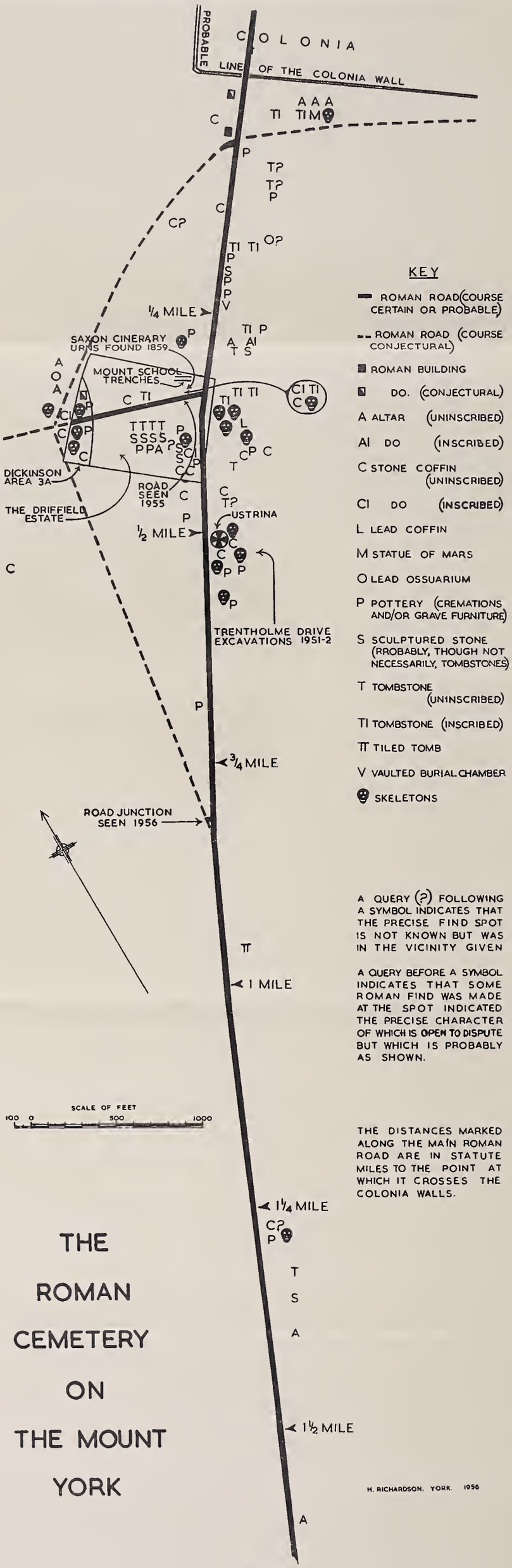

PROBABLE LINE OF THE COLONIA WALL
COLONIA
1/4 MILE
SAXON CINERARY URNS FOUND 1859
MOUNT SCHOOL TRENCHES
DICKINSON AREA 3A
THE DRIFFIELD ESTATE
ROAD SEEN 1955
1/2 MILE
USTRINA
TRENTHOLME DRIVE EXCAVATIONS 1951-2
3/4 MILE
ROAD JUNCTION SEEN 1956
1 MILE
1 1/4 MILE
1 1/2 MILE
SCALE OF FEET
100 0 500 1000
KEY
ROMAN ROAD (COURSE CERTAIN OR PROBABLE)
ROMAN ROAD (COURSE CONJECTURAL)
ROMAN BUILDING
DO. (CONJECTURAL)
A ALTAR (UNINSCRIBED)
AI DO (INSCRIBED)
C STONE COFFIN (UNINSCRIBED)
CI DO (INSCRIBED)
L LEAD COFFIN
M STATUE OF MARS
O LEAD OSSUARIUM
P POTTERY (CREMATIONS AND/OR GRAVE FURNITURE)
S SCULPTURED STONE (PROBABLY, THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY, TOMBSTONES)
T TOMBSTONE (UNINSCRIBED)
TI TOMBSTONE (INSCRIBED)
TT TILED TOMB
V VAULTED BURIAL CHAMBER
SKELETONS
A QUERY (?) FOLLOWING A SYMBOL INDICATES THAT THE PRECISE FIND SPOT IS NOT KNOWN BUT WAS IN THE VICINITY GIVEN
A QUERY BEFORE A SYMBOL INDICATES THAT SOME ROMAN FIND WAS MADE AT THE SPOT INDICATED THE PRECISE CHARACTER OF WHICH IS OPEN TO DISPUTE BUT WHICH IS PROBABLY AS SHOWN.
THE DISTANCES MARKED ALONG THE MAIN ROMAN ROAD ARE IN STATUTE MILES TO THE POINT AT WHICH IT CROSSES THE COLONIA WALLS.
THE ROMAN CEMETERY ON THE MOUNT YORK
H. RICHARDSON. YORK. 1956

Fig. 5.

burning, whilst others which had fallen into the fire showed considerable signs of burning. [This explanation is unsatisfactory. On the analogy of what was found in the pyre area (the *ustrina*) not far away in Trentholme Drive (see figs. 2 and 5)[1] it is more likely that the vessels were deliberately smashed on the pyre before the latter was lit. As a result of this, some shards—those showing signs of burning—were burned with the bodies, while others—those showing no signs of burning—fell clear of the pyre and consequently showed none].

At N was found not far from this, another grey cinerary urn (fig. 6, no. 2); set carefully round it and obviously forming part of the same grave group, was a Samian cup (fig. 11, no. 50)[2] and two Castor ware cups (fig. 10, nos. 39 and 40).

At H in an area of four square yards, were found four cinerary urns, apparently carefully buried and spaced. Two of these are now lost; the other two—large jars in coarse red ware—have been drawn (figs. 6 and 7, nos. 4 and 5). The first of these had been covered by a buff-coloured platter (fig. 8, no. 12) which had broken and fallen into the urn. About ten feet to the east of this group at I was found a flagon (fig. 9, no. 32), sixteen inches below ground surface. Two feet south-east of this at J, on the surface and doubtless cast up by ploughing, was found the oculist's stamp, (Plate IIa).[3]

At M1 was found, at a depth of eighteen inches, what may have been a road. The surface consisted of a layer of gravel, laid without cement, on two layers of large cobbles and clay which, in turn, rested on the gravel subsoil in this area. At the edge of the cobbles, i.e. just off the "road", an unidentified iron object (fig. 15, no. 107) was found. The "road" was uncovered to a width of ten feet and for a distance of twelve feet. It appeared to run in an east-west direction. When this discovery was made at M1 it was recollected that some two years earlier and at about the same depth, cobblestones had been met with in quantity at M2, and might well have represented a continuation of the "road" in that direction. As will be shown in a later paragraph, it was almost certainly met with again in 1939 at M3. It is perhaps worth noting that no pottery whatever was found on the line of this "road" nor within a few feet of it on either side at any time.

With the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, a party of soldiers was billeted in St. Paul's Sunday School, which adjoined my property on the north (see fig. 2). They were ordered to dig some seventy yards of trenches through my growing crops (indicated by the zig-zag line A-A-A). In the more northerly part of the trench for some forty yards nothing of a Roman nature—neither pots, fragments of pots nor skeletal remains—was

[1] *YAYAS Report* for 1952-3, pp. 8-9.
[2] Dr. Form 33.
[3] For a note on this stamp by Professor Eric Birley, see Appendix II, pp. 303-5.

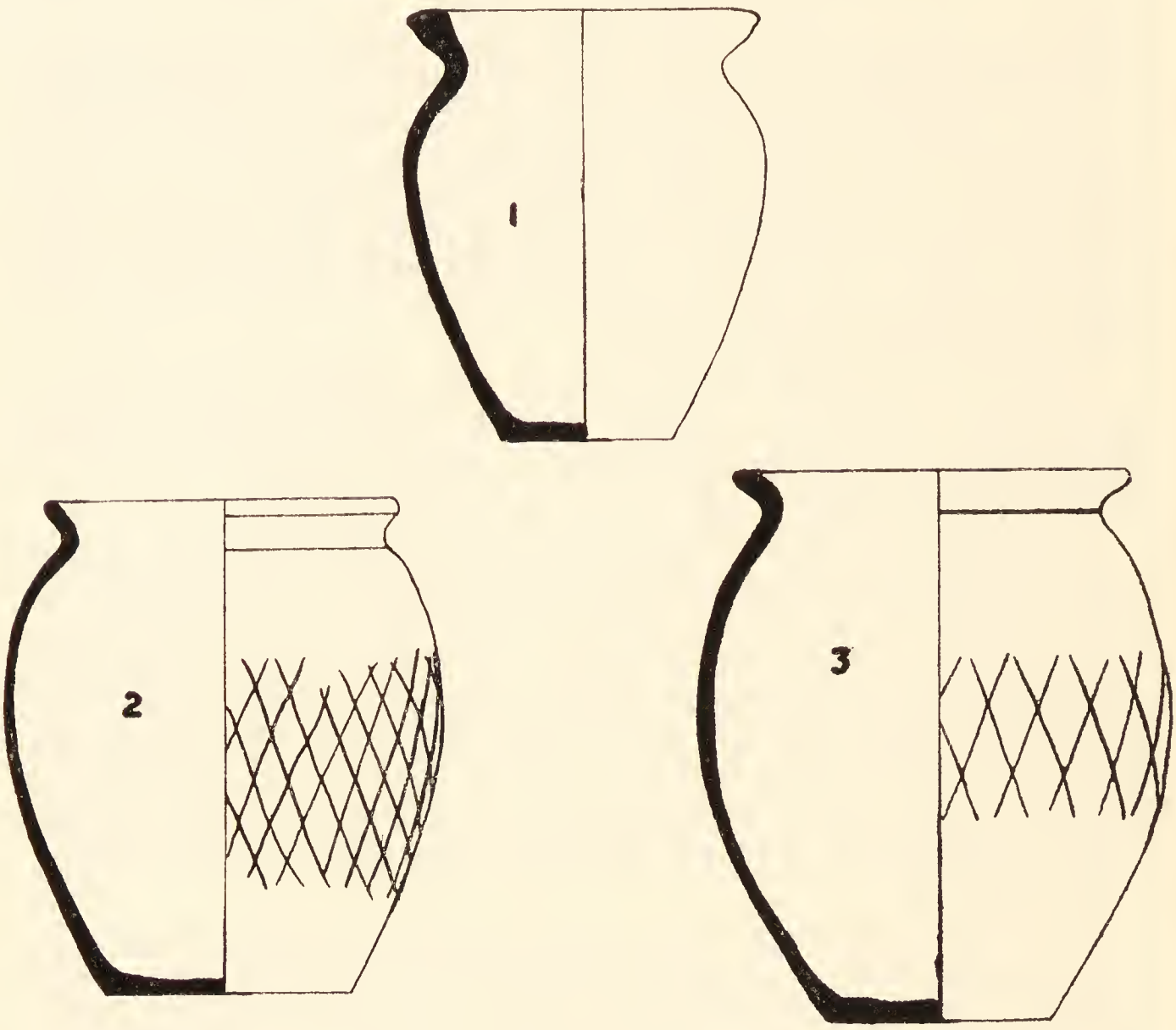


FIG. 6. Scale ¼.

found. In the remaining thirty yards no skeletal remains were found but pottery reappeared, one of the pots being a grey ware *olla* (now lost); other pieces included some fragments of a face vase (fig. 9, no. 28) and a large narrow-necked jar (fig. 7, no. 7).

In the late summer of 1939 underground brick air-raid shelters were constructed for the Mount School (noted on fig. 3), a few yards east of my property. As far as I know, very little was found during the digging of these. One of the workmen employed promised to keep me informed of anything of interest that might be uncovered. He found—and broke—an indented castor ware beaker : I recovered the base and part of the side of this, which I fitted together (fig. 10, no. 41). When the work was finished and the soil was thrown back over the roof, I searched the area carefully but only found a few fragments of pottery and nothing of particular interest. When the air-raid shelter was completed, a drain was laid for some forty yards into my garden finishing in a sump not far from the bottom of the hollow which, as noted above, was, I think, a small disused gravel-pit. I remember seeing in this trench at M3, at a depth of about eighteen inches below the present surface, a layer of cobbles surmounted by smaller stones. It looked like a section cut across a road and I felt at the time that it was, in fact, the continuation of the road which we thought we had found years earlier at M1 and M2.[1] At L in this trench I found a light orange-coloured jar containing calcined bones (fig. 7, no. 6), thirty inches below the surface. At K was found a complete skeleton, the skull of which is still preserved.

At Q a grey ware *olla* (now lost) was found containing calcined bones; two unstamped *tegulae* formed an arch over it. A piece of thick iron with a hole in the centre lay among the bones.

At W a stone coffin, estimated to weigh about one and a half tons, was found on 8th April, 1932, by my nephew, Mr. Norman Morrell; it was opened three days later.[2] The top of the lid was between eighteen and twenty-four inches below the existing ground level. It was orientated approximately north-south, with the head to the north. The lid—hewn out of a single piece of red gritstone—measured roughly seven feet nine inches by two feet three inches; it was five to six inches thick at the sides rising to a ridge of eight to nine inches in the middle. The coffin itself had been hewn out of a single block of the same sort of gritstone as the lid; it was about six feet three inches long,[3] twenty-two inches deep and two feet six inches wide. It had been roughly hollowed out to the shape of the body, being twenty

[1] There can be little doubt that this road was encountered again in October, 1955, in Dalton Terrace (see Appendix III, pp. 305-7).

[2] Reported, with much less detail, in *YAJ* xxxi (1934), p. 78. Cf. also *Yorkshire Gazette* 15th April, 1932 and *Daily Express*, 14th April, 1932.

[3] It will be noted that the lid projected some eighteen inches over the end of the coffin.

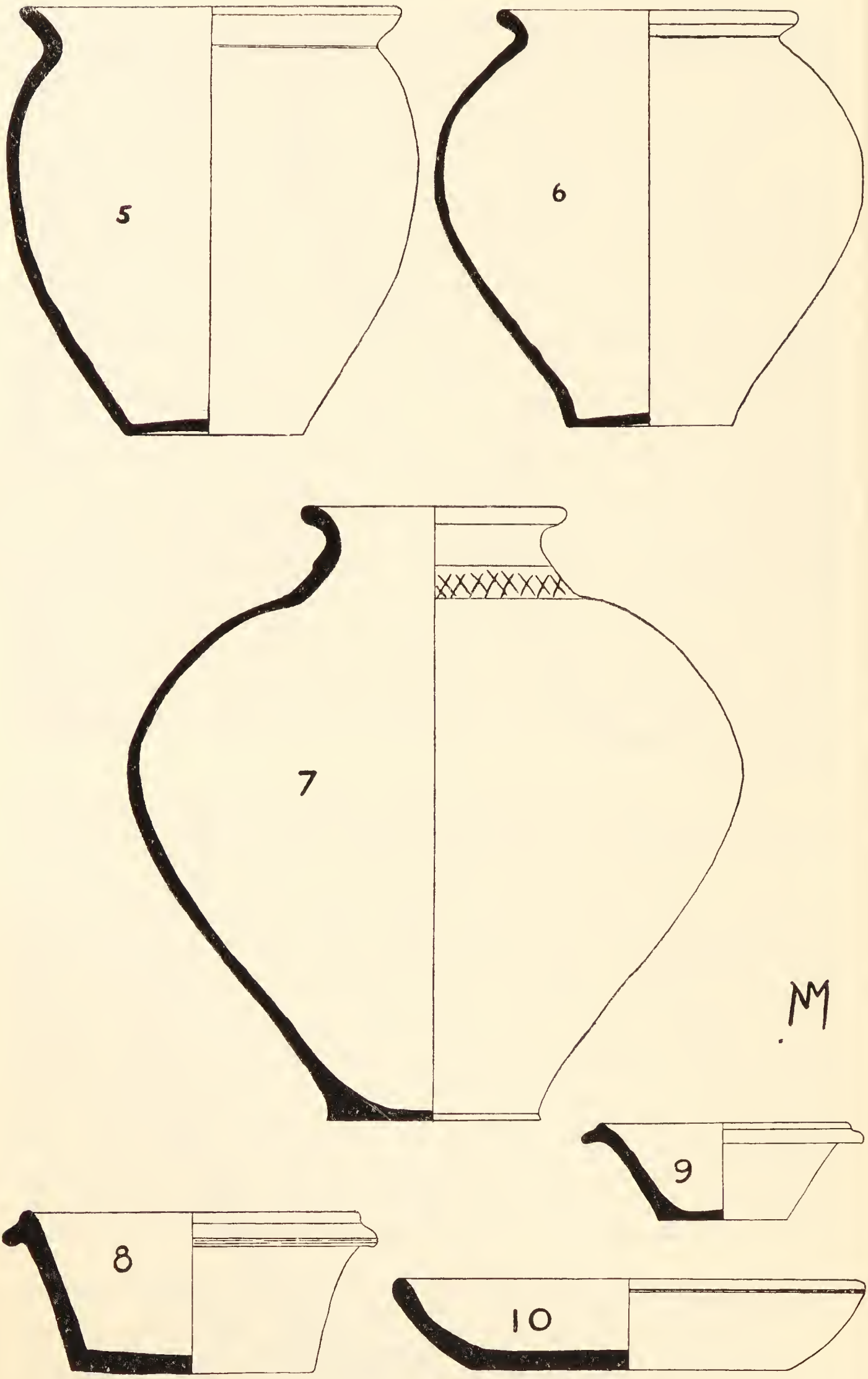


FIG. 7. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

inches wide at the head, twenty-two inches at the shoulder and seventeen inches at the foot; the interior was fifteen inches deep. The skeleton inside, which was not examined by a medical man but was believed to be that of a male, was in a poor state of preservation; some of the bones, including the lower jaw, the vertebrae and the smaller bones of the hands, feet and ribs, had completely perished. The leg bones were well preserved, as was also the skull, and, in particular, the teeth in the upper jaw. The head and feet had been encased in gypsum.[1] The middle part of the body both rested on gravel and had gravel above it. The assumption was that the supply of gypsum had run short at the time of burial and that gravel had been substituted. Gypsum and gravel were covered with about five inches of fine sand which must have been placed inside the coffin at the time of burial: the lid did not hermetically seal the coffin, but fitted sufficiently closely to make it impossible for such a quantity of sand to have seeped into the interior from outside. The coffin, together with its contents (skeleton, gypsum, gravel and sand) was re-interred where found: the contents had, of course, been disturbed by handling. The lid, raised by a crane during the opening, broke into two during the operation. A penny of 1931 was placed in the mouth of the skeleton before the lid was replaced. These details are appended so that if, and when, the coffin is met with again, it will be easy to identify.

A few feet to the east of this coffin (marked on fig. 3) and thirty inches deep (i.e. about level with the bottom of the lid) and apparently sloping down towards it, was what we took to be the ramp used for interring the coffin. It consisted of cobbles cemented together laid directly on the soil.

In November 1933, at T in an area of approximately twenty by seven feet, were found the incomplete remains of six skeletons. They had been interred separately in sandy soil from one to two feet apart at depths varying from eighteen to thirty inches below the present surface. (In Roman times they may have been buried deeper as this area is on the edge of the hollow which, as explained above, was probably a disused gravel pit, and there may have been a movement down the slope due to ploughing). One of these skeletons—a child—had been buried on its side in the crouch position. [In the nearby Trentholme Drive excavations (see p. 283 note) nearly every boy and girl under fifteen years of age was buried in this posture.] Another—an adult lying on its back—had cobblestones varying from two to six inches in diameter underneath and around it, but not covering it. No pottery was

[1] The practice of encasing the dead in liquefied gypsum (hydrous calcium sulphate) was widely used in York where 40 examples are now attested.

In Yorkshire gypsum is available in quantity at Hillam, near Monk Fryston. York is 15 miles north of Hillam.

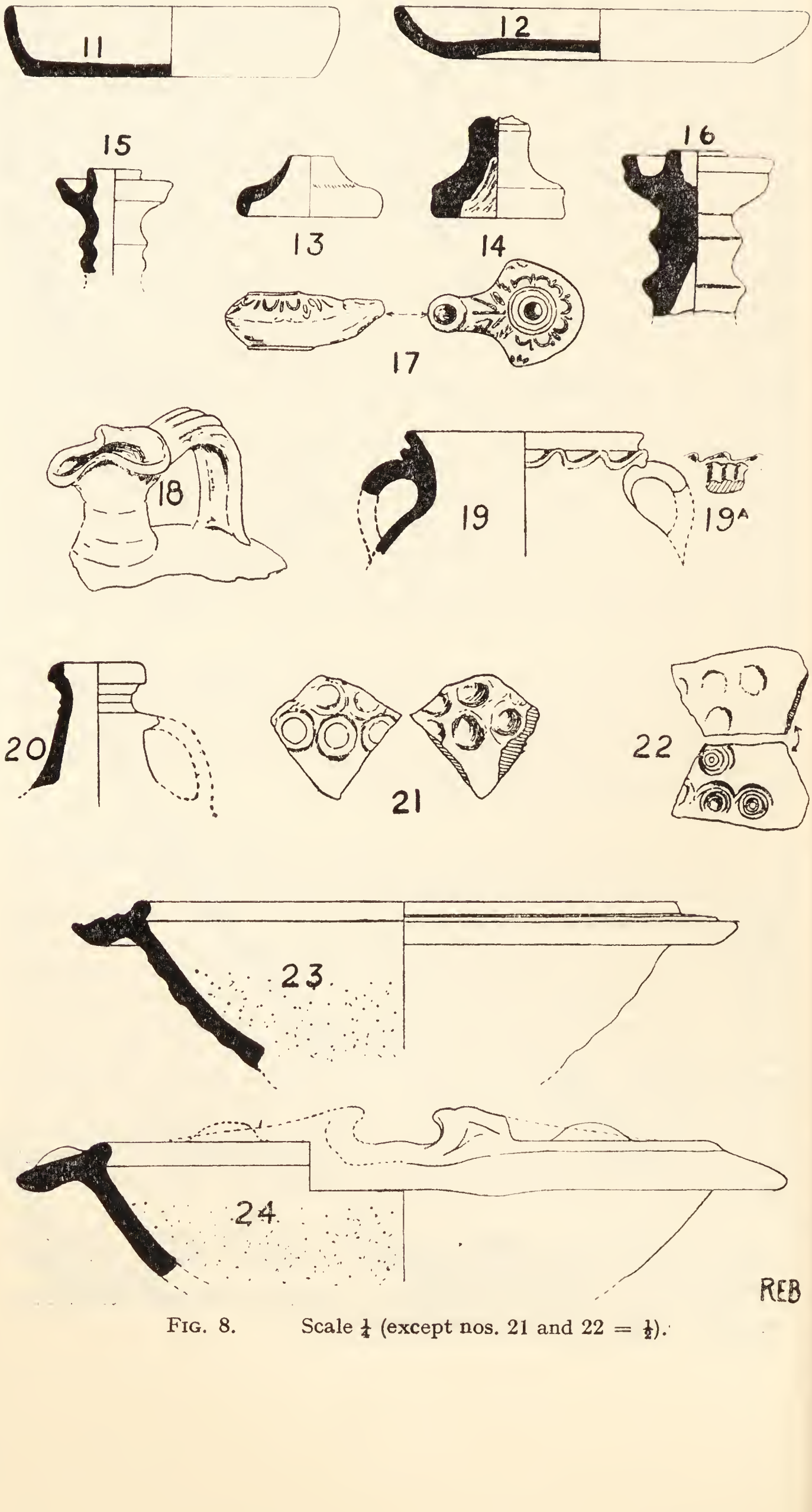


FIG. 8. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ (except nos. 21 and 22 = $\frac{1}{2}$).



(a) Oculist's stamp.



(b) and (d) Fragments of Roman bricks.

(c) Fragment of Roman tile.

PLATE II.

found with these skeletons but there were several nails which still had wood adhering. The latter are still in the possession of my nephew.

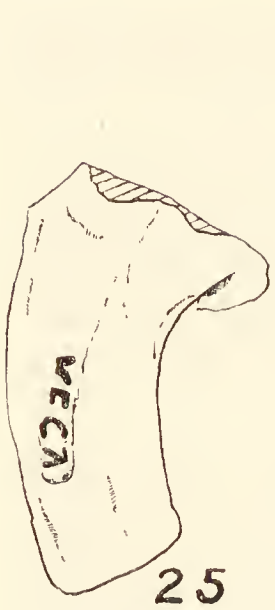
At U, a few feet to the north-east of these skeletons, at a depth of about thirty inches, was found an area laid with cobble-stones about six inches thick; it measured some six feet long and two feet wide. It probably represented the carefully prepared bottom of a grave similar to the one just described: there were no skeletal remains on it when it was exposed.

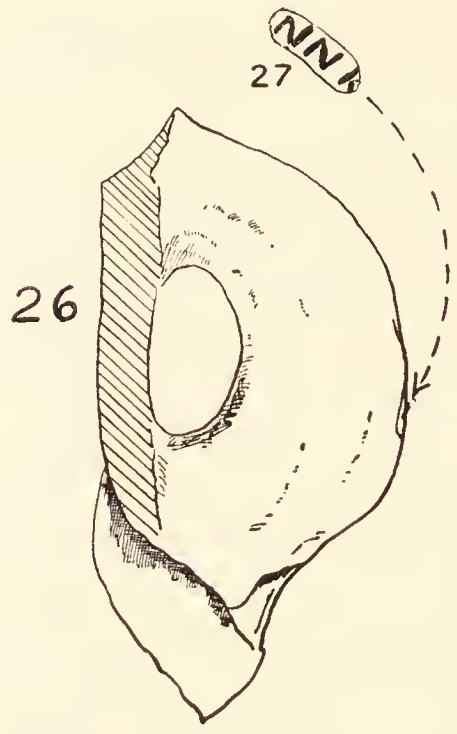
At G a rectangular area ten feet by eight feet, containing disturbed soil to a depth of some four feet, was dug out. Unfortunately the full extent of the disturbed area was never clearly defined. The first impression was that it was a filled-in rubbish pit of Roman times, though some of the objects found within it might have been interpreted as implying that originally a building of some sort stood on the site. The finds included the following:—broken roofing tiles (all *tegulae* except one *imbrex*) of stone, measuring roughly ten inches by seven inches, lozenge shaped, and each having a nail hole in the top centre; none has been preserved : *tegulae* of red clay, pieces of three of which have been preserved as they are of special interest—one has the stamp LEG VI [ ] (fig. 15, no. 114)[1] and another the stamp [LEG V]I V PF (fig. 15, no. 112), while the third showed the impression made by some cloven-hoofed animal such as a sheep or goat (Plate IIc) : fragments of red bricks, two of which have been preserved—one (Plate IIb) shows the impression of the paw of an animal together with scattered "spots" which can best be explained by supposing they were caused by large raindrops beating on the clay before it was baked, while another (Plate IId) shows the nail marks caused by a small sandal. The hole also contained grey matter resembling fine ash, pieces of charcoal having the shape and markings of branch wood, a piece of coal,[2] nails and a great deal of wall plaster, some pieces of which showed broad painted bands of red, brown, orange and yellow; a few coins including two *denarii,* one of Severus and one of Gordianus III, and three bronze coins which had obviously been fused by burning, a bronze pin (now lost), bone hairpins (fig. 14, nos. 90 1, m and n), a broken iron axe-head (fig. 15, no. 105), an adze-head (fig. 15, no. 106) and numerous shards of pottery. From these only one pot—a small bowl of grey ware (fig. 7, no. 9)—could be completed and in this instance the two halves of the base were found six

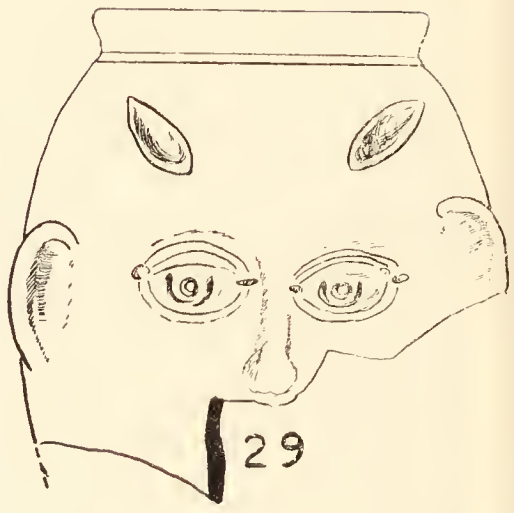
[1] When this stamp was first found both Mr. Dickinson and his nephew were convinced that they could detect the letter G[=G(ordiana)] after LEG VI. The edge of the tile has since worn away so that now the exact form of the letter is less certain. Mr. R. P. Wright (JRS xlvi (1956), p. 149), however, accepts this reading.

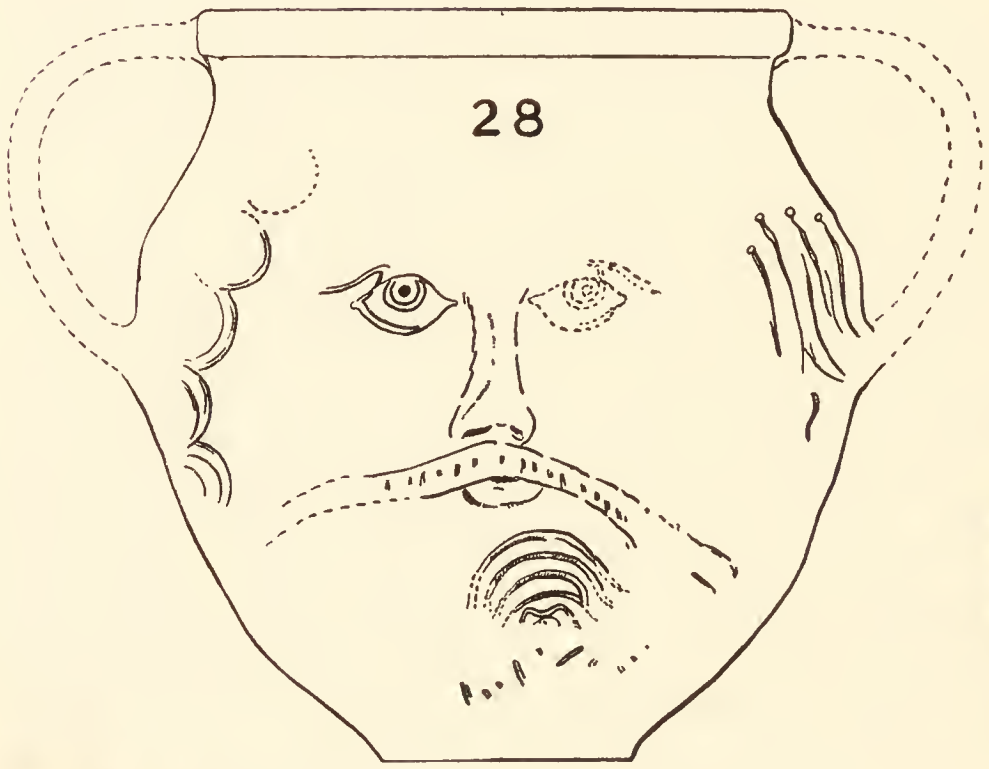
G. Home, *Roman York* 1924, p. 73, illustrates a tile stamp from York of the VIth Legion with the title GOR[DIANA]. This tile and two others (all *imbrices*) with similar stamps are now in the Yorkshire Museum.

[2] Two further instances of the use of coal in Roman York are known, cf. *Antiq. Journal* xxxv (1955), p. 209.

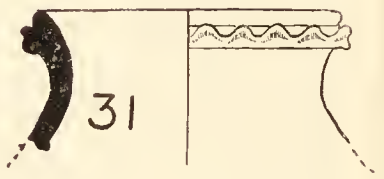


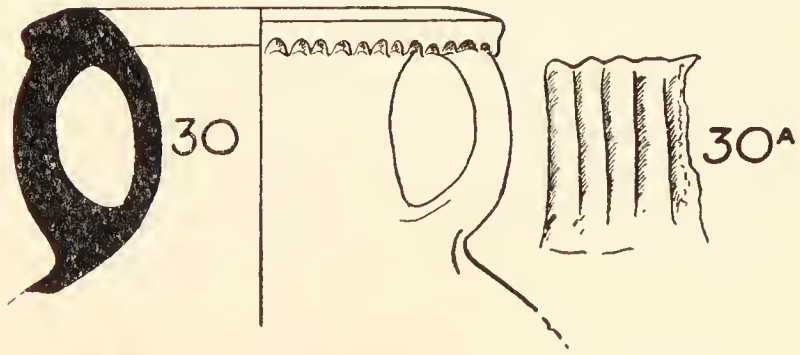


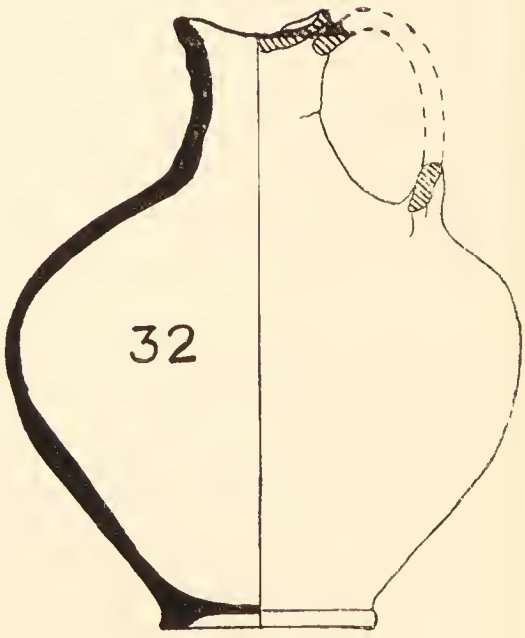




R.E.B.
N.M.







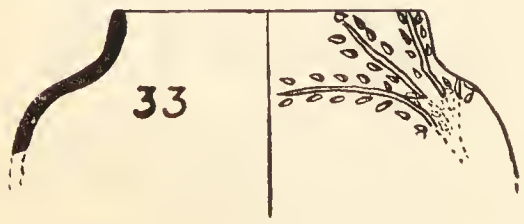


FIG. 9. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

feet apart. The broken pottery was of a household, rather than of a funeral, nature, with a preponderance of *mortaria* and *ollae*. It was observed, too, that the broken edges of the pottery were generally smoothed and well worn, which might suggest that they had long been exposed to weathering in a broken state before being finally buried. At the bottom of the hole standing on the undisturbed gravel were four worked stones; they showed no signs of burning. Three, of millstone grit, were twenty inches high and were tapered, their bases being seventeen inches square and their tops thirteen inches square; the fourth, of red sandstone, was twenty inches high, with a base and top seventeen inches square.

At F not more than a few yards from this area was found a hole—about three feet deep and two feet wide—full of sandstone chippings. The impression we had at the time was that the hole might have been filled with chippings from stone cutting done nearby. (It must, in fairness, be pointed out that there was nothing to prove that these chippings were indeed Roman. However, the size of the hole and the nature of the soil in it were so very like other holes containing cinerary urns and therefore unquestionably Roman, that this one, too, seemed likely to be of similar origin). They might have had some link with the ?building found nearby and I wondered at the time if the four large stones mentioned in the previous paragraph had, in fact, been part of a mason's stock-in-trade on the floor of a workshop, perhaps being used to support a heavy bench.

At D in another hole in this area some four yards from the ?building noted above we found fragments of pottery and a large piece of metal dross—probably lead—weighing one pound seven ounces and curved at the bottom as if it had taken the shape of a melting pot (fig. 16, no. 116). The hole in which this was found was three feet nine inches deep, the bottom twelve inches of which penetrated into the undisturbed subsoil.

At B—thirty feet west of the ?building noted above—we found a single worked block of gritstone about one foot below the existing ground surface. It had a flat, tooled surface, measuring two feet by one foot two inches and a base two feet ten inches by one foot seven inches; it was seven inches tall. Three of its sides were moulded; it looked as though it might have been the capstone of a rectangular pillar. The stone was destroyed.

[The possibility that this find at G represented a mason's yard is an exciting and important one and is to be added to these three other "industries" of Roman York of which the sites are known (all, in fact, in the vicinity of the present Railway station)—"a Samian ware pottery, a workshop for bone pins and a manufactory of decorative objects in jet".[1] The latest coin (of Gordian III) from the ?building might suggest that the latter had been

[1] Professor I. A. Richmond in *Arch. Journal* ciii (1947), p. 79, where the detailed references are listed.

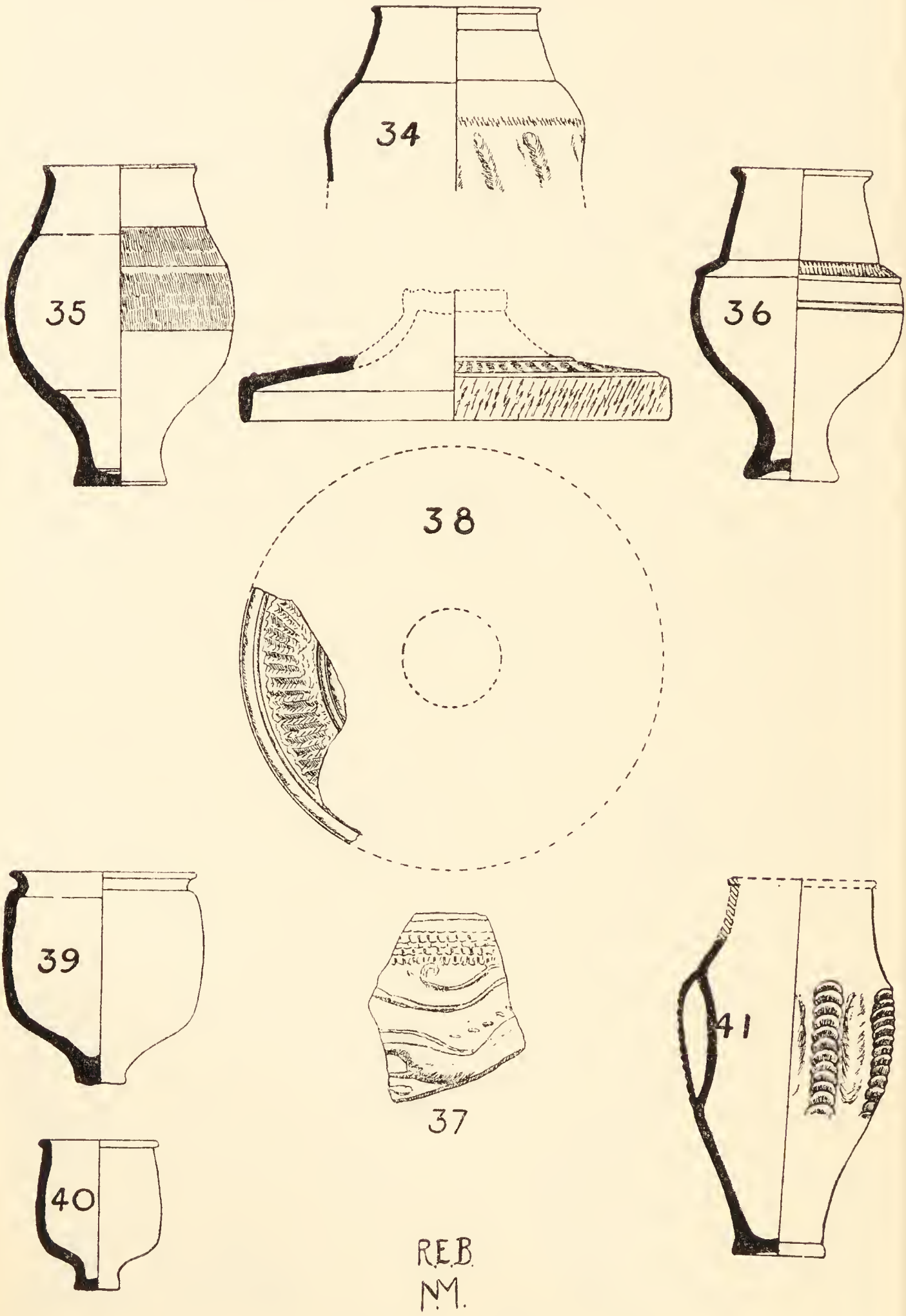


FIG. 10. Scale ¼.

in use at least as late as A.D. 244. It may have been destroyed by fire; it may have been demolished as the site on which it stood was required for cemetery purposes.]

At C was found part of another face vase (fig. 9, no. 29); at Z a bronze stud (fig. 13, no. 89a); a bronze ring (fig. 13, no. 77a) was found at E; near N was found the base of a Samian dish or bowl with the potter's stamp CVRCIMA (now lost). At S, three feet deep, was found a stylus (fig. 13, no. 89): two feet below this was a pot, apparently of Tudor date, indicating that the quarry depression, mentioned earlier, had either been filled in in this particular area in post-Roman times or that the soil had here worked down from the sides of the slope. At V when the Railway Company put up the present fence a skeleton was found.

The above is an account of those objects which can be linked with particular find-spots. It must be understood that over the years there were numerous casual finds made in the course of cultivating this area. In particular there were many more skeletons—either complete or damaged—than those mentioned above. One of these had a skull consisting of particularly hard bone which bore the mark of a healed injury above the orifice of one of the ears. There were also numerous pots of various types which were found with the tops removed through ploughing: I have seven in my collection now (none has been drawn). Out of the 120 items drawn on fig. 6-16, only less than a third can be assigned to particular find-spots and the remainder constitute what are termed "casual" finds.

In all, over the years, ten silver and 111 bronze coins were found in area 3a; the majority are in my possession, the rest being with my nephew in York. They have been examined and are classified in Appendix III. The precise find-spots of only five (noted above) are known. No coin was found in the mouth of a skeleton nor in an urn.

During our cultivation of areas 2, 3a, 3b and 4 we frequently picked up, on or near the surface, what looked like lead musket or pistol balls. I remember at one time having ten; only two can now be accounted for and are in the possession of Mr. Morrell. In 1917 when a hedge was removed at ZA-ZA (fig. 2) my father found at least three skeletons only a few inches below the surface. With one of them was found a piece of metal (now lost) which was identified as being of 17th century date as doubtless were the lead shot also. It is presumed that the skeletons were those of soldiers slain during the siege of York, April-July 1644.[1]

[1] The proximity of the gun emplacement on the Mount built in connection with this siege lends added weight to this possibility. The plan of the battery is shown on fig. 2. For an account of it and of its association with the Romano-British cemetery in the immediate vicinity see my article *Romano-British Cemetery and 17th century Gun Emplacement on the Mount, York, YA YAS Report* for 1952-53, pp. 18-34.

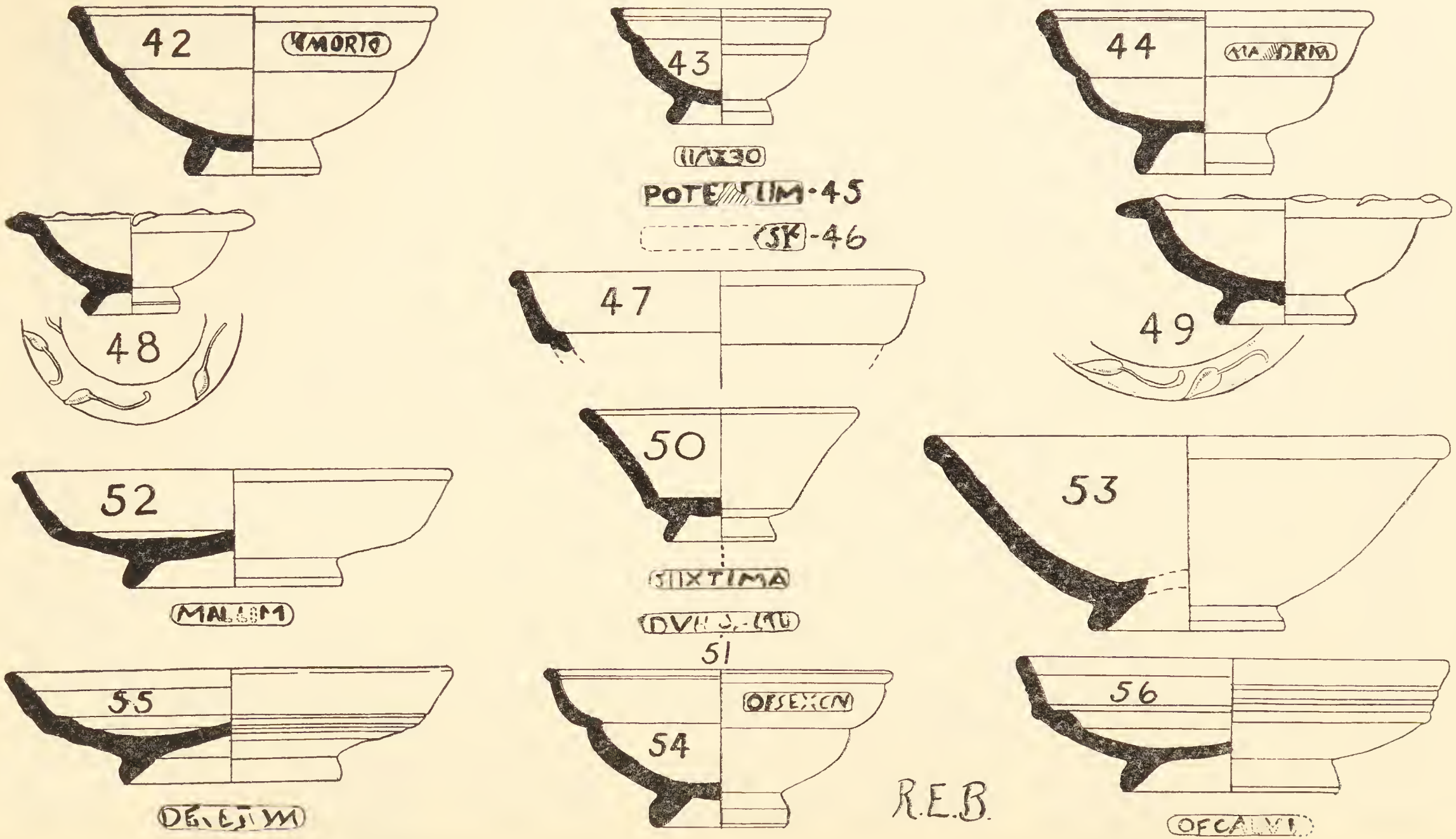


FIG. 11. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ (except stamps $\frac{1}{1}$)

APPENDIX I.

Contemporary Newspaper Account of Discovery of Amphora 1905.[1]

"Discovery in York.
Roman Urn and Bones in Holgate.

An interesting discovery of an urn, apparently belonging to the Roman period, has been recently made in the garden of Mr. D. Dickenson (*sic*), Holgate Bridge, York.

Last Thursday [17th December 1905], Mr. Dickenson (*sic*) was digging in a sand bed in his garden when his spade unearthed what seemed to be the bones of a woman, and he informed his family. On Saturday his sons asked their father if they could go and "dig for bones". The necessary assent being given, two spades were procured, and the boys commenced digging. About half a yard deeper than that at which the bones were found they came across what was thought to be an old drain pipe, and being a little careless, they broke it. They then called to their father, who was digging in the garden at the time, and informed him of their discovery. Making a more minute examination of it, Mr. Dickenson (*sic*) found that it was an old urn of some description, and got it out. In the neck was a stone, which appeared to have been put in to act as a stopper, but this had not prevented a root from getting inside and spreading its fibres in every direction. At the bottom was a fine powder, which closely resembled oatmeal, but was evidently bone dust, to a depth of about one inch. The urn or vase is of clay, and it is of considerable size and of peculiar shape. It has two handles, and from the bulge in the central part it tapers towards the foot, ending in a narrow point. The authorities of the Philosophical Society's Museum have made an inspection of the interesting find.

The urn did not seem to have been disturbed since it was put into the ground, as the top part, which had been made to lift from the bottom, was quite close up to the lower half. The dimensions are 3 ft. 9 ins. long, and about 9 ins. wide in the broadest part.

A gentleman who can speak with authority on the matter, and who saw the relic last Saturday, told Mr. Dickenson (*sic*) that it is a very ancient wine fermenting vessel, but had apparently been used for burying a cremated body.

It may also be of interest to know that the urn(*sic*),—[skeleton is obviously intended] was laid from east to west, the head being east, and the leg bones and part of the bones of the back, which were found above the urn, were laid evenly from north to south." [2]

Mr. C. Dickinson has this to say about the above account: "Being only ten years old in 1905 I would not presume to comment directly or adversely upon it, but would agree that it is a fair description. As I remember very clearly how my friend and I broke the part exposed in the sand, I must also claim to remember that my father commented rather pointedly about it, and the whole lot was put upon a bench to await a visit from Police Constable Harry Sowden, my father's cousin, who was then well versed in conchology and lepidoptera (I think his collections are now in

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[1] Cf. p. 287, and Plate Ia.

[2] *Yorkshire Herald* 19th December, 1905. Reprinted in *Yorkshire Notes and Queries* iii (1907), pp. 19-20. A shorter account appeared in the *Yorkshire Gazette*, 23rd December, 1905.

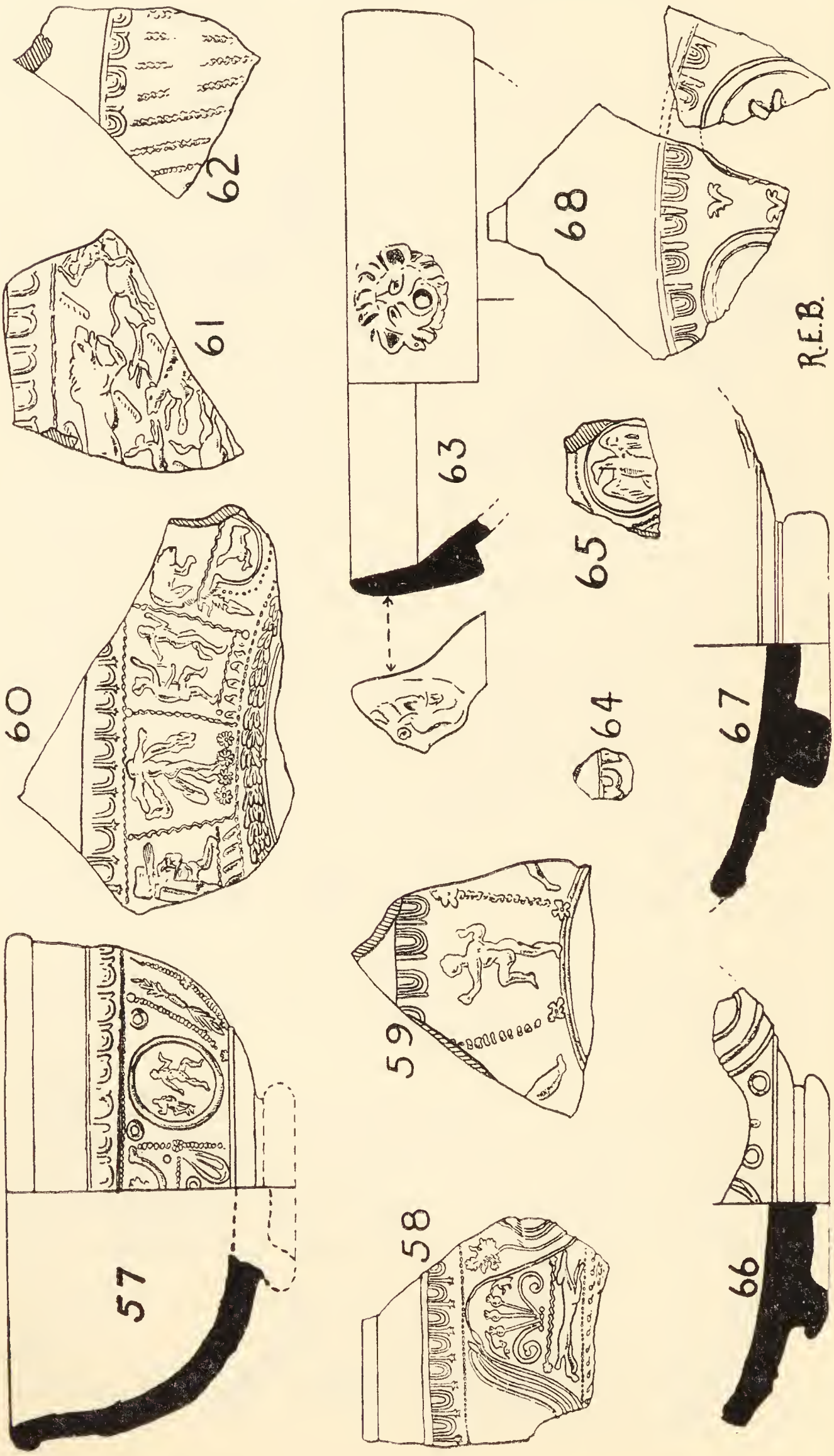


FIG. 12. Scale ½

the Yorkshire Museum).[1] He found, with the aid of an eyeglass, quite a number of minute shells among the ashes and he claimed to see—and showed us—on some pieces of calcined bone the impression of woven cloth.

As I remember, the ashes were finer than most of those I have found, though the amount would be roughly equal to that found in the average sized cinerary urn; in this case the ashes were distributed over a horizontal area of some extent. Finally, I remember the fragments of pink mortar which had covered the middle fracture."

APPENDIX II.

Oculist's Stamp.[2]

By Professor Eric Birley.

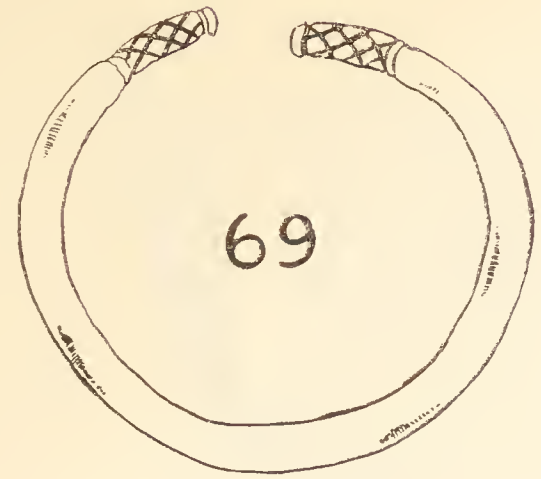
The object is an oculist's stamp, to use the standard description. For the type in general, and a full list of all examples known up to 1906, reference may be made to E. Espérandieu's meticulous publication in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XIII, p. 559f., under No. 10021: "Signacula medicorum ocularіorum"; the same scholar had previously devoted a monograph in French to the subject (*Receuil de cachets d'oculistes romains*, Paris, 1894). The most important subsequent study is by Peter Goessler in *Germania* 22, 1938, p. 24f., who has pointed out that the names on such stamps do not, in most cases, record the apothecary or optician who had prepared the medicament on which they were to be impressed; rather did they give the name of the inventor—whether ophthalmic surgeon or quack—whose formula the apothecary was using. Goessler's paper is a very stimulating one, and deserves to be brought to the notice of English readers, but I cannot do more than refer to it thus briefly here.

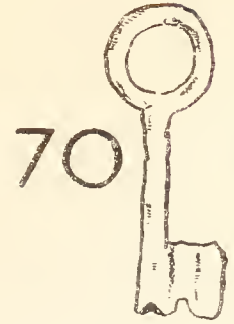
The York stamp is of green soapstone and measures $1\frac{7}{16}$ by $\frac{3}{8}$ by $\frac{25}{32}$ inches (36·5 × 9·5 × 20 mm). It carries on one edge the following inscription, written retrograde so that, when impressed on a pastille of ointment (*collyrium* was the term which the Romans used for such pastilles), it would read normally, from left to right: IVLI ALEXNDRI (*sic*) / DIAMY AD ASP—"Iuli Alex(a)ndri diamy(sus) ad asp(ritudines)". That is to say, "Julius Alexander's special ointment for sore eyes", to use a non-committal rendering of *diamysus*, the exact significance of which remains obscure. Julius Alexander cannot be equated with any of the many other people of the same names attested by inscriptions, nor is there a known oculist so styled; his main interest, therefore, must be as attesting the presence of at least one practising optician in *Eboracum*. But there must have been others as well, for (as Goessler points out, in the study to which reference has been made above) both troops and civilians in the Celtic north-western provinces were ready customers for their wares; we should expect to find military as well as civilian opticians practising in the adjacent sites of the legionary fortress and the *colonia*. As far as dating is concerned, it may be noted that the majority of known stamps can best be assigned to the third century rather than the second; a couple of dozen examples have been found in Britain, thirty or more in the Germanies, upwards of 150 in the three provinces of Gaul (with the main concentration in *Gallia Belgica*), and a

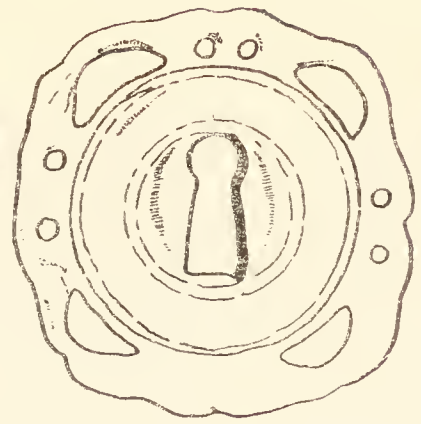
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[1] In 1937 the Yorkshire Museum purchased "the Sowden collection of Land and Fresh Water Shells" (*YPSR for* 1937, p. 38). An obituary notice to Sowden appeared in the *Yorkshire Gazette* 4th September, 1936, where he is described as "a distinguished local naturalist" and "a methodical man accurate and reliable in his researches". For many years he was honorary curator in conchology and honorary librarian of the Natural History Section in the Yorkshire Museum; he catalogued the George Webster collection of mosses there.

[2] Cf. p. 289 and Plate IIa. Notice of the discovery of this stamp has already appeared in *JRS* xliv (1954), pp. 108-9.

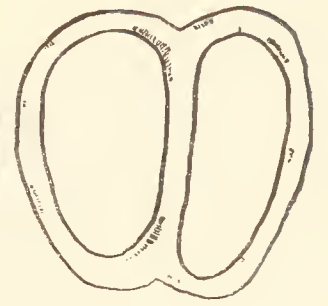


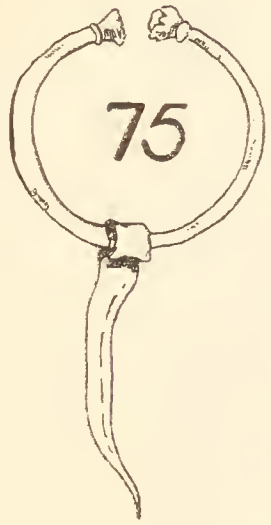




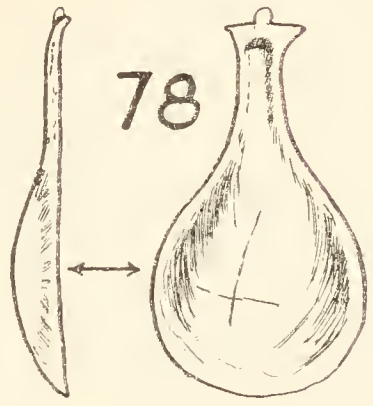










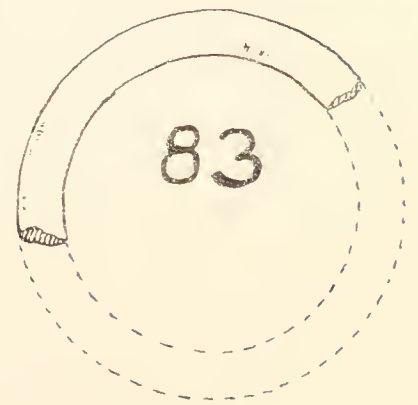




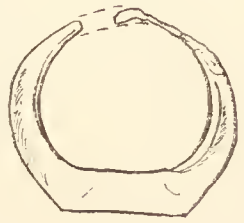




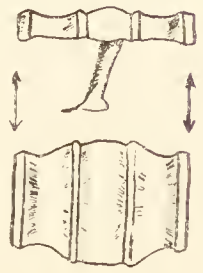










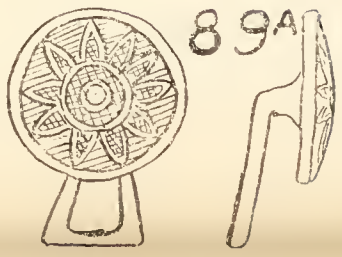












R.E.B.

FIG. 13. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.



(a) Driffield Terrace side of trench.
(b) City side of trench.

PLATE III. Roman road found in Dalton Terrace, 1955.

mere handful in other parts of the Roman empire. That is to say that, although many of the recorded names suggest Greek origin for the inventor of the ointment advertised, the practice of advertisement on pastilles of ointment was a specifically Romano-Celtic one (to use a convenient term); it is matched by the widespread use of potters' stamps on Samian ware or on *mortaria*, which emphasize that the customer in Britain and in other western provinces, as in England today, was prepared to look for a familiar trade-mark or an impressive name when he went shopping.

APPENDIX III.

Discovery of Roman Road in Dalton Terrace, 1955.[1]

The digging of a trench (14 ft. by 2 ft. 6 ins.) on 18th—19th October, 1955, to repair a broken gas main in Dalton Terrace at the spot shown on figure 5 revealed gravel and cobbling one foot below the surface of the modern road. This was not a natural feature and, in view of the earlier Dickinson discoveries, must represent part of a Roman road.

In section (fig. 4 and Plate III) the trench showed the metalling of the modern road (one foot thick) overlying a layer of rammed gravel (six inches thick)—the surface of the Roman road showing a marked camber. Beneath this was a layer of large water-worn cobbles varying in diameter from eight to twelve inches, beneath which was another layer of gravel intermingled with smaller cobbles (none larger than four inches diameter) on top of clay. Part of the bottom of the trench was unexcavated, and this, coupled with the greasy nature of the lower part (heavy rain fell during the one night that it was open) made it impossible to say with certainty whether this lowest stratum of clay was part of the road bottoming or whether it was, in fact, the subsoil. It was most likely the latter. The gravel/large cobbles/clay and cobble complex had knit together to form a very solid mass: this point is emphasised to make it clear that the gravel above the heavy cobbles was unquestionably part of the road itself.

This cobbling, etc., extended up to, and beyond, the west (Holgate Road) end of the trench. At the other (Mount) end the edge of it could be seen in both profiles of the trench and both were marked by particularly large cobbles which might have represented part of the kerb. Certainty on this point was, however, impossible owing to the situation of a manhole in the modern road close to the cobble feature, the deep trenches associated with which could have cut through the cobbling and destroyed it at these places. For what it is worth, however, the edge of the road (if indeed these large stones did represent this) ran obliquely across the trench precisely as (if the argument advanced below as to the direction of this Roman road be accepted) it would have been expected to do.

Despite the fact that no significant artifacts were forthcoming from it, there could be little doubt of the Roman character of this road. It will be remembered (pp. 289 and 291) that at three points south-west of the Mount School Mr. Dickinson sectioned what was undoubtedly a Roman road (fig. 3, find-spots M1, M2 and M3); in fact his description of the find at M3 could almost serve as that for this latest one in Dalton Terrace—" . . . . . at a depth of about eighteen inches below the present surface, a layer of cobbles surmounted by smaller stones". (Mr. Dickinson has seen both the sectional drawing and the photographs of the new discovery and agrees that this road appears to be very like that which he found). As a result of his discoveries at M1 and M2, Mr. Dickinson established the width of his road as ten feet and its direction as east-west. If a line be drawn on a map of this area through his three points and extended eastwards, it crosses Dalton Terrace very close to where the latest discovery has been made. In this

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[1] Cf. pp. 289 and 291.

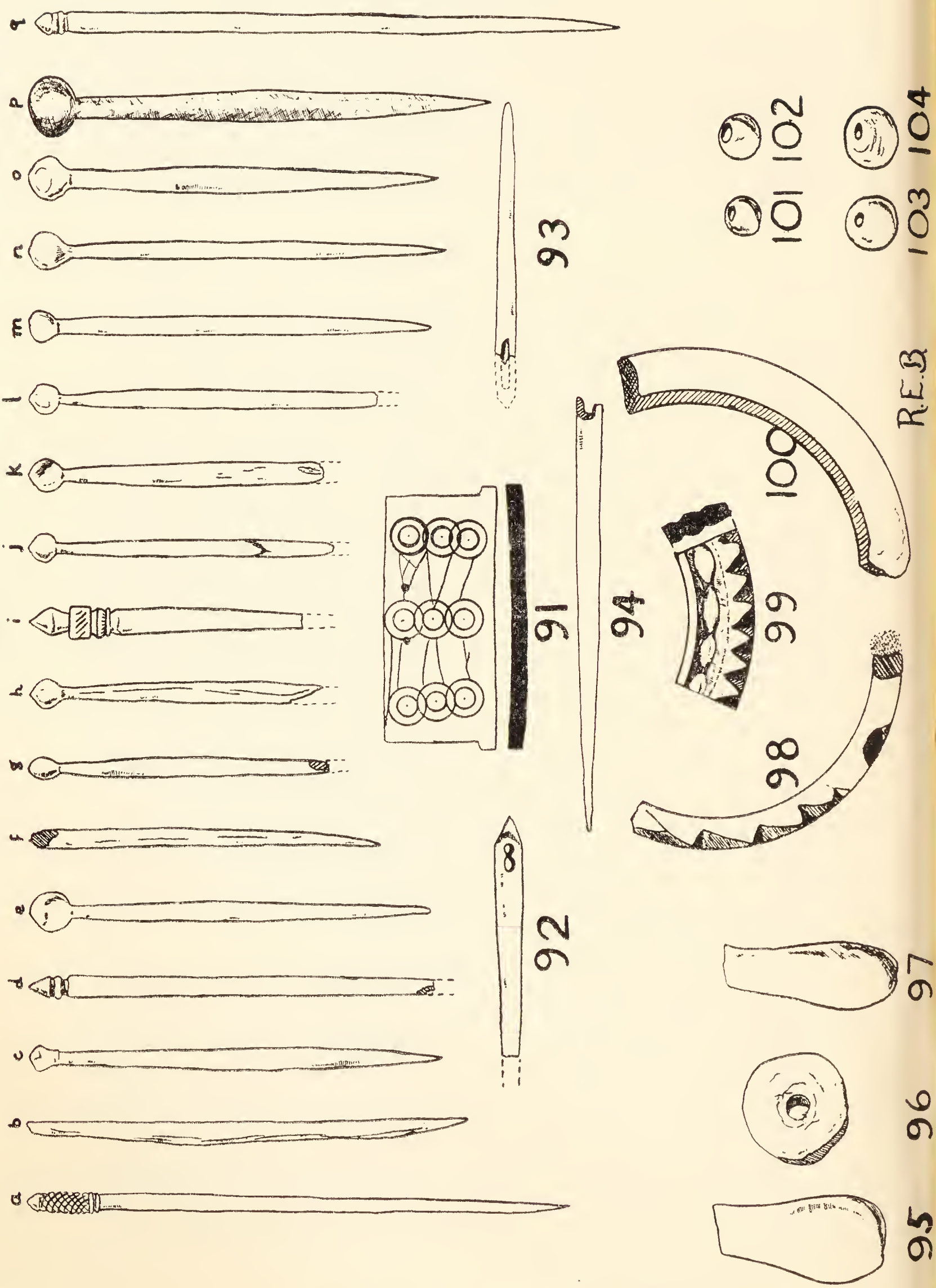


FIG. 14. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

connection it is perhaps worth noting that in 1902 on the site of the Mount School, during building operations there, what were enigmatically and—archaeologically speaking—quite inadequately, described as "a few bits of pavement" were found.[1] This again, would fall on, or near, the line of the road and might have been part of it.

When this 1955 discovery was made, the fact that it might be part of the main *Eboracum-Calcaria* (York-Tadcaster) Roman road was considered and rejected. The precise course of this main road in the Dalton Terrace-Mount area is problematic though it is clear that it cannot be far away from the recent discovery.[2] In 1951 the girls of the Mount School dug a trench practically the whole length of the garden behind "Rowans", one of the School hostels, parallel to, and twenty-eight yards north of the Dalton Terrace trench: again in 1955 they dug a similar trench in the adjoining garden of "Chantry House", another hostel, thirty-seven yards north of the Terrace trench.[3] Both these trenches cut across the line which the *Calcaria* road would have taken had it been represented by a continuation of the cobbling lately discovered; no cobbling and, in fact, nothing whatever indicative of a road was found in them. The negative evidence of these two trenches is therefore of paramount importance in establishing this latest discovery as part of a branch road and not of the main one.

If Mr. Dickinson's findings as to the width of this road (ten feet) be correct, it would seem that it was only a minor one possibly intended to serve the Mount-Holgate Gardens portion of the extensive Mount Cemetery. The main *Calcaria* road was found to be thirty feet wide when it was uncovered in Blossom Street in 1953[4] some three hundred yards north-west of the Dalton Terrace discovery.

APPENDIX IV.

Coin List.[5]

By the late W. V. Wade.

The following is an analysis of the 121 coins found in area 3a:—

	AR	AE
Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) or Titus (A.D. 79-81)		1
Domitian (A.D. 81-96)		1
Hadrian (A.D. 117-138)	1 (P)	1
Sabina, wife of Hadrian		1
? Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) or Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180)		1
Faustina I, wife of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161)		2
Marcus Aurelius, as Caesar, struck under Antoninus Pius		1
Faustina II, wife of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180)		1
? Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius		1
Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) or Commodus (A.D. 180-192)		1
Commodus (A.D. 180-192)	1	1

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[1] H. W. Sturge and T. Clark, *The Mount School, York* 1931, p. 221.

[2] See my *Course of the Roman Road from Sim Balk Lane to near Micklegate Bar, York, YAYAS Report* for 1953-4, pp. 24-31.

[3] No account of these excavations has yet been published. Fig. 5 shows the relationship of these trenches to the Dalton Terrace find.

[4] Cf. *YAYAS Report* for 1953-4, pp. 11-2.

[5] Cf., p. 299. The significance of the three letters employed in this list is as follows:—B=Barbarous; C=Cast; P= Plated.

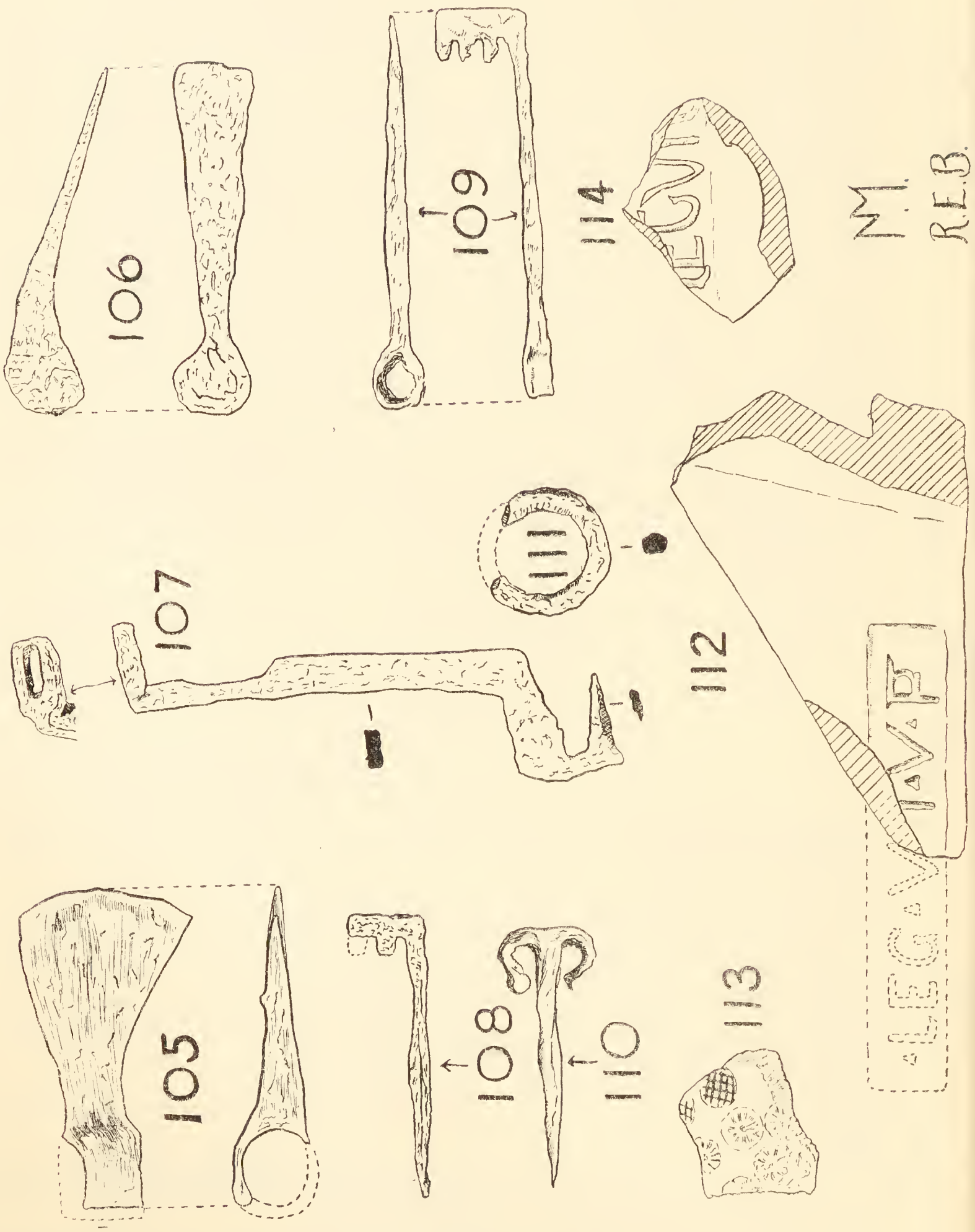


FIG. 15. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

	AR	AE
Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211)	6 (2P)	
Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus	1 (P)	
Caracalla, as Caesar, struck under Septimius Severus	3 (3P)	
Caracalla (A.D. 198-217)	1 (C)	
Plautilla, wife of Caracalla	1	
Elagabalus (A.D. 218-222)	1 (P)	
Julia Maesa, grandmother of Elagabalus	1 (P)	
Julia Soaemias, mother of Elagabalus	1	
Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235)	3	
Gordian III (A.D. 238-244)		2
Gallienus (A.D. 253-268)		5
Postumus (A.D. 258-268)		2
Claudius II (A.D. 268-270)		8
Victorinus (A.D. 268-270)		8 (1B)
Victorinus (A.D. 268-270) or Tetricus I (A.D. 270-273)		5
Tetricus I (A.D. 270-273)		15 (3B)
Tetricus II (A.D. 270-273)		8 (3B)
Period A.D. 260-275—details illegible		2
Probus (A.D. 276-282)		1
Carausius (A.D. 287-293)		2
Barbarous copies of 3rd century Antoniniani		3 (3B)
Constantine I (A.D. 306-337)		1
Helena, mother of Constantine		2
Urbs Roma		1
Constantinopolis		1
Constantine II (A.D. 317-340)		3
Constantius II (A.D. 324-361)		2 (1B)
Constantius II (A.D. 324-361) or Constans (A.D. 333-350)		1
House of Constantine, probably A.D. 325-342		2
Magnentius (A.D. 350-353)		1
Theodosius I (A.D. 379-395)		1
Barbarous copies of 4th century AE		4 (4B)
Illegible	1 (P)	8 (4B)
Totals	21 (10P 1C)	100 (19B)

None of these coins is recorded as having been found in association with skeletal remains nor with pots. The precise findspot of only the following is known :—a "few coins including two *denarii*, one of Severus and one of Gordianus and three bronze coins which had obviously been fused by burning". These were amongst the débris found in the ?building located at G. The remainder were picked up casually over the years in area 3a, mostly on or very close to the surface. In view of this it would be dangerous to attach too much significance to them for dating the cemetery. However, assuming that originally all, or most, of them had been buried with the dead, collectively they might be taken to imply that the cemetery was in use from the middle of the second century to the middle of the fourth, the pre-Hadrianic coins (two in number) representing survivals in circulation, and the single coin of Theodosius an intrusion in the area when it was no longer in use as a cemetery. The overwhelming majority of the coins is poor in quality—out of the 121 examined ten were plated and nineteen were barbarous—a fact which forms an interesting commentary on the social status of the people buried here.

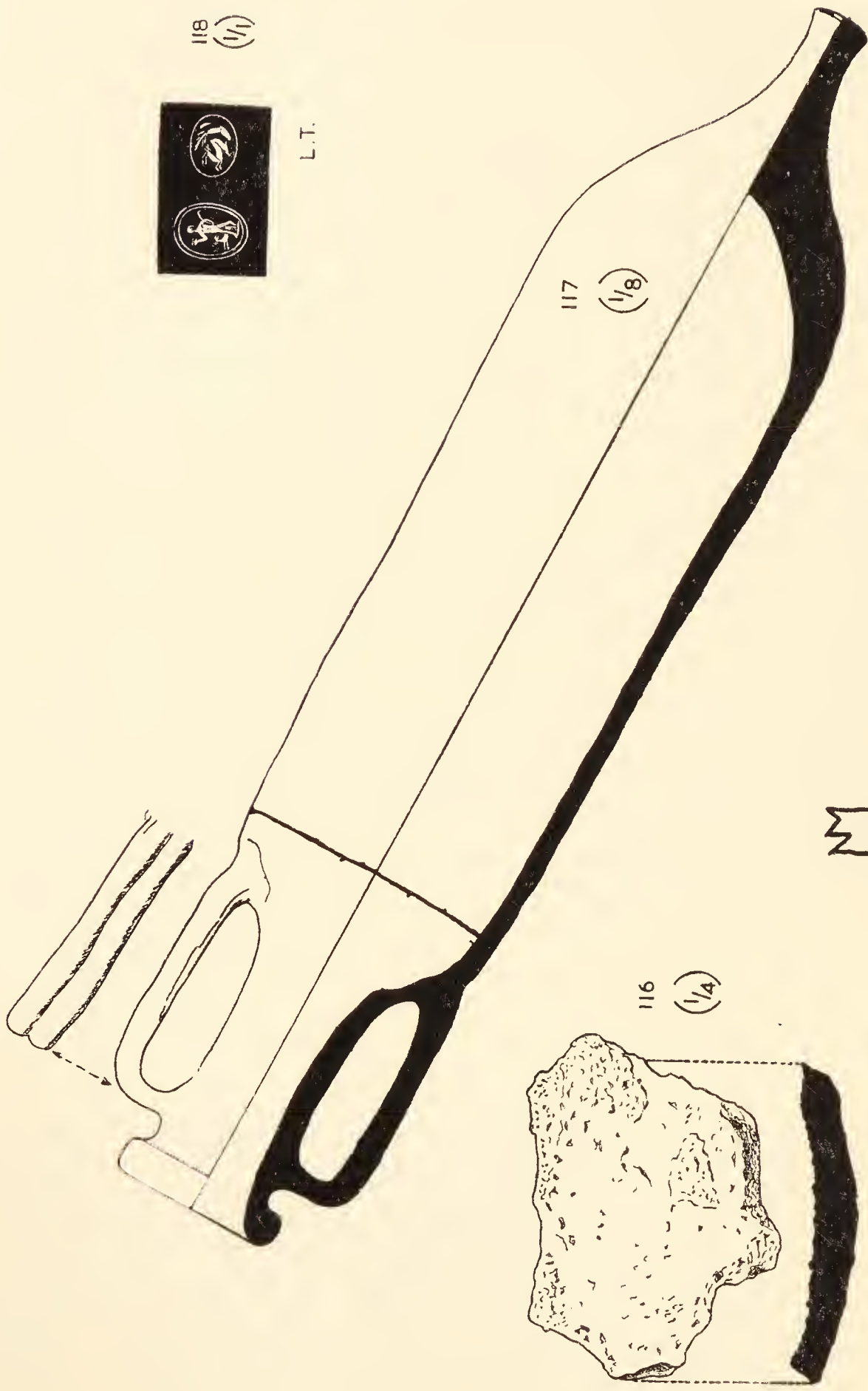


FIG. 16.

APPENDIX V.

The Finds.

Figure 6.

No. 1. Complete cooking-pot : light grey fabric. Probably 2nd/3rd century.

No. 2. Complete cooking-pot : light grey fabric; hatching on widest part of side.
(Findspot N).
When found this contained calcined bones; it is empty now. Originally it seems to have formed part of a cinerary grave group (see p. 289) consisting of this pot, a Samian cup (no. 50 below) dating mid-2nd century and two Castor ware cups (nos. 39 and 40 below).
Mid-late 2nd century.

No. 3. Complete cooking-pot : light grey fabric; hatching on widest part of side.
(Findspot O).
When found this contained calcined bones; it is empty now. It may originally have been part of a large cinerary grave group (see p. 287) consisting of eleven Samian dishes, cups and plates (nos. 42-4, 48, 49 (three), 52 and 54-6), all of which are Flavian.
Late 2nd/early 3rd century.

No. 4. Complete jar : orange-red fabric.
(Findspot H).
When found this contained calcined bones (now empty) and had a buff-coloured platter (no. 12) as a covering lid (see p. 312). This pot, no. 5 following, and two others, now lost, seem to have formed a group of four cinerary urns (see p. 289).
Late 1st/early 2nd century.

Figure 7.

No. 5. Complete jar : orange-red fabric.
(Findspot H).
Still contains the calcined bones found in it. (See note under no. 4 above).
Late 1st/early 2nd century.

No. 6. Complete jar: light orange-red fabric.
(Findspot L).
Still contains the calcined bones found in it.
2nd century.

No. 7. Various fragments, making a complete section of a pear-shaped narrow mouthed jar : grey-brown fabric; cordon of hatching on shoulder.
(Findspot southern half of trench A-A-A).
3rd century.

No. 8. Various fragments, making a complete section, of a flanged bowl; light grey fabric. Very mis-shapen—? a potter's reject.
3rd/4th century.

No. 9. Complete flanged bowl : light grey fabric.
(Findspot rectangular pit, ?building, at G).
3rd century.

No. 10. Complete dish : grey fabric.
Early 2nd century.

Figure 8.

No. 11. Various fragments, making a complete section, of a dish : light grey fabric.
2nd century.

No. 12. Fragments making a complete dish; domed base : buff fabric. (Findspot H).
Originally formed the "lid" to a cinerary urn, no. 4 above.
Late 1st century.

No. 13. Base of candlestick : cream fabric.

No. 14. Base of candlestick : white fabric with cream core.

No. 15. Top of candlestick : buff fabric with grey-blue core.

No. 16. As no. 15 except that fabric more cream coloured.

No. 17. Complete terra-cotta lamp; nozzle shows signs of blackening due to use; red fabric.

No. 18. Complete mouth piece and handle of one-handled flagon; four-ribbed handle; pinched mouth; cream fabric.
2nd century.

No. 19. Two fragments of ? double-handled jar with frill 3/10 ins. below the rim; three-ribbed handle joining immediately below the frilling; light grey fabric.
?Late 3rd/early 4th century. ?Throlam ware.

No. 20. Complete mouth piece of single-handled flagon; heavy out-turned bead rim; plain handle; pipe clay fabric, cream slip.
2nd century.

No. 21. Fragment of the body of a slightly concave vessel of indeterminate shape; orange-yellow fabric. Decoration consists of hollow bosses covered by a stamp of concentric circles; the finger prints are clearly visible of the inside.
Bears a resemblance to the so-called Romano-Saxon pottery cf. especially a shard from Great Casterton (*Dark Age Britain*, ed. D. B. Harden 1956, p. 33, fig. 7, 3). Cf. nos. 22 and 113 below and pp. 321-2. Mr. G. F. Willmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, recently showed me a very similar shard—with a rim—found in 1956 in his excavations in St. Mary's Abbey, York, which, from a stratigraphical point of view, could be post-Roman. Another piece (as yet unpublished) was found in December 1956 close to where the Anglian cinerary urns were discovered in 1859, the findspot of which is shown on fig. 5.

No. 22. As no. 21. Fabric thinner and bosses less pronounced. (References and note under no. 21 apply).

No. 23. Single shard of rim of hammer-headed *mortarium;* dull buff coloured fabric with black grit. Late 3rd century.

No. 24. Three fitting shards; rim and spout of hammer-headed *mortarium;* pinkish-cream fabric with black grit. On the rim near the spout is a rounded knob-like projection. Late 3rd century.

Figure 9.

No. 25. Nearly complete handle of *amphora;* pinkish-cream fabric, grey core.
Professor Eric Birley reports on it thus :—"The colour is unusually reddish for *amphorae* of the globular type but this is doubtless due to nothing more than the clay from which it is made. The stamp, or impress, is smudged and seems to consist of six letters of which the last four are VECA or VFCA though the A may be intended for AT ligatured. Callender has no stamp remotely like this. The date is doubtless late 2nd century."

Nos. 26. and 27. Complete handle of *amphora* (no. 26); orange-buff fabric with bluish-grey core. Stamp (no. 27) reads—NNR, the R being incompletely preserved. Professor Birley identifies it with Callender's no. 1154 and notes similar examples at Corbridge and abroad at La Chatelet and Strasbourg, and says that dated parallels are not available.

No. 28. Sixteen shards, many fitting together, of a two-handled face vase; pinkish-buff fabric with bluish-grey core.
(Findspot southern half of trench A-A-A). (See note under No. 29 following).
Late 3rd/4th century.

No. 29. Fourteen shards, many fitting together, of face vase (without handles); fabric similar to no. 28.
(Findspot C).
Late 3rd/4th century.
Dr. W. E. Collinge in his paper *Notes on some Roman Mask or Face Vases in the Yorkshire Museum* (*YPSR for* 1936, pp. 4-7 and 8 plates), describes eight such face vases and refers briefly to eight others from York. Only one of those he describes (his no. 1) resembles these two "Dickinson" examples though his is grey, not buff, fabric. Another face vase was found in the Trentholme Drive cemetery excavations in 1951 (*YAYAS Report for* 1951-2, p. 22 and plate) while part of a mask vase was found in Blossom Street in 1951 in the excavation alongside the Roman road; as yet unpublished. Neither the Trentholme Drive, nor the Blossom Street finds bear any resemblance to these "Dickinson" finds.

Nos. 30 and 30A. Seven shards, fitting together, of a double-handled, narrow-mouthed jar with a wide flanged rim, roughly "frilled" on the lower edge; five-reeded handle (no. 30A) joining rim at upper side immediately below the "frill"; light grey fabric with even lighter grey core.
? 2nd/3rd century.

No. 31. Single shard of a narrow mouthed jar with frilled cordon below the rim; orange-red fabric.
2nd/3rd century.

No. 32. Flagon in light buff fabric; rim and most of handle missing, otherwise complete.
(Findspot I).
2nd century.

No. 33. Single shard of rim of a vessel like a beaker; cream fabric similar to, but thicker than, conventional Castor ware, decorated with incised tendrils and leaves. I have seen no published parallel.

Figure 10.

No. 34. Various fragments fitting together of the top and rim of an indented cup of the so-called Rhenish ware. Moulded rim. The body is decorated with shallow oblique indentations with a horizontal band of light rouletting on the shoulder. Red fabric with blue-grey core, and a highly polished black glaze.
Late 3rd/early 4th century.

No. 35. Several fragments making a complete section of a Castor ware cup with an inward sloping neck. The upper part of the body is decorated with two wide bands of rouletting separated by a narrow plain band. Cream fabric, colour coated dull grey-brown.
Late 3rd/early 4th century.

No. 36. The whole of the bottom and one small fragment of the rim in one complete piece of a globular bodied beaker on high curved foot; well marked shoulder; straight, in-sloping neck, finishing in narrow, obliquely out-turned rim. Rouletting on shoulder, bordered at the lower edge by moulding. Grey fabric, with lighter coloured core.

Early 4th century.

May, *York Pottery*, pp. 40-1, Plate XIV 6 no. 9, describes and illustrates a York example of marked similarities which he incorrectly dates late 2nd/3rd century. This is the predecessor of Crambeck type 12.

No. 37. Single shard, including rim, of Castor ware "hunt" cup. Below the plain, cut-away rim is a band of rouletting below which—in relief—is part of the figure of a deer, bordered by dots and curved stalks. Cream fabric, colour coated dark greyish-brown.

Late 2nd/3rd century.

No. 38. Single shard of a cover-lid in Castor ware. Eight inches diameter. Cylindrical sides four/five inches high, with a conical top, rising to a ringed holder. Cream fabric, colour-coated brown. Sides, and lower half of the top surface decorated with rouletting bordered by double grooves at the angle and inside edge.

May, *York Pottery*, p. 31. Plate XI, no. 9 describes and illustrates a nearly identical York example.

Late 2nd/early 4th century.

No. 39. Several fragments making a complete section of a Castor ware cup with a grooved and moulded base. Buff fabric without any colour-coating.

(Findspot N).

Seems to have formed part of a cinerary grave group (see no. 2 above and p. 289).

Late 2nd/early 3rd century.

No. 40. Several fragments making a complete Castor ware cup, with beaded rim. Buff fabric, colour-coated light orange-brown.

(Findspot N).

Seems to have formed part of a cinerary grave group (see no. 2 above and p. 289).

Late 2nd/early 3rd century.

No. 41. Various fragments of an indented Castor ware beaker. Vertical indentations around the body, with appliqué overlapping scale decoration on the intervening ridges. Cream fabric, colour-coated dull greyish-brown.

(Findspot—air-raid shelters in Mount School (cf. fig. 3 and p. 291).

3rd/early 4th century.

Figure 11.

Samian Ware—By Miss Grace Simpson

No. 42. Large Dr. 27 burnt. Thin walls and groove in footring. Stamp reads AMORIS. The last letter may be O? Cf. O's *Index*, page 16, AMOR of La Graufenesque. Not later than the time of Vespasian. (No. 44 below may be of same potter).

(Findspot near O).

Probably formed part of large cinerary grave group (cf. no. 3 above and p. 287).

No. 43. Dr. 27 burnt. Stamped OFTAII retrograde. Flavian.

(Findspot near O).

Note under no. 42 applies.

No. 44. Large Dr. 27. Thin walls : no groove in footstand. The stamp is uncertain—MAORIM or AIMORM. Flavian. (No. 42 may be of same potter).
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.

No. 45. Dr. 18/31. Lezoux or East Gaulish. Stamped POTE. . .LI. 2nd half 2nd century.

No. 46. Dr. 31 (Ludowici Sa) cf. O and P. pl. xlvii, 2. The stamp is very clear and reads . . . .] SF and the vessel is thin and well made. Slightly orange glaze. ? Lezoux ware.

No. 47. Dr. 27. The rim has the flattened upper curves of Hadrianic examples of this form (cf. Birdoswald *CWT*[2] xxx, p. 185, fig. 11, 5 and 6).

No. 48. Dr. 35. Heavily burnt. A small vessel, but fairly thick, with a groove in the footstand. South Gaulish ware. Flavian.
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.

No. 49. Dr. 35. Complete after mending : three of the shards show signs of burning, the remainder none. South Gaulish ware. Flavian. Diameter 11·8 mm.
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.
There are two further cups in the "Dickinson" collection—not drawn—both nearly complete after mending and both showing similar signs of partial burning; they are the same as no. 49 except that their diameters are respectively 12·2 and 12·7 mm.
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.

No. 50. Dr. 33. Complete. Stamped SIIXTIMA Lezoux ware. Dates ? middle 2nd century.
(Findspot N).
Seems to have formed part of a cinerary grave group (see no. 2 above and p. 289).

No. 51. Small shard. Probably Dr. 18/31 or Dr. 31. The stamp appears to read DV . . . . . TO but the last letter is uncertain. Probably Rheinzabern ware.
Late 2nd/early 3rd centuries.

No. 52. Dr. 18/31. Heavily burnt. The stamp MAḶḮIM is not clear. It might be MALLIVS of ? Lezoux. cf. O's *Index*, p. 180 for the stamp; MALLI.M but the MA do not appear to be ligatured. Probably Lezoux. Before AD 150 and probably Flavian.
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.

No. 53. Dr. 31. A very worn shard, apparently worn in use, and the vessel had been rivetted. The scanty glaze which remains is slightly orange, suggesting Rheinzabern ware.
Late 2nd/early 3rd centuries.

No. 54. Large Dr. 27. Heavily burnt. Stamped OFSEXCN cf. O's *Index*, p. 300 for SEXTVS and CANVS of La Graufesenque. Groove in footring. Not later than the time of Vespasian.
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.

No. 55. Dr. 15/17. Stamped OF [. . . . the rest is illegible. Heavily burnt. Neronian—Vespasian.
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.

No. 56. Dr. 15/17. Heavily burnt. The stamp reads OFCA[. . .]VI. Probably OFCALVI see O's *Index*, p. 55. Other examples of this stamp have been found in northern Britain at Camelon, Carlisle and Corbridge. South Gaulish ware. Flavian.
(Findspot near O).
Note under no. 42 applies.

Figure 12.

No. 57. Dr. 37. Lezoux ware. The figure types are : dolphin, D.1050 used by many of the Lezoux potters; warrior, D.615 used by DIVIXTVS, SISSVS and BVTRIO; and man, D.402 used by DOECCVS and Q.I. BALBINVS. The general style is reminiscent of the work of CINNAMVS, but the types are all much reduced in size and two of them and the almond shaped motif are not yet recorded on his signed work. The ovolo cannot be assigned to any particular potter. The almond shaped motif and the small rosettes which mask the border junctions occur on the fragment stamped AVENTINIM at Newstead.[1] The bowl is thick with a dull glaze and was made in a worn mould. Period of manufacture *c.* A.D. 160-200.

No. 58. Dr. 37. An early example of this form. For the ovolo cf. the Potter of the Large Rosette, Atkinson, *Pompeii*, *JRS* iv, 27-64. Dog: O. 1924. Good glaze. *c.* A.D. 75-85.

No. 59. Dr. 37. Rheinzabern ware. Light orange glaze. The ovolo is like one used by FIRMVS and PRIMITIVS. The Boxer : O. 1180=Ludowici M. 54 was used by IANVS, COMITIALIS and CERIALIS. Very large square headed borders ending in cross-shaped ornaments—*c.* A.D. 180-250.

No. 60. Dr. 37 Venus : Hermet 27=Oswald 330 : man with stick : Hermet 276; Gladiator : Hermet 146=O. 1008; Winged Genius : D.353=O. 704. An unsigned bowl by the same potter showing the first two types was illustrated by Hermet, *La Graufesenque*, pl. 24. The basel wreath was by CRVCVRO and a number of other late South Gaulish potters, cf. Knorr, 1919, Textkild 12, 41. Knorr, *Rottweil*, 1912, xxv, 6 has the same large leaf tips and the first two figure types and may be by the same potter. A thick bowl with high, coarse relief. *c.* A.D. 80-95.

No. 61. Dr. 37. In the style of PATERNVS of Lezoux. The ovolo appears to be exclusive to him and generally was used on small bowls. The free-style designs of this potter suggest violent movement. Little twisted ornaments fill vacant spaces. *c.* A.D. 150-190.

No. 62. Dr. 37. East Gaulish ware. A thick vessel with slightly orange glaze. Probably Rheinzabern (cf. Ricken VI,[2] style of IVLIVS II or IVLIANVS I, Tafel 212; and VICTORINVS II, Tafel 218; and RESPECTINVS I, Tafel 222).

No. 63. Dr. 45. Very fine lion-headed spout.

No. 64. Dr. 37. A tiny fragment showing an ovolo. Probably Rheinzabern ware.

No. 65. Dr. 37. An eagle probably O. 2180, within a notched medallion. South Gaulish ware. Rough work. Dates *c.* A.D. 80-100.

No. 66. Dr. 37. Lezoux ware. Very thick and heavy ware. The lower part of a winding scroll design is discernible and suggests the work of CINNAMVS or PATERNVS, *c.* 160-200.

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[1] J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* 1911, p. 227, 3.
[2] H. Ricken, *Die Bilderschüsseln der Römischen Töpfer von Rheinzabern: Tafelband*, 1948.

No. 67. Dr. 37. A moderately thick vessel with a very heavy footring. The feet of a large bird—stork or peacock? are all that remains of the decoration. East Gaulish ware.
Late 2nd/early 3rd centuries.

No. 68. Dr. 37. Two fragments from the same bowl. The design cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The ovolo is similar to that illustrated by Ricken VI[1], Tafel 263, 46. Rheinzabern ware.
Late 2nd/early 3rd centuries.

Figure 13.

No. 69. Bronze wristlet : would only fit child or a woman with a very slender arm.

No. 70. Bronze key.

No. 71. Bronze key-hole plate.

No. 72. Bronze key-hole cover.

No. 73. Thick bronze ring, fitting only very slender finger.

No. 74. Bronze buckle.

No. 75-77. Penannular brooches, bronze. No. 75 retains its pin; all three have writhen knobs.

No. 77A. Bronze signet ring; stone missing.
(Findspot E).

No. 78. "Fig-shaped" spoon or cochleare of a common type. On the inner side is an incision in the form of a rough cross. A second specimen, identical with this, except for the *graffito* but with the handle missing, has not been drawn.

No. 79. Miniature bronze mouse, nibbling a piece of ?cheese held between its forepaws. Tail looped to form a ring or handle. (See also Plate Ib).
(Findspot near X).

No. 80. Part (?a handle) of a bronze object. The surviving portion is carved into a representation of various fruits of which two bunches of grapes are the most readily distinguishable. Found in a cinerary urn (now lost) lying on the calcined bones.
(Findspot R).

No. 81. Part (? a handle) of a bronze object. The surviving portion is the tail of a fish or marine object.

No. 82. Two fragments of the same bronze object which through corrosion and distortion, is not easy to identify, but which was possibly a wristlet.

No. 83. Fragment of what may have been a bronze wristlet.

No. 84. Half of a pointed strap terminal with two of the prick-points by which it was attached to the strap. For a complete example from the Roman Villa at Langton cf. *Roman Malton and District Report* no. 4 (1932), p. 71, fig. 18, no. 22.

No. 85. Bronze ? stud.

No. 86. ? Blunt (i.e. erasing) end of broken and bent bronze *stylus*.

No. 87. Fragment of indeterminate bronze object.

No. 88. ? as no. 86.

No. 89. Bronze stylus : blunt (i.e. erasing) end, slightly bent.
(Findspot S).

No. 89A. Bronze stud. I am told that when it was originally found, the incised design on the circular "face" consisted of red and yellow enamel; traces of which still remain.
(Findspot Z).

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[1] H. Ricken, *Die Bilderschüsseln der Römischen Töpfer von Rheinzabern: Tafelband*, 1948.

Figure 14.

No. 90a-q. Various pins of common type: all bone except p which is of jet.
(Findspot of 1, m and n, rectangular pit=?building at G).

No. 91. Fragment of an indeterminate bone object; slightly concave; the inner face has been carefully smoothed and polished and decorated with a design consisting of incised over-lapping concentric circles, linked together by other intervening lines. Near the top centre—as drawn—are two carefully cut circular holes drilled through it to take rivets. For a possible parallel from the Roman villa at Langton see *Roman Malton and District Report*, no. 4 (1932), p. 73, fig. 19, no. 13 where it is suggested that it was "probably once attached to a handle".

Nos. 92-4. Portions of bone needles.

No. 95. Part of ? small and much worn stone pestle.

No. 96. Spindle whorl of lead.

No. 97. As no. 95.

No. 98-100. Fragments of three different jet wristlets.

No. 101. Glass bead; white and purple.

No. 102. Glass bead; blue.

No. 103. Paste bead; turquoise.

No. 104. Glass bead; turquoise.

Figure 15.

No. 105. Iron axe head.
(Findspot—rectangular pit, ?building at G).

No. 106. An iron ? adze.
(Findspot as no. 105).

No. 107. Indeterminate iron object, possibly latch of a door.
(Findspot near M1).

Nos. 108 and 109. L-shaped slide keys, iron.
(Findspot of the second—Y).
The second of these was found attached to a chain (now lost) which appeared to have encircled the waist of a skeleton, see further pp. 286-7.

No. 110. Iron ?gimlet.

No. 111. Iron ring.

No. 112. Part of tile with legionary stamp [LEG V]I-V-PF.
(Findspot—rectangular pit, ?building at G).

No. 113. Shard of indeterminate vessel in red ware. Decoration consists of seven complete or incomplete circles, five wheel-like and two chequered. Bears a resemblance to the so-called Romano-Saxon ware, cf. especially *Dark Age Pottery*, ed. D. B. Harden 1956, pp. 32-3, fig. 7, 2 (fragment from Richborough). Cf. nos. 21 and 22 above and pp. 321-2).

No. 114. Part of tile with legionary stamp LEG VI[ ].[1]
(Findspot—rectangular pit, ?building at G).

Figure 16.

No. 116. Piece of metal dross (lead); the curved bottom suggests it had taken the shape of a melting pot.

No. 117. *Amphora*, complete. Buff fabric, cylindrical in shape with tapering base. Now in Yorkshire Museum. (See also Plate Ia).
(Findspot X).
Late 1st/early 2nd century.

No. 118a. Cornelian ringstone.
(Findspot near X).
Figure of Diana and fawn intaglio.

No. 118b. Onyx ringstone. "Impressionist" figure of stag under tree intaglio.

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[1] For possible reconstruction of rest of the stamp see p. 295 and footnote 1.

Conclusions.

In assessing the significance and extent of this "cemetery"[1] investigated by Mr. Dickinson, it must be borne in mind that the finds which he kept and which are described in this paper, are essentially selective. On his own admission (p. 299) Mr. Dickinson made many other finds, particularly of shards of pottery. and of skeletal remains, which he neither retained in his collection nor refers to in detail in these pages. It should therefore be emphasised that the number of burials and of other finds encountered in the area under discussion was far greater than a reading of the text of this paper or a perusal of the find list might imply. Secondly, Mr. Dickinson's finds were mostly fortuitous. Only in a few instances did he put down trenches—and then only haphazardly as the situation of his growing crops permitted—in a deliberate search for archaeological material. In other words, area 3a (figs. 2, 3 and 5) from which most of the finds came, was not dug systematically and it is reasonable to assume that many more finds await discovery in this area.

Cremations and inhumations were both found in this "cemetery". On the analogy of Roman burial customs in general and of evidence obtained from other York cemeteries in particular, cremation was the earlier of the two practices in Britain; then, for a time the two methods were used together until eventually, sometime in the 3rd century, inhumation supplanted cremation completely. This "cemetery" has produced some evidence as to the dates when these changes took place there and this is considered below. Though Mr. Dickinson lists only eleven cinerary urns,[2] it is unlikely, in view of what has been said above, that this figure represents anything like the total number of such burials in this "cemetery". In two instances the cinerary urns formed part of grave groups. The one at O, if Mr. Dickinson is to be believed, had with it as many as eleven Samian vessels of Dr. Forms 15/17, 18/31, 27, 31 and 35 (fig. 11, nos. 42-4, 48, 49 (three), 52 and 54-6), all of Flavian date. This group must, therefore, date, to the late 1st/early 2nd century. The second group, at N, consisted of the cinerary urn and a Samian cup, Dr. Form 33 (fig. 11, no. 50), both of which date middle/late 2nd century, together with two Castor ware cups (fig. 10, nos. 39 and 40) of late 2nd/early 3rd century date. The whole group is therefore late 2nd/early 3rd century. The other eight cinerary urns and the *amphora* are of late 1st/2nd century date. The evidence therefore points

[1] When used in inverted commas the word "cemetery" is considered as applying only to the Holgate Gardens area (area 3a of the figs.) investigated by Mr. Dickinson. As already pointed out, this area constituted only a small part of the extensive Mount cemetery which stretched for at least half a mile south of Micklegate Bar. Fig. 5 gives some idea of the extent of this Mount cemetery.

[2] Viz.:—the *amphora* found near X (Plate Ia and fig. 16, no. 117); an olla at O (fig. 6, no. 3); another at N (fig. 6, no. 2); another near L (fig. 7, no. 6); another at Q (p. 291, now lost); two near R (p. 287, now lost) and a group of four at H (figs. 6 and 7, nos. 4 and 5—two others being lost).

to cremation burials in this "cemetery" from the late 1st/early 2nd century until at least late 2nd/early 3rd century. Of the other pots listed and described in this paper—all presumably representing grave furniture with inhumations (since no calcined bones are reported as having been found in them)—none is earlier than the mid-2nd century.

In the Trentholme Drive "cemetery" less than a quarter of a mile away (see fig. 5) both cremations and inhumations were also found, together with part of the *ustrina*—the area on which the pyres were erected.[1] The *ustrina* was abandoned some time in the period A.D. 190-270, the area then being given over to inhumation burials. The evidence from the "cemetery" under discussions does not conflict with these conclusions. It is just possible that the demolition of the building at G about A.D. 240 (if, in fact, it was a building and if, indeed, it was demolished, see pp. 295-9) may have had something to do with an extension of the "cemetery" due to the increased, or increasing, popularity of inhumation at about that time.

Of the individual cremations, one calls for special mention, that of the *amphora*. This is the first instance in York of such a vessel being used for such a purpose and it is interesting to have it so closely paralleled by the example from London[2]—even to the splitting of it into two parts to insert the ashes.

As far as the inhumations are concerned, this "cemetery" shows the same variety of modes of burial as did the excavations in Trentholme Drive. They range from the stone coffin at W, to prepared graves with cobbled bases (pp. 293-5), wooden coffins (inferred from the nails with wood still adhering, p. 285), to simple uncoffined burials (inferred from the "crouch" burial of the child at T, p. 293). Although Mr. Dickinson does not mention any pot as specifically accompanying a skeleton, there can be no doubt that the majority of the pots he found not used as cinerary urns, together with many of his other miscellaneous finds in bronze, jet and bone, originally constituted grave furniture with inhumations. The discovery of a skeleton with a chain around its waist and a key on its breast is of interest, particularly as there is a York parallel (see pp. 286-7). The evidence of these pots—of mid-2nd/4th century date—taken in conjunction with that of the coins—suggests an intensive use of the cemetery for inhumation purposes from the late 2nd to the middle 4th centuries. The social status of the folk buried in this "cemetery", based on the quality of the pottery, coins and miscellaneous objects discovered, would not seem to be high. Here again, the similarity between this "cemetery" and that excavated in Trentholme Drive is striking. Of the individual finds deserving special notice are the ringstones (there are seven

[1] For references see p. 283 note.
[2] Reference quoted on p. 287 note.

in the Yorkshire Museum from York), the oculist's stamp (the first to be found in York), the two face vases (bringing the total found in York up to twenty) and the miniature bronze mouse (fig. 13, no. 79 and Plate Ib).

Mr. Dickinson stresses the fact that, of the fields worked by him (fig. 2), areas 1, 2 and 4 produced "few or no Roman remains" (p. 283) and area 3 b "very little" (p. 285). This suggests that burials were concentrated in area 3a, i.e. in the vicinity of the branch road now established as running across this area. (If, of course, the Roman road system in this vicinity was indeed as complex as that shown on fig. 5—i.e., with a triple road junction some forty yards north-west of area 3a—this locality would be even more "attractive" from a cemetery point of view.) Perhaps this area belonged to some burial guild or guilds. It must be emphasised yet again, however, that this "cemetery" merely formed part of the much more extensive Mount cemetery; and, as no *Roman* limits to what might be termed the "Dickinson cemetery" have been established, it creates an erroneous picture to disassociate it from the other Roman finds—which have been many—in the vicinity. The majority of these finds are indubitably connected with burials, though a few (e.g. altars) are not. Many such discoveries were made during the construction, and various extensions of the nearby railway tracks (figs. 2 and 3), while many more were made over a long period on the Driffield Estate (of which area 3a was for many years a part) and particularly in, and soon after, 1852 when Driffield Terrace and the houses alongside it, were built. These finds from the Driffield Estate contain a number of inscribed and sculptured tombstones suggesting a higher social status for at least some of the folk buried there. It is impossible to do more than refer to these thus briefly in these pages. The writer is, however, preparing another paper detailing these finds, together with all those recorded as coming anywhere from the Mount cemetery. Some idea of the variety and siting of these can be obtained by reference to fig. 5 where the findspots of the principal discoveries in this cemetery are shown.

The significance of the find at G, particularly if it does indeed prove the existence there of a mason's workshop, has already been stressed (pp. 295-7), as has also that of the finds at M1, M2 and M3 (fig. 3)—linking up, as they do, with the 1955 discovery in Dalton Terrace—of a branch road, leading off from the *Eboracum-Calcaria* road in a south-westerly direction.

The possibility that three shards (fig. 8, nos. 21 and 22; fig. 15, no. 113) if not four (fig. 9, no. 33) of what Mr. J. N. L. Myres is now calling Romano-Saxon ware were found in area 3a is important. Important not only because of the shards themselves but more particularly when they are considered in association with the small 5th century Anglian cremation cemetery found

in 1859 only a stone's throw away.[1] This 1859 find[2] was badly reported[3] and even the number of urns is not certain, though there were not less than six (that is the number now in the Yorkshire Museum), in one of which was a coin of Julia Domna, part of a comb and a pair of iron scissors or small shears; a smaller vessel containing no bones, together with the now famous glass bowl.

Note. On fig. 5 the Roman roads as represented by hard black lines are established, though their precise course in certain sectors may be modified slightly by future discoveries. The roads shown by dotted lines are conjectural though, in every instance, some archaeological evidence is forthcoming to suggest not only their existence but also their actual courses roughly as plotted. They are not, however, to be taken as proven, but are to be treated as a working hypothesis. They are included here to bring to the notice of scholars the apparent complexity of the Roman road system in this area, to indicate what recent research here in York seems to suggest and, above all, to act as a challenge to field workers in and around York to exercise the utmost diligence and watchfulness with regards to future discoveries which may have an important bearing on them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I wish to thank Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Morrell for allowing me to examine their collections and to write this paper based on the letters, notes, plans and diaries which they placed at my disposal. Plate Ia is from a photograph by Mr. R. H. Hayes of Hutton-le-Hole, Plates Ib, II and III are from photographs by Mr. Robin A. Hill of the Castle Museum, York. The pottery and other "find" drawings are by Messrs. N. Morrell of Kippax Common and R. E. Boustred of Walton-on-the-Naze, Essex.

[1] In view of the new Roman road now established in this area, it is evident that the Anglian cemetery was in one of the angles formed by this road and the main *Eboracum-Calcaria* road (see fig. 5).

[2] Referred to by Mr. Peter Hunter Blair in his paper *The Origins of Northumbria* in *Arch. Ael.*, 4th series, xxv (1947), pp. 40-2 where the York references are quoted (though add YMH, p. 212, II D.c.). Cf. also Professor Ian Richmond in *Arch. Journal* ciii (1947), p. 82.

[3] The conflicting accounts of this discovery have given rise to many misconceptions, one of which has recently occurred in *Dark Age Britain* (1956), p. 142 where Mr. D. B. Harden says that the glass bowl from this cemetery was "found in a built tomb on the Mount, York". The error has doubtless arisen because, very close to the Anglian urns, and at the same time or within a few weeks of their discovery in 1859, two massive Romano-British stone sarcophagi were also found (their findspots are marked on fig. 5). One was uninscribed, while the other (CIL 249) dedicated to the memory of Aelia Severa had, as a lid, the tombstone (CIL 245) of Flavia Augustina.

Figures 1-5 have been drawn by Mr. H. Richardson, of York, and figure 16, nos. 118a and b by Mr. L. Town of St. John's College, York. I thank Professor Eric Birley for the note on the oculist's stamp in Appendix II; the late Mr. W. V. Wade for the note on the coins in Appendix IV; Miss Grace Simpson for the report on the Samian ware, pages 314-8; and to Professor Birley, Mr. J. Gillam and Miss Brenda Swinbank for advice on the dating of the coarse pottery. Other acknowledgements appear in the text.

THE ROMAN ROADS IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE.

The Road from Lincoln to Brough (Derbyshire) Upper Whiston—Catcliffe Section (Part 1).

By Dorothy Greene, F.S.A., A.M.A., and P. H. J. Smedley.

This is the completion of our report upon Part 1 of the Roman road connecting Lincoln with Brough-in-Noedale, Derbyshire, and it gives a description of the second trench left open in 1954.

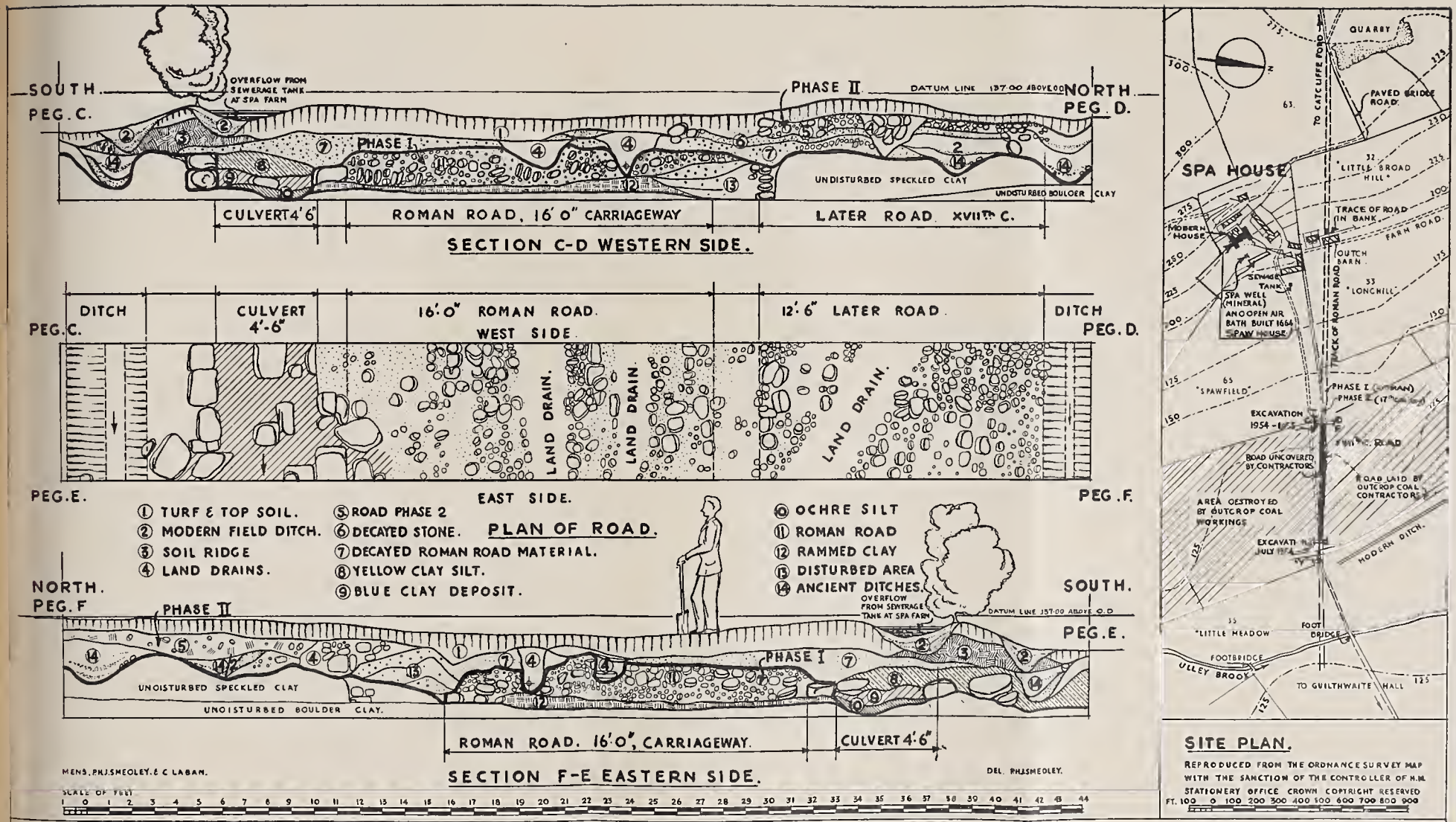
Trench II was cut 170 yards west of Trench I, which was fully described in a previous issue of this Journal,[1] and it was situated on the extreme Western boundary of the opencast area. We are again indebted to the Contractors, Messrs. T. J. Gough Ltd. and to Mr. F. Hurst of Spa House Farm, the owner of the land, for their help in the task and also to the following members of the Rotherham Historical Association:—Mr. T. Walker, Miss E. Harding, Miss E. Hale, Mr. S. J. Snook, Mr. C. Laban, Mr. L. Wales, Master K. Antony, Master B. Owen, and later four additional stalwarts, Mr. & Mrs. Cottam, Miss and Master Cottam.

Work actually commenced on Trench II in September, 1954, and the area pegged out was partly in the Spawfield and partly in the Longhill field. We followed our usual procedure, stripped the top soil to a depth of nine inches and almost immediately exposed the pitching of a road which showed traces of plough scraping. This was the later road (Phase II). The roots of the hedge dividing the fields had disturbed the southern side of the earlier road, but at 7 ft. north of the hedge Mr. Laban exposed the southern edge of the Roman pitching (Phase I) at a depth of 2′ 6″ and as work proceeded the remains of the culvert running down the side of this road appeared.

Rain and storms compelled us to cease work until October when we attacked the trench again. As we proceeded it became apparent that the road had been much disturbed by land drains of different periods, which, as they still worked all too well, added greatly to the difficulties of the task. Indeed, the trench became so waterlogged at one time that it was necessary to pump it clear. We will spare the reader a full account of our sufferings, and presenting the section (fig. 1), will make our report thereon.

The trench measured 45 ft. × 6 ft. × 4 ft. 6 ins. and gave us a fairly comprehensive picture of the roadworks. The Roman road is bounded on its south side by the intriguing culvert, 4 ft. 6 ins. in width and built of massive stones, 1 ft. 6 ins. × 1 ft. 3 ins. × 9 ins., which had conducted the water overflowing from

[1] Greene & Smedley, "Roman Roads in S. Yorks.", *Y.A.J.*, Vol. xxxviii, pt. 151, pp. 546-51.



ROMAN ROADS IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE–LINCOLN TO BROUGH, UPPER WHISTON TO CATCLIFFE SECTION–EXCAVATION II.

FIG. 1.

the spring (now covered by Spa House Well House) down the hillside to the Ulley Brook in Little Meadow. It will be remembered that the shadowy remains of this culvert were noted in Trench I.[1] We will take in turn the sections as drawn, showing the east and west faces of the trench.

THE WESTERN SIDE.

The pitching of the Roman road was clearly defined on the west side of the trench for a distance of 16 ft. north of the culvert, although it was grievously disturbed by land drains. The pitching was laid, as usual, upon a rammed clay bed, but in this case the bottom layer of stones, 9 ins. × 6 ins. × 3 ins., were laid on edge. Above came a band of smaller stones 6 ins. × 6 ins. × 3 ins. and then still smaller ones 3 ins. × 3 ins. × 3 ins. and over all, the inevitable band of sandy matter representing the decayed remains of Rotherham Red Rock pounded under pressure.

This sandy material (No. 7 on section) lies over the culvert and may be indicative of the fact that the culvert has been covered originally by a footway or sidetrack. On the northern side of the pitching an interesting feature was the disturbed area at No. 13 (fig. 1) which is bounded on its north by stones laid one upon another, apparently to form a retainer for the roadwork. This is all sealed over by the band of decayed stone (No. 7 of fig. 1) which again may be the remains of the base of a sidetrack, the edge of which is indicated by the large stone poised on the surface of 7 and bounding the finely graded material of 6 (fig. 1).

Mr. Smedley has indicated the Roman work on the section as Phase 1 and thus it is clear that the Roman boundary ditch on the north side of the road is shown by 14/2 at a distance of 11 ft. from the end of the heavy pitching, and the outer ditch of that period, with its several siltings, is shown by 14 (fig. 1) at a distance of 5 ft. north of 14/2. On the southern side of the section the ancient ditch (No. 14 of fig. 1) lies 3 ft. 6 ins. south of the culvert and thus we have a run of 41 ft. between the outer ditches of the Roman road works.

An equally interesting feature of this excavation is the clear section unearthed of the later road, shown as Phase II, and presumably made by Mr. George Westby, of Guilthwaite Hall, as a means of access between that house and the original Spa House erected in the 17th century.

This 17th century road was found almost intact although it is marred by land drains. It is clear, one feels, that Mr. Westby took his materials from the ruined Roman road alongside his "new" road and may indeed have used part of the supposed Roman sidetrack as his foundation, and thus carefully sealed the Roman road ditch, 14/2.

[1] Greene & Smedley, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

The accompanying photograph (Plate I) shows the Trench, looking south, and not only displays the watery state of affairs but also the two roads. The ranging rod No. 1 lies on the exposed area of the 17th century road and No. 2 stands erect at the southern edge of this road. Pole No. 3 lies with its point on the Roman road. The short erect pole No. 4 stands on the north edge of the culvert and No. 5 stands on the south edge of that waterway.

THE EASTERN SIDE.

This side was greatly disturbed, the culvert stones displaced and only the lower course remaining, but the section does show the original strength of the road.

The Roman work shows clearly, lying on its rammed clay bed, with, in this case, a band of smaller stones under the heavy ones.

The area of disturbance at 13 (fig. 1) is still to be seen on this side and seems to suggest that it was possibly excavated a long time ago. The small V notch which appears under the displaced soil is intriguing and it has been suggested that this is all which remains of the "scribing" or "setting-out" trench marking the line of the road, made under the direction of the long-dead surveyor.

Once again on this side we see the footing of a little "wall" which terminated the heavy pitching of the road. This was found at 12 ft. 6 ins. from Peg. F. The two Roman ditches 14/2 and 14 were also well defined but the remains of the 17th century road were very tumbled at this point.

THE CULVERT.

This is perhaps the most interesting feature of this excavation and was cleared as well as time and the appalling conditions allowed. The sections show the various layers of deposit within the watercourse and samples of these were submitted for analysis to Mr. G. Robinson, A.R.I.C., of the Department of Metallurgy and Chemistry at the Rotherham College of Technology, along with samples of the silt from the Well at Spa House.

It will be recollected that Mr. Westby had discovered the medicinal properties of this water and erected his "Spa House" in 1664.[1]

Mr. Robinson states that the Roman silt, or mud, was received in an air-dried condition but the silt, or mud, from Spa House Well was in a comparatively wet state, having been enclosed within an airtight tin container.

However, he air-dried a sample of this and it developed a very similar texture to the culvert sample. The colour of the culvert sample was a pale brown, 10 (fig. 1); that from the Well was darker and had a redder tint, but this he attributed to the corrosion from the container.

[1] Greene & Smedley, *op. cit.*, pp. 546-7; *Short History of Mineral Waters*, p. 269.

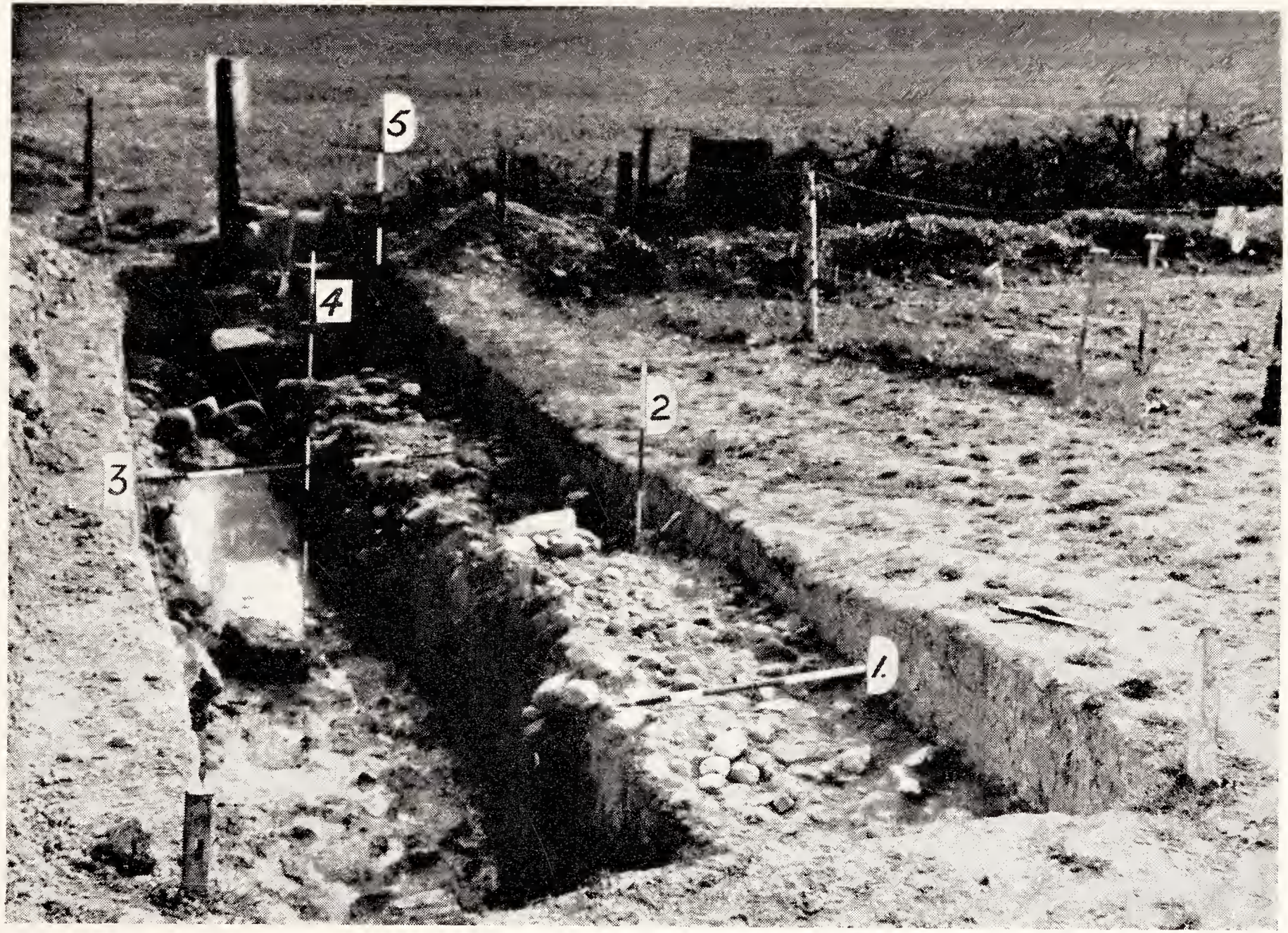


PLATE I. The excavation.

Water suspension of the samples showed a slightly lower acidity value in the Spa House one, but as this again could be the result of corrosion, and the difference was so slight, it would appear that the samples had approximately the same value.

The particle size was almost exactly similar, especially in the case of the free silica, the size and shape of the grains suggesting a common source of origin. He concludes, therefore, that the samples are from the same source.

It would appear from the above that the waters which the Romans had led down the hillside in the culvert originated in the spring which bubbles up on the hill and is now housed under the 17th century Well House, and they may indeed have made use of this water in some way at present unknown to us.

It is an interesting and significant fact that their problem is still present and that the overflow from the tank into which Mr. Westby impounded the well water in 1664, and also the drainage from the present house, is conducted to the sewage disposal tank at the point marked on the plan, the overflow of which travels down the hillside in an open ditch immediately above the ancient water way.

The old Bridle road system had also presented us with a problem. We were, as already stated, aware that George Westby had made a road from Guilthwaite Hall to his new built Spa House and indeed found traces of it in Trench I, and now in Trench II it appeared clearly on the northern side of the Roman road, but exactly how it approached the farm premises we did not know.

A visit to the Central Library in Sheffield to inspect the Fairbank collection of Maps produced one drawn by Fairbank in 1794 showing the Spa House and its lands. This solves the mystery; Mr. Westby's "new" road was cut just below the point where it swings slightly to follow along the northern side of the hedge between the fields. The correct route is now shown on the plan (fig. 1) and also the position of the original Spa House.

It will be noted that the way Mr. Westby crossed the Ulley Brook was upon the line of the Roman road, and a trial hole made by Mr. Snook near the modern field gate "Y" on the plan bared the top of the Roman pitching.

There is nothing more to say. It is impossible to draw proper conclusions from these two trenches about this Roman road; they must wait until our investigations further east along the route are completed. All we can say at the moment is this: if the road proceeds on its present line, it will arrive at Bawtry, to cross the Idle there and thus join the road to Littleborough which, crossing the Trent, leads on to Lincoln.

The route westward is, as shown on the one inch map already published,[1] across the Rother at Catcliffe and then towards Cricket Inn Road, Sheffield, from which point Mr. F. L. Preston has traced it to Brough-in-Noedale, co. Derby.

One thought does emerge from a study of this road—was its purpose to transport merchandise, lead for example, from Derbyshire to *Segelocum* (Littleborough) from whence it could be taken by barge along the Foss Dyke to Lincoln and the Car Dyke to more distant places? Excavation alone will answer our problems.

[1] Greene & Smedley, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

THE ROMAN EAST-WEST ROAD THROUGH SHEFFIELD.

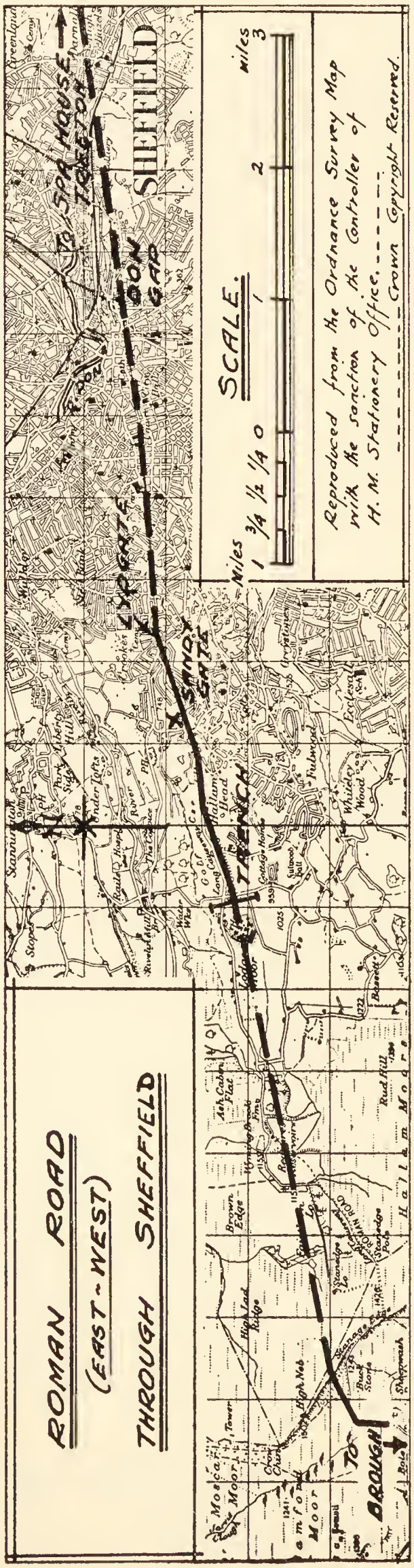
By F. L. Preston.

The Roman road from Bawtry on the Idle, which Miss D. Greene has traced as far as Spa Hill, Treeton,[1] passed through Sheffield on its way to the fort at Brough-in-Noedale, in Derbyshire. Whilst actual traces of the road through the built-up areas of the city have long since disappeared, it is possible on topographical grounds, supplemented by a little documentary and place-name evidence, to suggest its line with some degree of probability. In the part of its course here discussed the road had three major alignments between points on high ground visible from each other: (1) Spa Hill to Lydgate, 7 miles; (2) Lydgate to Hallam Head, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles; (3) Hallam Head to Stanage Edge, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The road nowhere deviated very much from these major alignments and, considering the hilly nature of the country to be crossed, one must admire the skill with which the Roman engineer laid out his line to take advantage of ridges and other features available to him.

Spa Hill to Lydgate. From Spa Hill the road aimed for the narrow gap near the medieval nucleus of Sheffield, through which the river Don, by an acute bend, penetrates the steep, westward-facing escarpment.[2] Here, between the sloping end of the escarpment on the south and the marshes of the Don on the north, there is a narrow shelf of relatively flat ground, now used by Cricket Inn Road. This road preserves the line of the old boundary between the townships of Sheffield and Attercliffe, which seems, also, to have been the northern boundary of the medieval Sheffield Park. That the Roman road used the same approach and may itself, in fact, have been used as the township boundary, is suggested by the hoard of some hundred Roman coins found in 1860 in a brickyard adjoining Cricket Inn Road a quarter of a mile east of the Don gap.[3]

Descending the gap, the road would ford the river Sheaf near the medieval bridge giving access to the Park from the castle and pass near the site of the latter at the confluence of the Sheaf and the Don, where fragments of Roman pottery, including one of Samian Ware, were found in 1927-9.[4] The road would then begin its ascent of the Hallam ridge,[5] passing the parish church (now the cathedral) which stood at the western edge of the town until about 1800 and which, for the past 250 years at

[1] *Ante*, pp. 324-8.
[2] *Sheffield and its Region*, Brit. Assn., 1956, p. 228.
[3] *Arch. Journ.*, xviii, p. 71; *Sheff. Telegraph*, 24th September, 1860.
[4] *Trans. of Hunter Arch. Soc.*, iv, p. 24.
[5] *Sheffield and its Region, cit.*, fig. 51.


ROMAN ROAD
(EAST-WEST)
THROUGH SHEFFIELD
SCALE.
Miles 1 3/4 1/2 1/4 0
1 2 Miles 3
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SHEFFIELD
TO BROUGH
TRENCH
Moor
Hallam Moor
Rud Hill
Brown Edge
Highlad Ridge
High Nab
Stanage Pole
Whirlow Wood
Fulwood
Ringinglow
Totley
Dore
Abbeydale Road
Ecclesall Road
Psalter Lane
Glossop Road
Sheffield Moor
Stanage Edge
Stanage Road
Redmires Reservoirs
Long Causeway
Ox Stones
Ash Cabin Flat
Totley Moor
Totley Rise
Totley Hall
Cottage Houses
Bents Green
Sharrow
Nether Edge
Broomhall
Crookes
Hunters Bar
Broomhill
Sharrow Head
Moor Head
Tower
Cross Stones
Stanage Low Lee
Stanage Pole
Stanage Edge
Stanage Road
Redmires Reservoirs
Long Causeway
Ox Stones
Ash Cabin Flat
Totley Moor
Totley Rise
Totley Hall
Cottage Houses
Bents Green
Sharrow
Nether Edge
Broomhall
Crookes
Hunters Bar
Broomhill
Sharrow Head
Moor Head
Tower
Cross Stones

least, has had an unusually rectangular churchyard. A little beyond the church the road would pass over or near Balm Green, where the City Hall now stands. A deed of 1324, almost certainly referring to land near Balm Green, gives the abuttal of the land as "upon an ancient road leading through the middle of the town of Sheffield towards the west."[1]

The road would continue along the ridge, following an old footpath, and pass in front of the University and the City Museum on the line of the medieval Hallam Lane to the edge of the lateral Crookesmoor valley. Some 300 yards down the valley to the north a hoard of 30-40 Roman coins was found in either 1823 or 1829.[2] Early reservoirs have removed any trace of the road across the valley, but on the farther side Lydgate Lane preserves its approximate line to the high ground at Lydgate.

Lydgate to Hallam Head. Whilst the medieval and present road has a sinuous course between Lydgate and Hallam Head, although, perhaps significantly, it crosses the knoll between these points, one may suppose that the Roman road would follow a more direct line. Passing Sandygate (a place-name noted on Roman roads elsewhere),[3] the Roman road was probably to the north of the present road, as it approached the eastern end of the Hallam Head ridge, which is the present extent of the built-up area of the city.

Hallam Head to Stanage Edge. The present road between Hallam Head and Stanage Edge, said to have been the only road for vehicles into Sheffield from the west before the turnpikes,[4] has borne the name of "Long Causey" since before 1795.[5] The Roman road, however, diverged from the present road, particularly in its ascent to Stanage Edge.

Where the present road at the western end of the ridge deviates slightly to the north, the early O.S. sheet[6] shows the southern boundary wall set back from the road for some 10-12 yards. This probably represented an entrance into the field along the Roman road. The latter crossed this field and the next (the common boundary wall of which from the present road to the Roman line is at a slight angle with the rest of its course) and ran just within the following two fields, where the present road has swung back, to the Crimicar Lane junction. Beyond the junction the line continues just within the next two fields, diverging slightly southwards from the present road, and was seen by the writer as a crop mark in the second field in 1955. At the same time there was noticed on the same line in the third, rough grass

[1] T. W. Hall, *Cat. of Ancient Charters*, 1913, p. 7.

[2] *Samuel Mitchell MS.* (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 28108); J. D. Leader, in J. Guest's *Historic Notices of Rotherham*, p. 608.

[3] I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, i, pp. 108, 110; *cp.* p. 125 (Sandy Lane), p. 177 (Sandy).

[4] R. E. Leader, in *Trans. of Hunter Arch. Soc.*, ii, p. 13.

[5] Wm. Fairbank & Son, *A Map of the Parish of Sheffield*, 1795.

[6] O.S. 6-in. sheet, YORKS. W.R. 294 (SW), 1854 ed.

field what seems to be the remains of a cambered *agger* with indications of side ditches 32 feet apart. The *agger* begins at the wall between the second and third fields and runs for 32 yards to the footpath across the field. Beyond the footpath there is a rather marshy hollow, which represents the stream formerly flowing northwards through the field. No further decisive traces of the line remain in this field or in the next grass field, although the gate between them is on or near the line.

The Roman road then crossed Blackbrook Road, where faint indications of it were seen in a trench for an oil pipe line laid alongside the present road in 1955, and then entered a plantation containing three Bronze Age barrows. This plantation seems to have been a part of Lodge Moor enclosed under the Act of 1791[1] and to have been planted before 1846.[2] The alignment from Hallam ends just short of the southernmost barrow, seemingly used as a local sighting point, whence a slightly more northerly alignment closely skirts the barrow and crosses the next field as far as the hospital. An excavation in the plantation by the writer in 1956 has established the line of the road and a width of 31 feet between the side ditches.

Beyond the hospital the same line follows a deviation of the 950-feet contour line for 100 yards, but in the succeeding fields its trace has not been seen. Westwards, the ground has been disturbed by the old racecourse, used as a prisoner-of-war camp in the two wars, and by the waterworks conduit. The direct line from the plantation, however, crosses Soughley Lane where a farm road joins it, and passes immediately south of the farm. The line crosses the next field, which has an appearance of being banked up here above the head of the Wyming Brook gorge.

Hitherto, the present road, on the line of the pre-turnpike carriage road, has been to the north of the alignment discussed; now it turns shortly south-westwards to climb to Stanage Pole on the county and city boundary. The line of the Roman road from Stanage Edge to the Brough fort was studied by the late B. H. St. J. O'Neil,[3] who noted that the present road crossed marshy ground between the Pole and the Edge on a wide causeway and, after running along the Edge, descended the cliff on a high dry-built wall. Near this point Mr. O'Neil saw an old road, cut into the hillside, continuing along the Edge and crossing a stream by a built-up and revetted bank. Beyond the stream the road was paved and cambered until, descending through a cleft in the Edge, it became a hollow-way, which was then lost. Lower down, there was a berm or hollow-way in line with the former

[1] *Map of the Parish of Sheffield, cit.*
[2] Samuel Mitchell, in a letter to Thomas Bateman dated 26th December, 1846, now in the Sheffield City Museum.
[3] *Antiquity*, xix, 1945, p. 12.

and a zig-zag hollow-way more to the south. From evidence below the Edge Mr. O'Neil, on good grounds, considered the hollow-way through the cleft and the berm or hollow-way to represent the line of the Roman road.

At the time Mr. O'Neil was unaware of the Fairbank Collection of maps etc. at Sheffield City Library. On "Hath. 3 S" (undated, but before 1820) Fairbank shows the present road from the Pole as a projected one and the existing road (running sinuously from the Pole to the Edge, along the latter, through the cleft and down the zig-zag hollow-way) as "Long Causeway Road", that is, the pre-turnpike carriage road already mentioned. When his attention was drawn to this evidence by the writer, Mr. O'Neil recognised that the road from the Pole and along the Edge was not Roman.

To return now to the alignment from the Lodge Moor plantation, which has been left at Soughley Lane. A continuation of this line across Wyming Brook and through the waterworks plantation and the reservoirs ascends towards Stanage Edge by an easier gradient and over what may be firmer ground than the ascent to Stanage Pole. This line makes use of a depression in the skyline visible from Hallam Head and reaches Stanage Edge at the cleft through which Mr. O'Neil's hollow-way descends.

Whilst this course from Wyming Brook cannot as yet be considered proved, it does resolve the difficulties hitherto experienced in taking the Roman road by Stanage Pole, with an acute change of direction somewhere west of Lodge Moor and with difficult country to be negotiated south of the reservoirs. Such a course is in conformity with the observed skill of the Roman engineer in laying out this road all the way from the east with the fewest possible changes of direction.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE[1]

NORTH RIDING

KIRKLINGTON.

In February, 1953, the half part of a shallow dish of white ware, apparently in association with human remains, was found by workmen in the southern portion of a quarry lying immediately north of the village. The Lady Well lies very near the find spot. A Roman brooch of early date was found in this quarry in 1949, and both finds are now in the Yorkshire Museum, York.

(Reported by Miss E. M. Walker).

LANGTON-ON-SWALE NEAR NORTHALLERTON.

A coin of Marcus Aurelius was found at Low Kiplin Farm about 30 years ago "near the remains of some foundations".

MARCUS AURELIUS 161-180 A.D.

Obv.—IMP M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG.
Head, laureate, to R.

Rev.—CONCORD AVG TRP XVI COS III.
Concordia seated L. holding paten and resting L. arm on statue of Spes placed on cornucopiae.

Dec. 161-Dec. 162, cf M. & S. 40.

(Information from Edward W. Reed).

HOLME HOUSE, NEAR PIERCEBRIDGE.

An air photograph by Dr. St. Joseph revealed the site of a small rectangular earthwork or building, not visible on the ground. The field when ploughed yielded tesserae and Roman sherds.

Reported by Mr. G. H. Richardson 7.vii.52).

SCARBOROUGH.

An *antoninianus* of Claudius Gothicus was picked up on the south beach near high water mark on the 17th October, 1949, by Mr. Fordy.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS 268-270 A.D.

Obv.—DIVIO CLAVDIO.
Head, radiate, to R.

Rev.—CONSECRATIO.
Altar.

Mint—Rome A.D. 270, cf. Cohen 50.

SESSAY.

In 1950 part of a Roman road was observed by Miss Robb in the farms of Bruce House and Cold Harbour on either side of the Railway Station at Sessay.

[1] I am grateful to Miss D. Greene, F.S.A., A.M.A., for collecting and editing this section.—Editor.

SUTTON-UNDER-WHITESTONECLIFFE NEAR THIRSK.

Mr. S. V. Morris reported the find of a *dupondius* of Hadrian in the stack yard of Mr. Fountain's farm, on the main road, in 1948.

HADRIAN 117-138 A.D.

Obv.—HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS PP.
Radiate Bust to R.
Rev.—HILARITVS AVG/SC/COS III.
Hilaritus standing L. a child to L.

(MISS E. M. WALKER.)

THORNTON-LE-DALE.

"Roman coin found in the garden of "Rookwood", Thornton-le-Dale, by Mr. J. C. Gray, some 350 yards north of the Low Mill Garth site". (E. Yorks. Gazetteer, p. 133)

GRATIAN—367-83 A.D.
AE. 3.

Obv.—Head of Emperor wearing diadem to Right.
Rev.—GLORIA ROMANORVM.
Emperor to R. dragging captive by hair.
In Exergue: S.M.A.Q. Mint of Aquileia.

R. H. HAYES.

EAST RIDING

SOUTH NEWBALD AND SANCTON.

A trench for a new water main, lying in the eastern verge of the Brough-on-Humber—York Road (National Grid Ref. 904378; one inch Ordnance Sheet 98) revealed at its southern end a well built sandstone wall approximately 4ft. in width, also two floors of clay and chalk, well grounded. One floor was covered with burnt ash in which were found sherds of Roman pottery.

At the north end of the trench, and on the same level as the floors, three flat pavers were found in situ, each being 1ft. 6ins. × 3ft.

The area under consideration is approximately 50 yds. in extent from wall to pavers and the remains lie 3ft. 6ins. below the existing road surface. In the "spill" from the trench dressed sandstone, pieces of red tile and pottery were found. Also, in the neighbouring fields the plough has exposed pottery, tiles and mortar.

The remains appear to lie near the Roman road running from Brough to Malton and is within 1 miles of the site partially excavated by Dr. Philip Corder in Hotham Lane, North Newbald in 1939.[1]

[1] P. Corder—*Roman Site, North Newbalk, E. Yorks.* (*Proc. Leeds Phil. Soc.*, Vol. v, pt. IV, pp. 23-38).

GROVE FARM, HAYTON and also at TRENWICK.

The water main trench travelled across grass fields in this area and the soil here is light sand and gravel but at intervals very black earth was thrown out of the excavation and attracted my attention.

Examination of these black patches revealed charcoal, animal bones, numerous sherds of Roman pottery, parts of querns and one coin, which had unfortunately been burnt and was thus unidentifiable.

At the southern end of the trench, near Trenwick, rough floors made of pounded clay and gravel, in which was embedded fragments of pottery, were noted.

The embankment running east to west on the site was cut by the trench and found to be a filled in trench and no trace of soil disturbance was seen beyond this point.

Mr. G. F. Willmot, M.A., Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, visited the site and all the finds are now in his care.

My thanks are due to the Waterworks Company for their co-operation and also to the landowners who permitted my wanderings upon the sites.

J. E. Taylor.

EASTBURN.

In the Spring of 1954 members of the Bridlington Augustinian Society noticed chalk circles in a newly ploughed field on the north side of the Eastburn-Low Battleburn Road.

One circle was excavated and revealed two grain drying kilns built of chalk blocks. The larger one had a draught hole from the west and no cover, but the trench and furnace hole were filled with an accumulation of chalk and stone.

The smaller kiln took advantage of winds from the south, but as this furnace was nearer the surface it had been disturbed by ploughing, particularly at the northern end.

A small amount of pottery was found but fragments of mortaria, black cooking pots and a flagon suggested a late fourth century use. All these sherds are of East Riding origin.

Eric Mellor.

WEST RIDING

BARKISLAND, HALIFAX.

The exact location and name of the finder of this Roman coin are not known, it is now on loan at Bradford Museum.

DIOCLETIAN 284-304 A.D.

Follis.

Obv.—IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.
Laureate head of Emperor to R.

Rev.—SACRA MONET AVG G ET CAESS NOSTR.
Moneta to L. holding scales and cornucopiae.

Mint—TRS^{2} (Treveri secunda).

OULTON, NEAR LEEDS.

In the 1930 period three Roman coins were found by a Mr. Nuttall during draining operations and are now in the collection of Mr. Eric Laughton of 2 Fernhill Road, Shipley. The coins are :—

Diocletian (284-304 A.D.)—Billon tetradrachm
Maximianus (286-305 A.D.)—Billon tetradrachm
Constans (337-350 A.D.)—A.E. quinarius

W. Robertshaw,
Director, Bradford Museums.

NEWTON HILL, WAKEFIELD.

In May, 1955, Mr. McNaughton, of 9 Third Avenue, Newton Hill, (Nat. Grid Ref :—331229. 6in. Ordnance Sheet 233 S.E.) found a Roman coin in his garden. This was identified as an *as* of Trajan and is in a very worn condition.

Obv.—Bust of Emperor to R. laureate and draped.
Legend illegible.
Rev.—Totally illegible.
The coin is still in Mr. McNaughton's possession.

H. Speak.

TEMPLEBROUGH, NEAR ROTHERHAM.

The site of the Roman fort at Templebrough lies 1 miles S.W. of the town of Rotherham and is now covered by the works of Steel, Peech & Tozer Ltd., lying on the north side of Sheffield Road (A.631).

The Company is now extending the premises on to the south side of Sheffield Road and erecting a large strip mill at the western end of their lands, with railroad communications running eastward and thus crossing the site where the late Mr. W. V. Wade discovered shops and houxes lining the southern approach to the Fort in 1947.

With their usual courtesy the Company has permitted me to examine all trenches etc. on the site on behalf of the Rotherham Museum.

It was obvious that the new shop would be across the assumed line of the road leaving the west gate to the Fort and as a result of careful examination, about 140 yards of it has been traced proceeding in a south westerly direction. An interesting feature was the appearance of another road, running due west, and crossing the military way. Near the junction remains of a large building were noted.

In September, 1955, a burial urn was found casually by Mr. C. Laban and Mr. S. J. Snook, on the eastern part of the site after the surface had been "scraped" to a depth of 9ins. The extremely shattered remains have been presented to the Museum.

In December, 1955, another burial urn appeared at a distance of 250 yards westward of the first. It was recovered almost intact (minus its top) from the side of the railway cutting. It is a beautifully shaped rusticated cook pot of late 1st or early 2nd century type. The human remains of both urns have been sent to Dr. D. E. Owen of Leeds City Museum for examination. Later, the urns will be on show at Rotherham Museum.

This brief note is for record purposes only; a complete report will be made later. Work on the site will continue for a further 18 months at least.

Dorothy Greene,
Hon. Keeper Roman Antiquities.
Rotherham Museum.

A HOLDERNESS CHARTER OF WILLIAM COUNT OF AUMALE

By C. T. Clay, C.B., F.B.A.

The grantor of the charter, of which a photographic reproduction accompanies this note, was William le Gros, count of Aumale, son and successor of Stephen count of Aumale and lord of Holderness. He was created earl of Yorkshire by King Stephen after the battle of the Standard in 1138, in which he rendered conspicuous service. He did not retain his English earldom later than Stephen's reign, but he continued to be ranked among the 'comites' in virtue of his inherited tenure of the *comté* of Aumale in Normandy. He founded Thornton abbey in Lincolnshire in 1139 and Meaux abbey in Yorkshire in 1150, and he died in 1179. His daughter and heir succeeded him in the *comté* of Aumale and the lordship of the honour of Holderness; and from her second husband descended the later lords of Holderness.[1]

The late William Farrer gave the texts of about two dozen of his charters in the section on the honour of Holderness in *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. iii; but none of these were taken from originals now known to exist. In about half of them the address includes the honorial sheriff, always taking second place to the steward, as in the present charter.

Bonwick, the subject of the feoffment, lies in the parish of Skipsea, then the headquarters of the honour in Yorkshire. It now consists of the two farms of High and Low Bonwick, and is regarded as one of the lost villages of the East Riding.[2] With its six carucates in the twelfth century, rendering the service of half a knight's fee, it was evidently a place of some importance. Its early history is obscure, and Poulson has very few details to present.[3] Neither Skipsea itself nor Bonwick are mentioned in the Domesday survey; and they were presumably included in the 28 carucates of the manor of Cleeton.[4] It is recorded in a feodary of Holderness, assigned to the latter part of the reign of Henry III, that there were 6 carucates of land in Bonwick of the fee of Thomas son of . . . . de Merston.[5] In 1268 William son of Thomas de Merston granted to John de Carlton his holding of $6\frac{2}{3}$ bovates in Bonwick with the reversion of two other holdings there, one being the tenure of Joan widow of Thomas de Merston in dower, for 60 marks of silver;[6] and in the following year John de Carleton

[1] *Complete Peerage*, new ed., i, 353; and *E.Y.C.*, vii, pp. 20-3, for his acquisition of the honour of Skipton by marriage.

[2] *Y.A.J.*, xxxviii, 58. In the nineteenth century the population declined from 31 to 14 (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 495).

[3] *Holderness*, i, 462.

[4] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 265*n*.

[5] *Kirkby's Inquest*, p. 372.

[6] *Yorks. Fines*, 1246-72, p. 156.

acquired a further interest there, being the homage and service for 4 bovates.[1] In 1284-85 John de Carleton held 6 carucates in Bonwick;[2] and in 1316 John son of William de Roos and Alexander de Carleton were returned as lords of Bonwick with its members.[3] From these details it can be deduced that John de Carlton had purchased the interest of the Marston family in Bonwick; and his resultant holding in the vill was of the same amount as that granted by William count of Aumale in the present charter.

The grantee, Thomas son of Vuieht, was a man of considerable interest. He can be identified with Thomas of York 'filius Ulvieti' who at Michaelmas 1130 owed a hunting-horse to be an alderman in the gild of merchants of York.[4] He witnessed two charters issued on the same occasion shortly before 1148, in one of which he was described as Thomas de Ultra Usiam and in the other as Thomas 'filius Ulluati';[5] and another, not earlier than 1158, as Thomas son of Vuiet of York.[6] With Thomas his son Thomas de Ultra Usa witnessed in the period *c.*1158-1163, and Thomas de Ultra Usam witnessed a York charter 1163-66.[7] In the *carta* returned by Amfrey de Chauncy in 1166 Thomas 'filius Wilnoth' was one of three joint holders of a knight's fee; and Farrer, amending the name to Wlviet, identified this as lying in Swaythorpe.[8] Thomas son of Ulueat was granted a life tenancy of land in Millington by Savaric, abbot of St. Mary's York, *c.*1150-1161, which was repeated to Thomas his son by abbot Clement not later than 1184; and also a tenancy of 4 bovates in Yapham to hold freely.[9] As Thomas son of Uvieth of York he was living as late as 1170-85,[10] but probably early in that period. In addition to his son Thomas he had two other sons Robert and Nicholas who, described as sons of Thomas de Ultra Use, witnessed an Addingham charter *c.*1195-1212.[11] In 1205 Thurstan de Tolveston [Toulston] and Agnes his wife gave a mark for a writ for the reasonable dower of Agnes from the tenement of Thomas Ultra Usam, formerly her husband, in Bonwick and six other places, of which William son of Thomas had deforced her.[12] This was evidently Thomas the younger. At least three of these places are in the neighbourhood of Skirpenbeck, the headquarters of the Chauncy fee, of which Thomas son of Wlviet was a tenant in 1166.

There is one clue, which however must be regarded with caution, for the origin of the grantee of the present charter. In 1106 a certain Ulvet son of Forne, who by right of inheritance was a lagaman of the city of York, was named among the many men of the county whom the king's justices called before them

1 *Yorks. Fines*, 1246-72, p. 171.
2 *Feudal Aids*, vi, 41.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 163.
4 *Pipe Roll* 31 *Hen. I*, p. 34.
5 *E.Y.C.*, v, nos. 156, 158.
6 *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 486.
7 *E.Y.C.*, i, nos. 118, 333.
8 *Ibid.*, ii, no. 833 and note.
9 *Ibid.*, no. 1242 and note.
10 *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1738.
11 *Ibid.*, vii, no. 104.
12 *Rot. de Fin.*, p. 312.

Sciatis me dedisse Thom fil Guethe in feodo & hereditate Bonesvie & omnibz pertinentiis suis

Lincs. Archives Office
Anderson deed
_____ one inch

to testify to the customs of the church of York;[1] and in the period 1115-29 King Henry I issued a writ for the tenure by Ralph 'filius Ulvieti' of his land and houses in York as Forne his grandfather held them at his death.[2] Forne had held a dwelling in York and several places including Skirpenbeck and Swaythorpe, which at the Domesday survey were in the fee of Odo the Crossbowman, the predecessor of Amfrey de Chauncy.[3] It is therefore a tempting suggestion that Thomas son of Ulviet was a younger brother of Ralph and possibly his successor.

The charter itself can be compared with a charter of William count of Aumale[4] confirming to the canons of Bytham the church of Bytham and Helewel [Holywell, co. Lincoln] which, compared with his charter issued shortly before the foundation of Meaux abbey in 1150,[5] can be assigned to about that date; and it will be seen that four witnesses are common to both. The first witness to the present charter, Everard de Ros, can certainly be identified as Everard de Ros I, who died in or before 1153. He and his brother Robert, his eventual successor, were members of a family which, probably deriving its name from Roos in Holderness, had acquired Helmsley through the marriage of their father Peter de Ros with Adeline one of the three sisters and coheirs of Walter Espec.[6] Elias de Amundeville and Ralph his brother both held tenancies of the Aumale fee in Lincolnshire; and, although they both lived for many years longer, they occur together as witnesses to charters of count William, styled earl of Yorkshire in one of them, as early as the period 1138-42.[7] The name of the next witness is uncertain; if the fourth letter is a 't' it is badly written; but it may be significant that Cayton was one of the places in the wapentake of Pickering Lythe where the counts of Aumale held a tenancy of the Bigod fee.[8] Walter de Meineres was a member of a family with an interest either then or later in Skeffling in Holderness;[9] and the next two witnesses were presumably the successors of Walter de Senardiponte and Berenger d'Aunay (*de Alneto*), who witnessed a charter of Stephen count of Aumale in 1115.[10] Bernard de Helewella took his name from Holywell, co. Lincoln, and witnessed the Bytham and Meaux charters mentioned above; he was the donor of a toft in Hedon to Thornton abbey, of which William the butler was also a benefactor.[11]

The combined evidence shows that the charter was issued in the last half of the reign of Stephen, not later than 1153, and probably about 1150. It is written in a clear and attractive

[1] Farrer, *Itinerary of Henry I*, p. 37.
[2] *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 206.
[3] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, pp. 192, 282.
[4] *Reg. Antiquissimum*, Linc. Rec. Soc., iii, no. 1018.
[5] *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1379.
[6] *Complete Peerage*, new ed., xi, 90.
[7] 'The Family of Amundeville' in *Lincs. Arch. Soc. Rep.*, vol. iii, pp. 117, 124; *E.Y.C.*, iii, nos. 1313-4. They also witnessed no. 1381, of date 1150-53.
[8] *Ibid.*, i, p. 490.
[9] *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1400.
[10] *Ibid.*, no. 1304.
[11] *Ibid.*, no. 1312.

script. It will be noticed that the form of the letter 'r' with its long curving tail is predominant, but that the small 'r' occurs in the word *tenuram*, and both forms in the names *Ebrardo* and *Bernardo*. The text is as follows :

> W. comes Alb[emarlie] dapifero suo et vic[ecomiti] et omnibus baronibus suis et omnibus fidelibus terre sue Franc[is] et Angl[is] salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Thome filio Vuieht in feodo et hereditate Bonewic cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ubi sunt vj. carrucate terre per seruitium dimidii militis illi et heredibus suis tenere de me et heredibus meis et uolo quod bene et in pace illam teneant cum omnibus pertinentibus que eidem uille predicte pertinent tam libere et quiete sicut ullus baronum meorum liberius et quietius tenuram suam tenet. Test[ibus] Ebrardo de Ros . et Roberto fratre suo . Hel[ia] de Amund[euilla] et Rad[ulfo] fratre suo . Alano de Cai[?]tun . Waltero de Meineres . Rob[erto] de Senarpunt . Rob[erto] de Alneto . Bernardo de Helewella . Willelmo pincerna . Rogero clerico.
>
> *Tongue for seal (missing).*

My thanks are due to Mrs. J. Varley, F.S.A., for her kindness in making the charter known to me after her discovery of it, and for arranging for the excellent photograph to be taken; and to Mrs. G. C. V. Duncombe, the present owner, for her permission to have it reproduced here. The charter was discovered among the muniments of the Anderson family of Lea, co. Lincoln, now on deposit with the Lincolnshire Archives Committee. So far as is known the family had no connexion with Bonwick or Skipsea, and it is not unlikely that a former member of the family was a collector and acquired the charter from a Yorkshire source.

THE HERBERT HOUSE, YORK

By T. W. French.

The Herbert House stands on the south side of the street in York called the Pavement, and is a timber-framed building offering a striking contrast to the drabness of the Victorian and modern buildings surrounding it. It takes its name from the famous merchant family whose connections with it will be considered later. Under its west end is a passage leading into an alleyway known as Lady Peckitt's Yard,[1] on the east side of which is another timber-framed house. These two houses are connected by a junction block, the significance of which has been misunderstood in recent years, and together form one property. It is the purpose of this article to put down what is known of these buildings, and to place their earlier history on a firmer footing than has hitherto obtained. The architectural descriptions which follow are based on a survey made for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) to which I am also indebted for permission to use photographs and drawings. The Royal Commission is in no way responsible for the article as a whole or for the conclusions drawn, which are entirely my own.

The house fronting onto Pavement, which will be referred to as 'House A', is a three-storeyed building. On the Pavement frontage (pl. Ia),[2] which is roughly the north elevation, it is timber-framed, the upper two storeys being jettied. The ground-floor has a modern shop front except at the west end where there is the passage into Lady Peckitt's Yard, and at the east end where a doorway was inserted in 1925.[3] Although the original framing has vanished, the wall-plate has survived, and where its soffit is

[1] So-called after Lady Alice Peckitt, wife of John Peckitt, merchant, who was Lord Mayor of York in 1701, and who lived in the house at the bottom of the Yard. It is clear from the deeds of this latter house that Lady Peckitt's Yard was, strictly speaking, the open space onto which the alleyways from Pavement, Fossgate and the Merchant Adventurers' Hall debouched. The alleyway from Fossgate was tentatively identified by the late Dr. Maud Sellars as the medieval Trichour Lane (*Surtees Society* 129, p. iii, n. 2). The Rev. Angelo Raine (*Medieval York*, Murray, 1955) makes the identification quite positively (p. 66), but the documents he quotes (pp. 66, 72 & 184) seem to disprove it. Possibly it was the unidentified 'Osmond Lane' which he mentions (p. 67). The lane from Pavement past the Merchant Adventurers' Hall to the Foss he identifies as 'Bacusgail' (pp. 66 & 184). The documentary evidence is inconclusive. For the architectural problems see pp. 344 and 355.

[2] Plates Ia, IIa & IIb and figures 1a, 1b & 2 are reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). I am indebted to the York City Reference Library for the loan of the negatives for pls. II & III, and of the original copper-plate for pl. IV.

[3] See p. 348.

visible, mortices can be seen for the original studs. Over the entrance to Lady Peckitt's Yard there are three mortices in the wall-plate, showing that the wall here was originally fully framed, and that therefore when the house was built the present passage did not exist.[1] On the upper storeys the framing is exposed. The joist ends to the first and second floors are masked by fascia boards carved with typical Jacobean ornament, the lower one having vine leaves and other foliate patterns, and the upper one an arabesque design. The Attic level has two gables facing the street, both with exposed framing. They also have bargeboards decorated with Jacobean motifs, very much restored, and are enriched at top and bottom with finials and pendants, all with a slightly bogus appearance. The side elevations are hidden, on the east by the Golden Fleece Inn[2] and on the west by a shop which was rebuilt in 1861.[3] The back elevation (south) is rather surprising as it is built entirely of brick. At first sight one might imagine this to be a later replacement of a timber-framed wall, but in fact it is almost certainly original. All the present windows are modern, but there are numerous straight joints which no doubt indicate the positions of earlier windows. Two gablets, one at each end, finish off the elevation, with a flat coping between them.

Internally the house, though very different from its original grandeur, still has some interesting features. The ground-floor, apart from some stop-chamfered beams, has been entirely gutted, and is, with the basement, a self-contained unit. The rest of the house is an entity and is interconnected with the timber-framed house in Lady Peckitt's Yard. The first-floor provides more of interest. The whole of the north front was occupied by one large room which has now been partitioned into two. The larger of these two rooms is lined with a hotch-potch of seventeenth century panelling of two distinct types with a carved frieze at the top. The stops to the ceiling-beam mouldings are partly or wholly masked on the south and west walls, showing that much of the panelling and frieze has been reused. In the south wall is a Jacobean fireplace and overmantel (pl. Ib) surmounted by a nineteenth century painting of the Herbert arms on a wooden

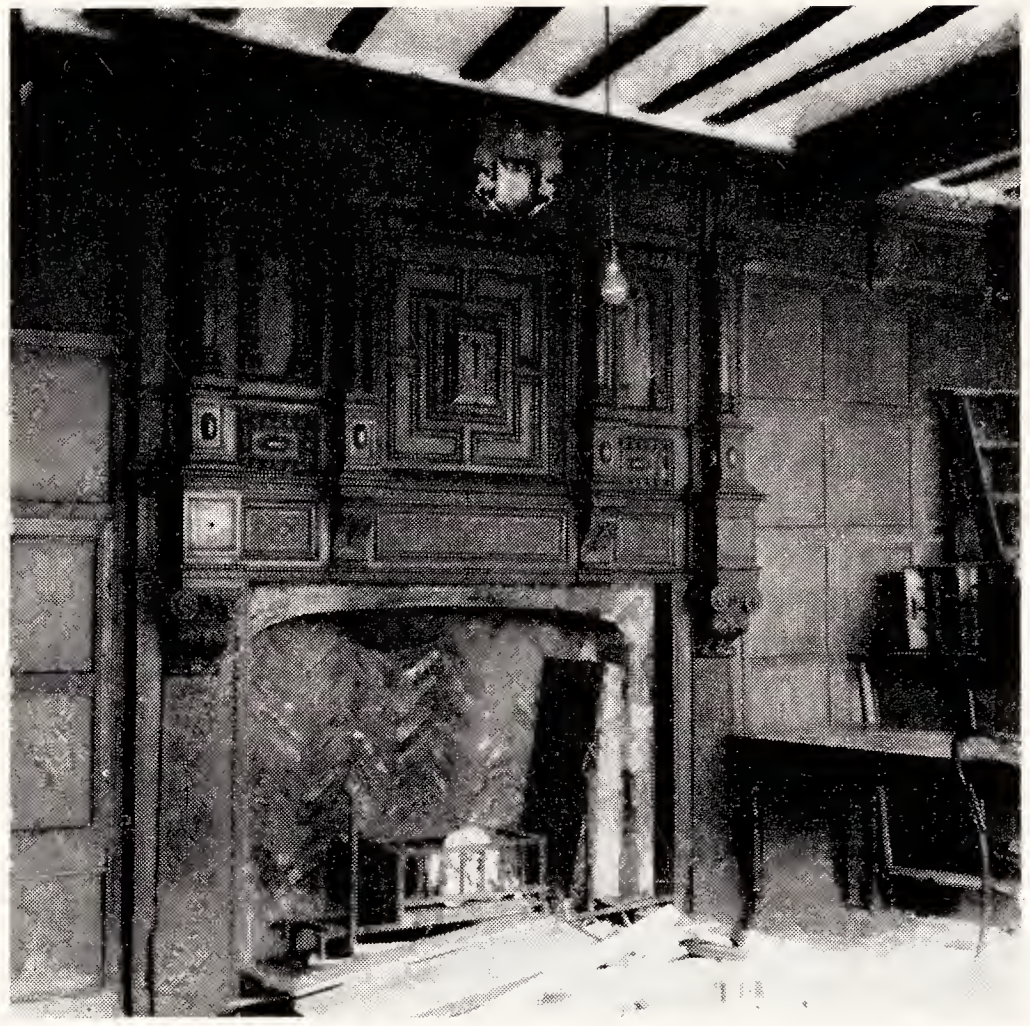
[1] For a suggested explanation of this see p. 355. The only alternative explanation for the mortices is that the studs were very short ones tenoned into the head of a timber doorframe, as for example at the 'Marquis of Granby Inn' Colchester (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), Essex III, pl. p. 100), but such a doorway is usually of sixteenth century date and would be a complete anachronism here.

[2] See p. 349.

[3] The date is given in a letter from J. S. Rowntree to Henry Hardcastle dated 22 November 1895 and now preserved amongst the deeds of the Herbert House. The writer goes on to say that the old house had upon it 'hinges from which a gate had apparently swung at the opening of Lady Peckitt's Yard to Pavement'. A photograph of the old house was reproduced in the *Yorkshire Evening Press* for 15 January 1954 from a print in the York City Reference Library.



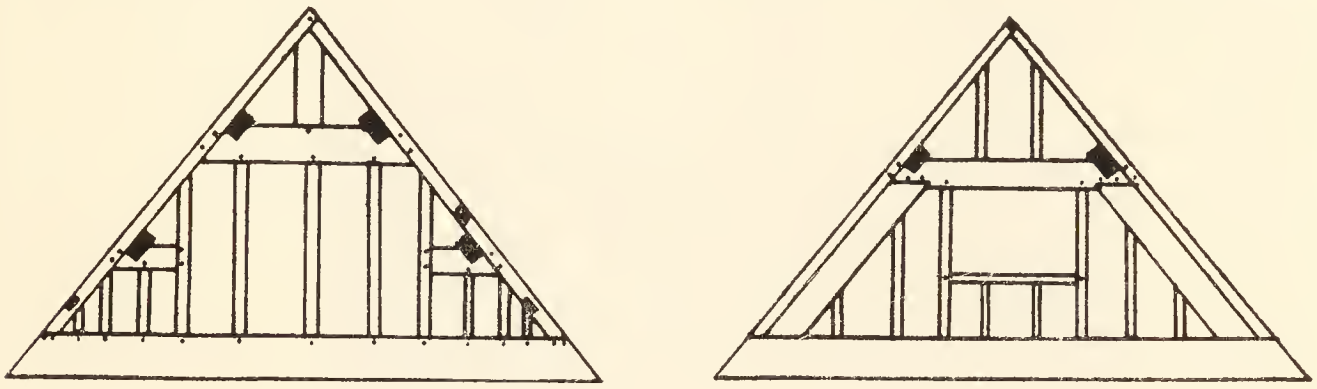
(a) House A. N. Front.



(b) House A. 1st Floor Fireplace.

PLATE I.

plaque.[1] Minor restoration has been done, but it nevertheless remains a good example of its type. Its date should be about 1615-1630. In the ceiling are intersecting beams, the mouldings having converging stops. The flat joists run north-south and also are moulded. The ceiling beams are continuous into the smaller (east) front room, in the east wall of which is a blank projecting chimney breast. At the north end this is cut back and the timbers of the front wall go right into the corner. The second-floor retains a good deal of timber-framing in the front two rooms, in each of which a central east-west tie-beam has been sawn away leaving only the ends supporting the roof principals. The surviving complete tie-beams have each a series of nine cut-outs for joists, showing that the ceiling has been raised. In the Attic the two gabled roofs are quite separate, being only joined at the south end by a cross passage. The curious roof construction is illustrated in fig. 1a, in which it can be seen that the principals



(b) House B (a) House A

FIG. 1. Roof Trusses.

are cut off under the collar and could more accurately be described as straight braces to the common rafters at each truss.[2] In the western roof one of the collars has had painted on it the initials 'W P' and a date, either 1872 or 1822. As there is no apparent nineteenth century work among the roof timbers, this date possibly refers to the rebuilding of the adjacent chimney stack, the brickwork of which is of nineteenth century date, or to the raising of the second-floor ceiling.

The other house, which will be called 'House B', faces west onto Lady Peckitt's Yard. It is a three-storeyed timber-framed building with the two upper storeys jettied. The ground-floor walling is modern, but three of the main shouldered posts carrying the first-floor jetty still remain, as does the wall-plate. In the soffit of this latter beam, now a good deal obscured by modern work, are the mortices for the original framing. At the north

[1] *Per pale azure and gules, three lions argent.* These are the arms of the premier branch of the family, the Earls of Pembroke. The Yorkshire cadet branch bore *per pale gules and azure three lions erminois.* This was granted in 1614.

[2] Earlier examples of this method can be seen in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall and St. Anthony's Hall.

end is an original entrance now lost in modern alterations. Of it there survives only the doorhead cut in the wall-plate. It has a flattish four-centred shape and is of sixteenth century date. The first and second floors have exposed timber-framing with fairly close studding of a character which seems to belong to the sixteenth century in York.[1]

The elevation at the north end is interesting. At first sight it appears to be of the same date as the west front, but close examination reveals that it has been completely rebuilt, using old timbers. There is, fortunately, sufficient evidence to show what has happened. Originally the house extended nearly a full bay further northwards,[2] but when House A was built the two buildings came awkwardly close together. Most of the north bay of House B was therefore demolished, and many of the timbers reused to build the existing north wall. Two pieces of evidence survive to confirm this. Firstly, inside the junction block the timber-framed wall of the destroyed north bay still survives in the east wall. Secondly, when the bay was cut back to its present position, an ordinary timber stud was left on the first floor to act as the north-west corner post. A close examination of this stud reveals on the north face a vertical groove which runs up from the base of the stud as far as what is clearly a mortice with a sawn-off tenon still pegged into it (pl. IIa). The framing on the south side of the stud shows the original construction—a horizontal rail tenoned to the stud at the same height as the sawn-off tenon on the north side. This rail is the cill of an original window, and quite clearly the framing on the north side duplicated this arrangement, the groove below the mortice being for the original infilling between the framing. Obviously the house would not have ended on a window, and the evidence of the original east wall is thus confirmed by this curtailment of the west wall.

Internally the house in its present state is rather disappointing. The ground floor has been converted to several small rooms,[3] whilst the first and second floors have been stripped down to one compartment each. The first floor has intersecting ceiling beams, two of which are encased with decorative plaster-work of sixteenth century date. The design is a running band of acorns, pomegranates and ivy-leaves with a central fleur-de-lys. On the second floor the original roof and tie-beams have entirely gone, but the framing of the south end wall survives (fig. 1b). This is interesting as showing a standard local method of supporting the lower purlins in a collared-rafter roof of sixteenth century date.

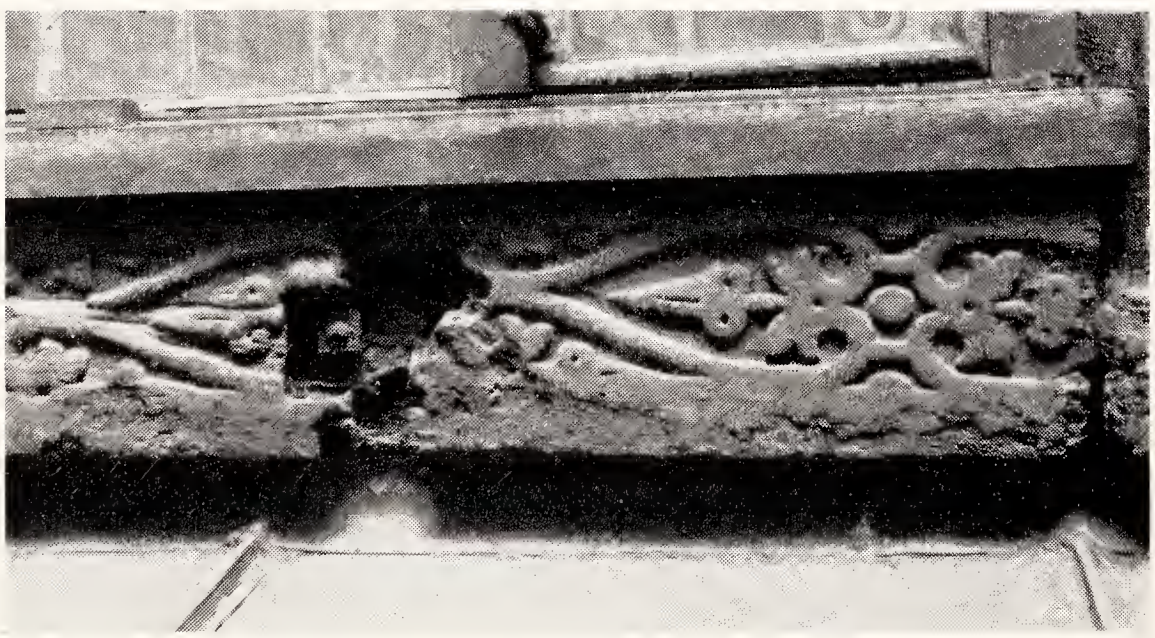
[1] There are several carpenters' marks visible on the studs, one of the marks being the same as that on the recently-demolished house 2/4 Trinity Lane and some timbers surviving in a house on the west side of Shillito's Yard in Micklegate.

[2] Actually about another eleven feet.

[3] These have not been examined.



(a) House B. N. End Stud of W. Wall.



(b) Junction Block. Fascia Board.

PLATE II.

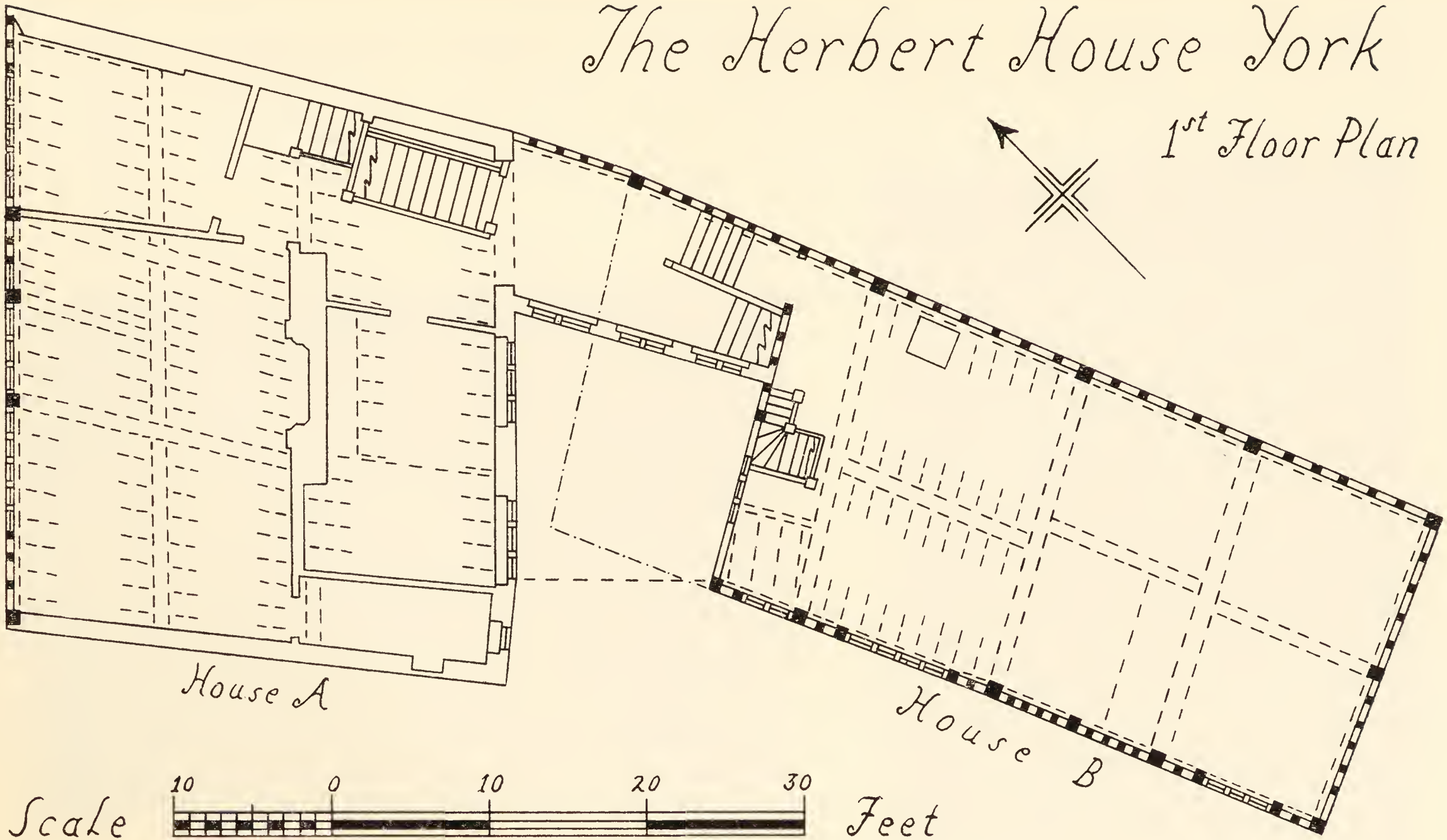


FIG. 2. 1st Floor Plan of the Herbert House.

Linking Houses A and B is an odd-looking block consisting of two distinct phases of building. Fronting onto Lady Peckitt's Yard is a single-storeyed block with a flat roof and a modern brick front in which is a rather heavy early nineteenth century doorway with pedimental head and reeded jambs. Behind this range is a three-storeyed block which links the two main houses at first- and second-floor levels. This has a modern brick elevation with three fascia boards. The upper two are modern but the bottom one, just above the roof-lights of the front range, is of seventeenth century date and is carved with a running pattern of arabesques of typical Jacobean work (pl. IIb). Between this and the middle fascia board is some timber-framing, much of it modern. Capping the elevation at its northern end is a very small brick gable, which at the rear (east) is timber-framed with a covering of plaster.

Internally the single-storeyed block has no features of interest, but gives access to a cellar under House A possibly of seventeenth century date. The three-storeyed block has had its west wall entirely removed below first-floor level. Both here and in the cellar some of the framing of the north wall of House B can be seen, there being quite a drop in levels at this point.[1] The first and second floors provide the linking corridors between Houses A and B. On the first floor the east wall contains nearly a full bay of timber-framing which clearly is part of the east wall of House B, as already noted. The northern end of this framing is joined to the south-east corner of House A by a later stretch of rough timber-framing which is nowhere pegged together. On the second floor more of the north bay framing of House B can be seen in the east wall, including the wall-plate.

The documentary evidence throws a good deal of light on the architectural development of these buildings. Most of it is supplied by some nineteenth century drawings and etchings, whilst much useful information is to be found in an unpublished account by the architect in charge of restorations carried out in 1925.[2]

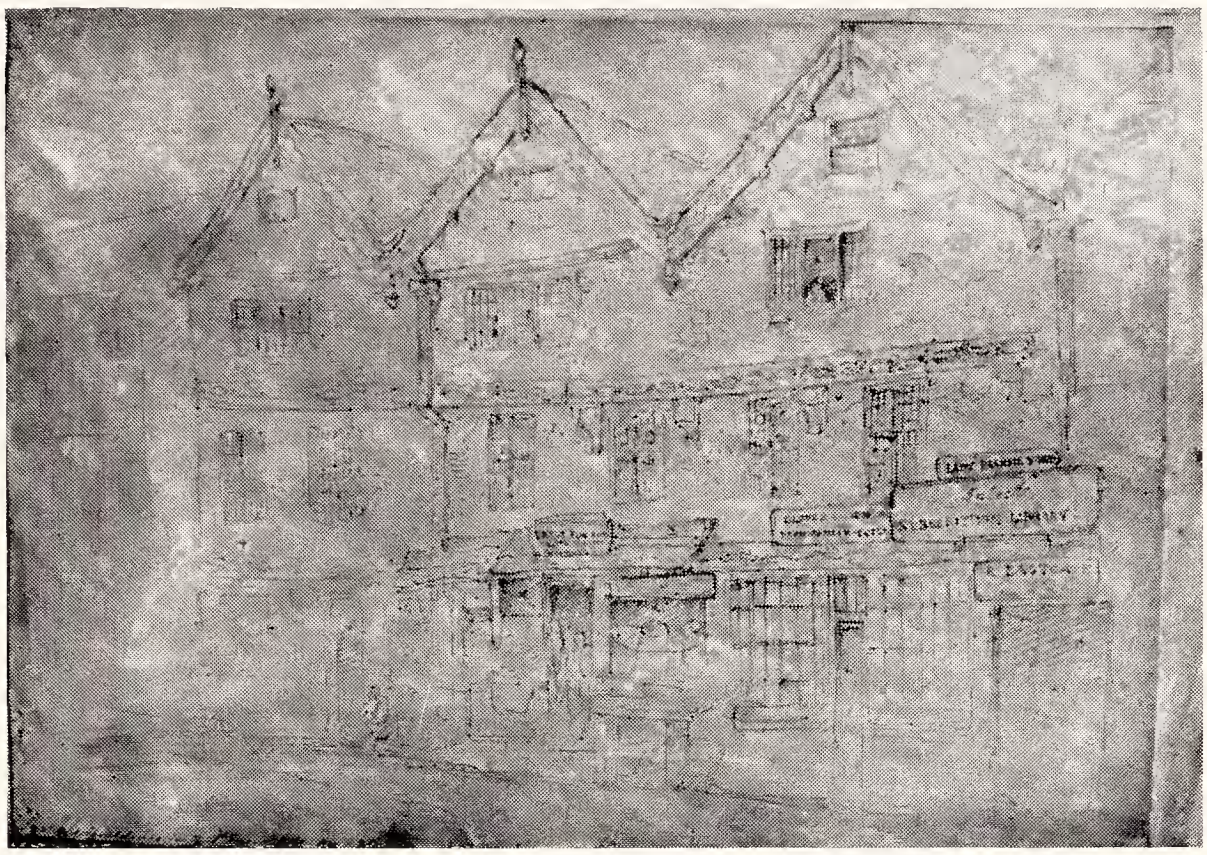
It will be simplest if we consider this evidence house by house in the same order as we have used above, starting with House A. We have described and illustrated this as a twin-gabled house, and it was so described by Davies in 1880,[3] but there is a drawing of it by George Nicholson, dated 1827 (pl. IIIa)[4] which shows the house with an extra gabled range to the east, this third range standing in the narrow messuage now accupied by

[1] The letter quoted on p. 344 n. 3 also states 'In 1862 we altered the level of the higher part of the yard'.

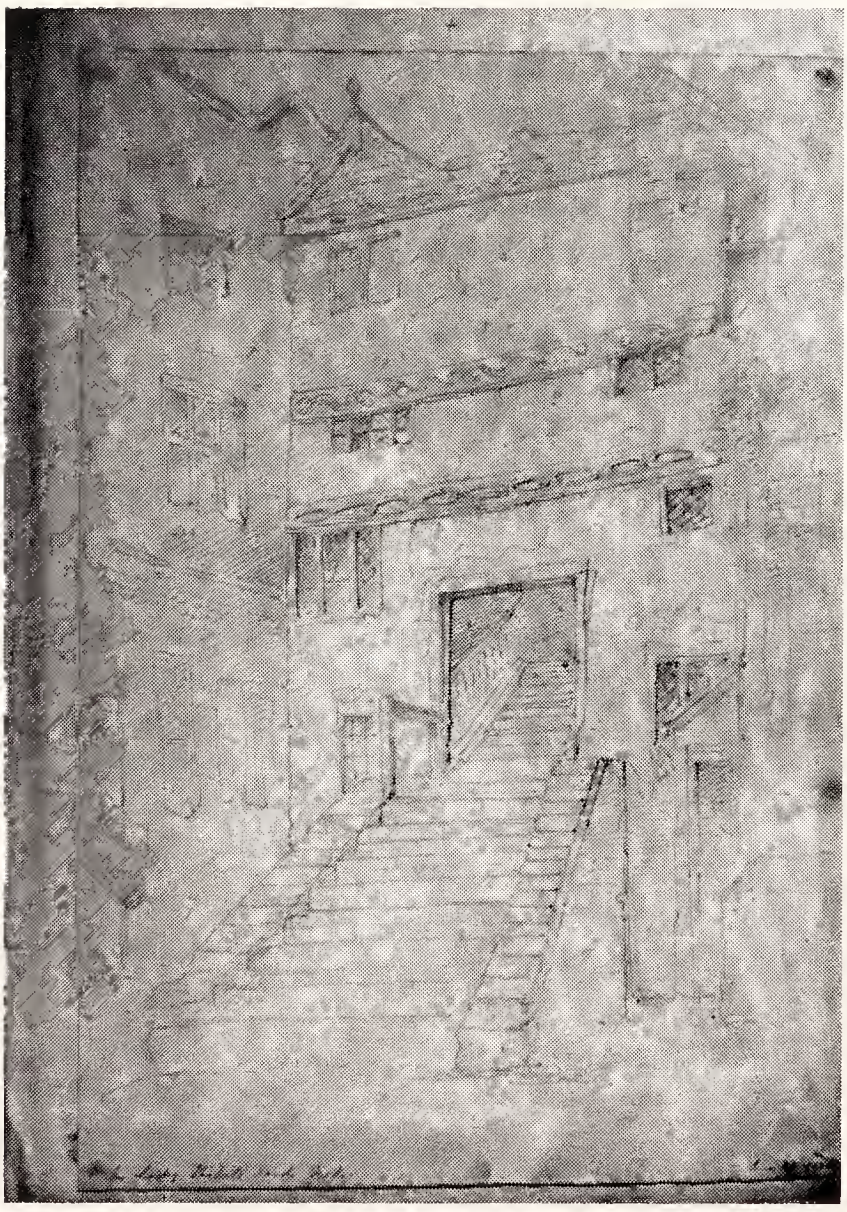
[2] *Notes on the Herbert House* by Francis W. B. Yorke, F.R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 1953. There is a typescript copy in the York City Reference Library.

[3] *Walks through the City of York* by Robert Davies, pub. Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1880. The reference is on p. 251.

[4] In the Evelyn Collection, York City Art Gallery.



(a) House A by G. Nicholson 1827.



(b) Junction Block by G. Nicholson 1825.

PLATE III.

the 'Golden Fleece Inn'.[1] It will be noticed that the bargeboards of the extra range have the same decoration as those of the other two gables, whilst the carved fascias to the jetties run right across the three ranges. These matching details are, of course, no proof that the vanished range was an integral part of the house. The speculative building of rows of houses and shops divided into separate tenements was quite a common practice long before this period, and York had plenty of examples.[2] But if we accept Nicholson's drawing as substantially accurate, we must envisage House A with an extra bay's width to the east. The position of the seventeenth century fireplace on the first floor of House A suggests that this third block was always a separate room and possibly a self-contained tenement. It certainly appears from the disposition of the fall-pipes and rainwater-heads that it was separate by 1827. Some such theory as this might help to explain the odd feature of the large chimney breast in the east wall of the present house, which projects into the first- and second-floor rooms but has no chimney or outlet on the roof nor any fireplace. Possibly the necessity of heating the third tenement at a later date brought about the construction of a chimney breast in the partition wall to serve the eastern tenement, and this has since fallen into disuse.

Our other main source for House A is the account of the 1925 restoration. From this it appears that in the room on the first floor some of the panelling is reset from the rooms above, and that a plaster ceiling, dating from about 1680, was removed from this same room. There was also a 'rather crude incised wood tablet', a rubbing of which it illustrates, on the east end of the front elevation. This read 'Sir Thomas Herbert, Bart., born in this house 1606'. A metal copy of this was made in 1925 and is now fixed at the west end of the house over the entrance to Lady Peckitt's Yard.

For House B also this same account is our chief source of information. In it the first-floor room is referred to as the 'Banquetting Hall', and the author assumes that the entertainments of 1633 and 1638[3] took place here. This seems on the whole extremely unlikely. In this room a fair amount of decoration of great importance survived until 1925 when it was nearly all removed. The author records that 'one of the main beams when uncovered revealed a painted frieze of pomegranates and grapes, incorporated in which is a circular medallion containing a mer-

[1] This was first noticed by T. P. Cooper, *The Old Inns and Inn Signs of York*, York, 1897. He writes 'The Inn is behind the two-gabled timber house adjoining Lady Peckitt's Yard, which is a fine example of the medieval architecture of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Formerly this house had three gables and extended beyond the entrance to the Fleece Inn'. The present elevation is of nineteenth century date.

[2] The early fourteenth century 'Lady Row' in Goodramgate is an example.

[3] See p. 354.

chant's mark with the initials 'C.H.' very prominently placed . . .'. Elsewhere the account records a painted beam bearing the Herbert arms and the initials 'C.H.'. Although the account is somewhat confused with regard to these sets of initials, the general picture of the principal floor of the house decorated with Christopher Herbert's initials and mark is sufficiently clear. On the second floor the tie-beams had been removed before 1925, and the account barely mentions the old roof, but on the pre-restoration plan an octagonal vent is shown dotted in on the second floor fairly centrally. This suggests a louvre in the roof, a most improbable feature in a multi-storeyed town house.[1]

We come finally to two illustrations dealing with the central block, and these we will consider in their reverse chronological order. Firstly there is a drawing by George Nicholson[2] dated 1825 and entitled 'In Lady Peckitt's Yard, York.' (pl. IIIb). If this is compared with the present aspect of the central block from the alleyway, the resemblance is clear. The small left-hand gable to the central block still remains, as does the badly-drawn gable at the back of the main house, and their relative positions make the identification certain. There is further evidence to clinch this. Nicholson's drawing shows three fascia boards on which are indicated some very crudely-carved running patterns. On the present façade, as we have already noted, there are still three fascia boards, the top two of which are modern. There is, however, no justification for their existence in an otherwise modern brick wall unless they are replacements of older features. The bottom board still survives in its original state, carved with a continuous pattern of Jacobean arabesques, bearing little relation to the chain decoration in Nicholson's drawing. Below this board, where now is the single-storeyed block, the drawing shows a large square-headed doorway with a broad flight of eleven stone steps leading up to it and a bulbous-balustered staircase inside. Further light is thrown on this by the second of the illustrations (pl. IV). This is in a book of etchings by Henry Cave entitled 'Picturesque Buildings in York' and published by him in 1810. In the second edition of this,[3] the plate in question is entitled 'Entrance to the Excise Office in the Pavement', and is in fact clearly a sketch of the doorway shown in Nicholson's drawing. The identification can be made quite confidently in spite of the title. John Peckitt, who at the end of the century lived further down the alleyway, was regarded as living in Pavement, and the name clearly was used regularly for this part of the alleyway. Furthermore, the flight of eleven stone steps and the bottom fascia board, here carefully depicted with arabesque ornament almost as the camera still shows it, leave no doubt that the scene is the same. The

[1] The earliest fireplaces in York seem to be of late sixteenth century date. Before then the heating of upper floors was probably done by braziers. The date of the house is in any case extremely late for a louvre.

[2] In the Evelyn Collection, York City Art Gallery.

[3] Published by Ackermann, 1813.

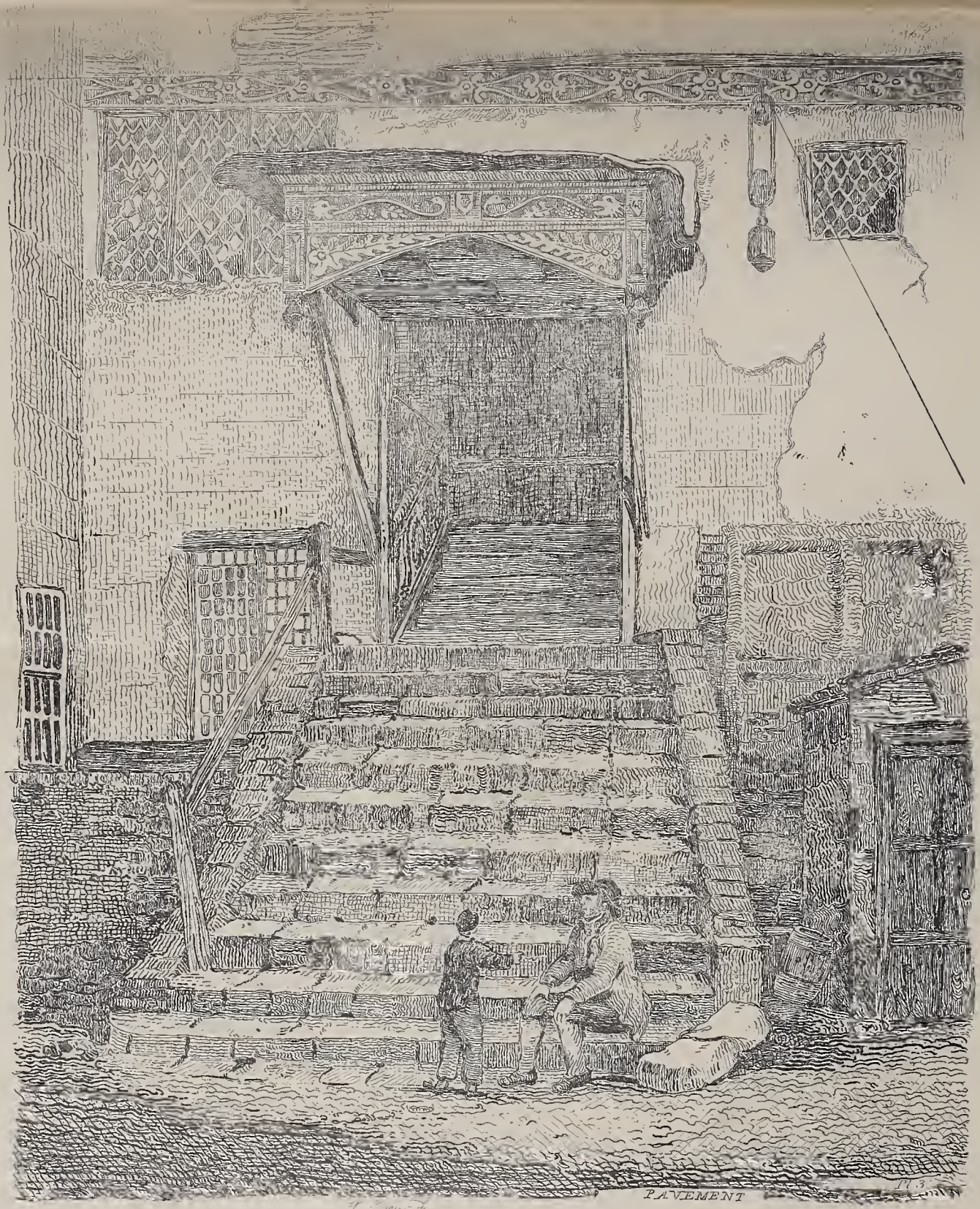


PLATE IV
Junction Block. Doorway
by H. Cave, 1810

interest in this etching lies particularly in the doorway. Here it is shown with a square wooden canopy over an angular head, the spandrels being decorated with a coarse foliate design. Along the top is a frieze divided into equal parts, each part carved with a serpent emerging from, or being devoured by, a monster's head. Two pairs of numbers flanking the panels give the date '1648', and centrally between the panels is a shield carved with a device unfortunately unrecognisable, but possibly meant to represent a merchant's mark. The date 1648 is of prime importance, for it clearly fits not only the adjacent fascia board but also the bulbous balusters vaguely visible in the murky interior. With the main entrance, main staircase and entire front wall all dating from 1648, I think it is safe to assume that the whole block belongs to that same date.[1] It may be conjectured that it replaced a small projecting staircase-annexe such as still can be seen at the back of a few York houses. The inference is also clear that, wherever the old entrances to the two main houses had been previously, they were now superseded by the splendid new entrance with its small courtyard.

The people whose names are associated with the buildings are the Herbert and Jaques families, the generally-accepted account being that the Herberts lived in the buildings we now see, but had left them by 1633 when they were in the possession of another merchant, Roger Jaques. A study of these two families will help to show to what extent they can be linked with the architectural development of the property.

Amongst the archives in the possession of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers of York is a deed recording the purchase of the property, and as this is the first reference we have to it, it is worth reprinting it.[2]

> 'June 10, 3 & 4 Philip and Mary (1557). Grant by Ralph Hall, alderman and merchant of the city of York and governor of the community of merchants of the city of York, Robert Willie and Oswyn Hedwyn, wardens of the same company, to Christopher Herbert of the city of York, merchant, and Elizabeth his wife, in consideration of the sum of £54 10s 8d of a messuage or tenement in the occupation of the said Christopher on the Pavement in the parish of St. Crux in the city of York, as it lay in width between the messuage of the said governor and wardens in the tenure of John Eyre on the west, and the messuage of George Hall, merchant, on the east, and in length from the King's highway of the Pavement to the north in front as far

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[1] In the text of the Ackermann edition it says, inter alia, 'This ancient building has been immemoriably used for the purpose which its title explains. It is also called Lady Peckatt's Yard . . . . . Over the doorway the date remains of 1648 which was probably that of its reparation after the siege of the city in 1644'.

[2] Printed in Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Record Series) vol. L, *Yorkshire Deeds* II. The deed itself is now in the possession of the Merchant Adventurers.

> as the said messuage of George Hall to the south, behind. The grantors also granted free course and exit for all waters running from the kitchen of the said messuage across the grantor's land in the occupation of the said John to the waters of the Fosse. York. Signed by me Xpofer Herbert.' [1]

The account rolls of the Governors of the Company make it clear that the house was paid for over a period of three years[2] as was frequently the case. Whilst this deed gives no positive proof that the messuage sold to Herbert is the one in question, the corollation of the two seems reasonable enough, and is of course basic to the arguments which follow.

Christopher Herbert[3] came to York probably in the 1540's for in 1550 we find him admitted Freeman of the city of York.[4] In 1557, when he started on the purchase of the house which he was already renting, he was one of the Chamberlains in the city. In 1563 he was appointed Treasurer of the Merchant Adventurers, and was Governor of that same body from 1573 to 1575. In 1573 he was also Lord Mayor of York. He died in 1590 and was buried in St. Crux church. At his death he was seized, amongst other properties, of two tenements in the Pavement in the Parish of St. Crux—one in the occupation of Thomas Herbert and the other in the occupation of Thomas Oglethorpe.[5] This entry clearly indicates that Christopher Herbert had acquired a second tenement in Pavement as he grew more prosperous and was letting it to his fellow merchants. In the light of the purchase deed quoted above, it seems most likely that the second tenement was that of George Hall, which from the wording of the deed must have comprised both the present 'Golden Fleece Inn' and the building we have called 'House B'. On the architectural evidence we can take this a stage further and suggest that Herbert separated the two parts of this second tenement and rebuilt House B in its present form, embellishing it with contemporary decorations and numerous applications of his merchant's mark. The older and, not improbably, delapidated building on the site of House A would then have been let to Thomas Oglethorpe.

[1] A footnote in Y.A.S. *op. cit.* records a 'small red seal with apparently a merchant's mark, two crosses below, on the dexter side the letter H'. Davies, in *A Memoir of Sir Thomas Herbert*, Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical Society I, 1870, reproduces this same mark but with more detail.

[2] Extracts were published by the late Dr. Maud Sellars in *Surtees Society* 129. See especially pp. 154 & 160.

[3] R. H. Skaife, whose manuscript book of three volumes in the York City Reference Library entitled *Civic Officials of York and Parliamentary Representatives* is an invaluable source of information, records that Christopher Herbert was the elder son of Richard Herbert of Tintern in Monmouthshire. Richard came to Yorkshire with the encouragement of his cousin Maud, Countess of Northumberland, and died at Beverley.

[4] *Surtees Society* 96, p. 271. As often his name is spelt 'Harbart'.

[5] Skaife, *op. cit.*, probably quoting from the *Inquisitio post mortem* taken on 18 December 1590. I can find no record of Thomas Oglethorpe, but a Thomas Oglestrop was admitted Freeman in 1589 and may be the tenant in question.

Thomas Herbert, who succeeded to his father's properties in Pavement, followed much the same career as his father. He was admitted Freeman in 1577, and filled various civic offices, being finally elected Lord Mayor in 1604. He had also been Governor of the Merchant Adventurers from 1598 to 1600. He died on 14 April 1614 and was buried in St. Crux church. In the *Inquisitio post mortem* dated 27 January 1614[1] he is recorded as being seized of 'two messuages or tenements with their appurtenances and belongings situate and being in the Pavement in the parish of St. Crux now in the various tenures or occupations of Elizabeth Herbert, widow,[2] and John Jaques, merchant'. This shows that there had been no change in the disposition of the property, apart from the change of tenants. The property passed to his son, Christopher Herbert junior.

This Christopher, who was baptised in 1583, is an altogether more shadowy figure than his father or grandfather. Skaife[3] contributes the information that he continued to live in York for a few years after his father's death in 1614, and then moved to Otterington in the North Riding, whence he returned to reside in York again shortly before his death in March 1624. He died intestate, and Skaife further records that administration was granted on 22 June 1625 to Thomas Cooke, yeoman, of Danby Parva, a creditor. The value of the estate was sworn to be under £40. It has always been assumed that about this time the property passed out of the hands of the Herberts,[4] and if so, we may reasonably suppose that Christopher Herbert disposed of it when he moved to Otterington. The date of this move is not on record, but may perhaps be deduced. When his father died, one of the two tenements was tenanted and the other was occupied by Elizabeth Herbert, Christopher's grandmother. This suggests that Christopher himself was living elsewhere, and when his grandmother died in 1618 he would then be free to sell the whole property and retire to his estate at Otterington. This seems the most likely period for the sale, for it is scarcely creditable that an estate worth less than £40 should include not only the property at Otterington but also the large block of premises in Pavement, part of which had been bought for £54 sixty-odd years ago. The next stage is recorded no earlier than Davies who, followed by all subsequent writers, states that in 1633 the property was occupied by Roger Jaques.[5] If this is so, it gives us two alternative explanations for the change of ownership. If the property was not

[1] Copy in York Corporation Records, Class E, no. 27, fol. 232. All the dates before 1752 are given in the old style when the year began on 1st April.

[2] This was his mother, not his widow. She died intestate on 4 August 1618, and was buried in St. Crux church.

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] Sir Thomas Herbert, Christopher's son, lived in High Petergate after his return to York in 1665.

[5] *Walks through the City of York*, p. 251. I can find no evidence to support this, but it must be borne in mind that Davies may have had access to documents and records which have since been lost.

sold until Christopher Herbert's death, then it was presumably bought by Roger Jaques himself. If, however, as is suggested above, Herbert disposed of it in 1618, then he probably sold it to his sitting tenant, John Jaques, who was the father of Roger Jaques. The will of John Jaques would probably have provided the answer to this point, but unfortunately I have been unable to trace it. He was still alive in 1617, when he was one of the executors of his father-in-law's will, but nothing is known of him after that date.

Roger Jaques, the eldest son of John Jaques, was a man of much the same calibre as Christopher Herbert senior. He was admitted Freeman in 1618, being elected Chamberlain in 1625 and Sheriff in 1628. At the King's visit in 1633 Jaques entertained the bulk of the King's retinue in his house, whilst the King himself and his immediate entourage were the guests of the then Lord Mayor, William Allanson, who also lived in Pavement.[1] In 1638 Jaques became Lord Mayor and was also elected Alderman. That same year Charles I paid a second visit to York and this time Jaques entertained the King and the whole of his retinue. The King knighted him on 21 March 1638. In the following year he was elected Member of Parliament for York, and remained a Member until he was dispossessed on 13 January 1645 for his Royalist sympathies. He compounded for his estates on the grounds that although he was 'never in Armes nor any way Active against the Parliament', he 'did once appeare at the Commission of Array being forced thereunto'.[2] Amongst the documents produced before the Parliamentarian Committee on the 21 June 1647 is a 'true certificate of the estate reall and personall' certified by the Lord Mayor, Thomas Dickinson, and three aldermen. This list gives the following property and values :—

One House in Colyergate in which the said Sir Roger lately dwelt	£10.	0.	0.
One other house in the said streete in which Mr. Peck dwelt	£3.	0.	0.
Severall yards and front steads neere Latorne posterne ..	£1.	10.	0.
One house in the Shambles neere Crux Church in the possession of Thomas Ward	£14.	0.	0.
One other house in the greate shambles at the corner of the Little shambles	£8.	0.	0.

The account then goes on to certify 'which said particuler houses and grounds is all the reall estate that the said Sir Roger Jaques hath within the Cittie of Yorke or County of the same Cittie (to our knowledge). And wee doe not know that the said Sir Roger Jaques hath any personall or other estate whatsoever within the said Cittie or County of the same'.

[1] C. B. Knight in *This is York* says 'his residence in Pavement which was situated exactly opposite the Herbert house'. He gives no reference to the source for this statement.

[2] Y.A.S. (Record Series) XV, 195-200.

This extract provides no evidence for the Pavement property, except negatively that if Jaques was living there in 1638, he must have sold it not long afterwards and moved to Colliergate. It is possible that, as he had a country seat at Elvington in the East Riding, he may have sold the very spacious premises in the Pavement when he was elected a Member of Parliament, and taken on a small house in Colliergate. He died at Elvington in 1653, and as he was intestate, administration of his estate was granted to his widow, Dame Mary Jaques. With his death the property passes into obscurity and is not recorded again[1] until the middle of the nineteenth century when the earliest surviving deeds[2] show the property as belonging to a George Hutchinson by 1841. In 1862 he sold it to the Rowntree family[3] in whose possession it remained until 1925 when it was bought by the National Farmers Union Mutual Insurance Society and thoroughly restored. It is now in the ownership of the Ings Property Trust.

We may finish by summarising the early history of these buildings, much of which, it must be remembered is purely inferential or based on statements of the nineteenth century writer Davies. In 1557 Christopher Herbert bought the tenement now occupied by House A. Later on he bought the adjacent property on the east side from George Hall, the back part of which he rebuilt in the form we see it today (House B). His earlier acquisition he then let off to tenants, the earliest recorded tenant being Thomas Oglethorpe who was living there when Herbert died in 1590. Thomas Herbert, his son, also lived there, and at his death in 1614 the tenanted house was occupied by John Jaques. Christopher Herbert, his son, succeeded to the property, but the main house was occupied not by him but by his grandmother. She died in 1618 and both houses were then sold to Jaques. He in turn bequeathed the property to his son Roger Jaques, who rebuilt that part of it which fronts onto Pavement (House A). Jaques must have disposed of the property by about 1640, and the new owner reconstructed the linking block between the two properties in 1648. In doing this he pulled down the northern bay of House B and cut a passage under the western end of House A[4] to give access to the new main entrance. Who this man was we do not know, but it may be possible one day to identify him from the merchant's mark over the doorway, preserved for us, if somewhat uncertainly, in the drawing by Cave.

[1] Except for the reference by Cave already noted.

[2] I am indebted to the Ings Property Trust for permission to examine and quote from the deeds.

[3] Davies, in a footnote in *A Memoir of Sir Thomas Herbert,* records a renovation of the street front by the Rowntree family.

[4] Alternatively this may have been done in the 1670s when the house at the bottom of the Yard was refronted, but the earlier occasion seems very much more likely.

PENISTONE GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By John Addy.

The close of the seventeenth century saw a break in the old tradition of clerical schoolmasters at Penistone, when the Trustees decided to appoint a layman to succeed the Revd. Nathan Staniforth who resigned the Mastership in 1700/1. Their choice fell on John Ramsden formerly of Batley, whose sacrament certificate is still in existence[1] and who was licensed by the Archbishop of York in 1702. On his election he subscribed to the Foundation Articles[2] which laid down among other things that he should '. . . . . freely admit into and teach all Gra^{m}r Schollars in the ^{sd} Free School being children of lawful inhabitants of Peniston in all Rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues with ye Rhetorick and to teach the children of the poorer sort to read English and Latin' . . . also to . . . 'restrain by Moderate Correction all Swearing, Cursing, Lying and other evil practices comitted within or without the School by any under his authority' . . . and to . . . 'instruct once in the week those children capable in the Church Catechism that they may give an account publickly in the Church'.

He evidently gave satisfaction and the Parishioners supported a move to demolish the old Tudor school building and rebuild on a larger scale, the idea being to accommodate a number of boarders, the inhabitants evidently considering that Penistone would become a famous town by this move. By 1716 this had been completed, but all the feoffees of 1702 who had authorised the work were now dead with the exception of Rev. Edmund Hough the Vicar, so accordingly a commission was set up under the act of 1601 (Charitable Uses) to appoint new feoffees and regularise those things which had been completed.[3]

The new buildings having been completed it was found that the £150 raised by the parishioners was insufficient to meet the costs so that Ramsden was forced to realise a bequest of £20 made under the will of a Mr. Sedascue, who was a relative of the Bosvilles of Gunthwaite Hall, and use this to pay off the debt

[1] *Quarter Sessions Records West Riding* (Ms. County Hall, Wakefield). 'Thomas Cleworth minister of Campsall and William Elam, Churchwarden certifie that John Ramsden upon the Lord's Day commonly called Sunday Nov. 1st did in the Parish Church of Campsall receive Holy Communion according to the use of the Church of England'. Nov. 1st 1702.

[2] Dated 1702. Grammar School Archives. Photostat copy is in the Leeds University Institute of Education Museum.

[3] 2. George I 1716. P.R.O. C93/48/8. This also corrected several abuses in the trust and appointed Elkanah Rich, John Wood, William Fenton, George Walker, John Micklethwaite, William Bosville and the Vicar of Penistone as Feoffees. These were families residing in the ancient parish of Penistone.

on the school. The commission made a curious provision for the perpetuating of the bequest by stating that an additional income was to be derived from the . . . . 'Letting of Two Cellars lately made under the said house and now Lett at Thirty Shillings p.ann.' This rent was to be collected by Bosville and then paid over to the Schoolmaster as the interest on the original bequest had been.

The school appears to have flourished under Ramsden[1] and also his successor Jonathon Perkins[2] who came to the parish as a Deacon in 1728, thus marking a return to the old tradition of clerical masters, was priested at York in 1731 being at the same time appointed curate to the chapelry of Denby in the parish of Peniston.[3] The returns of Thomas Cockshutt, Vicar, to the primary visitation questions of Archbishop Herring give some details as to numbers attending the school[4] while Jonathon Perkins' own returns for the chapelry of Denby[5] show that the 'Church Catechism is taught in the Grammar School at Peniston every Saturday Morning' . . . He also states that an Usher is employed and that he himself undertakes the statutory duties in Denby on Sundays and Holy Days.[6]

At some date after 1743 the school began to decline and did so under Perkins' successor Francis Haigh[7], who had been appointed Curate of Cumberworth in 1728[8] and which he resigned

[1] Parish Register 1726. 'Duodecimo Die Martii Johannes Ramsden ludimagister scholae Penistoniensis sepult'.

[2] Jonathon Perkins, son of John Perkins, born at Penistone. School at Penistone. Admitted Sizar to Christ's College, Cambridge 2 July 1725. Deacon at Chester 1728. . . Priest at York 1731. Curate of Denby 1731—1751. Died May 3 1751. Buried at Penistone. (*Grammar School Magazine*, 1929.)

[3] *Institution Book* 17 Borthwick Institute, York. 20 July 1728 Licentia ad peragend' officium Ludimagistri in Scholae libera Grammaticale infra p°chia de Peniston in Com' et Dio' Ebor, concessa est Johannes Perkins per fiducarios dictae Scholae nominatio. 19 July 1731. Eodem die Jonathon Perkins clericus admissus est ad inserviend' capella de Denby infra p°chia de Peniston ad nominationem vicarius (*sic*) de Peniston.

[4] *Archbishop Herring Returns* (Yorks. Record Series) vols. 1—4. ' . . . there are fifty boys in the school and care is taken of them both as to religion and learning.'

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Perkins died on May 3 1751 and buried at Penistone. (*Penistone Parish Register*).

[7] Francis Haigh, son of John Haigh. Born at Thurlstone. School at Penistone. Admitted Sizar of Christ's College, Cambridge 8 June 1717. B.A. 1721. Priest at York 1722. Curate of Cumberworth 1728. Died 1776. Buried at Penistone. (*Grammar School Magazine* 1929).

[8] *Institution Book* 18. Borthwick Institute, York. '9 July 1728 . . . Liecentia ad praedicand' in capella Parochiali de Cumberworth in Com' et Dio' Ebor Concessa est Francis Haigh, clerico, B.A.

Note that Cumberworth at this time was a lay donative. cf. *Herring Visitation.* (Yorks. Record Series) vol. 4, appendix.

on his appointment to the mastership of the school[1] in 1751 accepting at the same time the vicarage of Bolsterstone with Midhope. He retained both these posts until his death in 1776, though for the last ten years of his life he was almost blind and consequently the standards of the school declined. Little is known about the school under Haigh since the only references which appear to have survived are those in reply to Archbishop Drummond's primary visitation questions 1763.[2] The death of Haigh led to a considerable amount of trouble which in the end caused the resignation of his successor Joseph Horsfall. The control of the school was vested at this time in nine feoffees, two being appointed from each of the four quarters of the parish, i.e. Penistone, Denby, Hunshelf and Thurlstone with the Vicar of Penistone in perpetuity.[3] Though in 1677 these had been reduced to seven for some reason which is not clear, nevertheless in 1748 these had been restored to the original nine.

The last election of feoffees had taken place in 1716 and by 1748 only George Walker of Hunshelf and the Revd. Thomas Cockshutt, vicar, survived.[4] A Commission was set up and new feoffees elected to the number of seven and these were George Walker of Hunshelf, Revd. Thomas Cockshutt, Vicar, Josias Wordsworth of London, Godfrey Bosville of Gunthwaite, Aymor Rich of Bullhouse and Samuel Wordsworth of Water Hall with George Walker junior; the election being held on July 18th 1748.

All appears to have gone quietly until 1773 when the parishioners, who were ignorant of the constitution of the school and having no documents, these always being in the hands of the Trustees, presented a petition to the surviving Trustees that on the death of the Revd. Francis Haigh, the present Master, "who because of ill health cannot be expected to live much longer, that a well qualified master be appointed. We attribute the decline of the school to the Master being in Holy Orders and having a curacy, and being under a prior engagement to serve his ecclesiastical duties that the school suffered".[5]

Haigh died on the 15th November 1776 and immediately the only two surviving Trustees of 1748 met together and without first filling up the trust or advertising the vacancy appointed the

[1] 28 July 1751 . . . Francis Haigh licensed to perform the office of master in the Free Grammar School of Peniston to which he has been nominated by the Trustees . . . (*Institution Book* 18, Borthwick Institute, York.)

[2] Archbishop Drummond Visitation 1763 . . . English is taught free for all the children of the parish. Endowments amount to £46. Present master Francis Haigh who regularly teaches forty children and they come to church.

[3] The legality of a Vicar being a corporate body is discussed in the Chancery Bill of 1785. (Grammar School Archives).

[4] The Chancery Bill states that no election was held between 1677 and 1748 but the existence of the election of 1716 must not have been known to the petitioners.

[5] Case in Chancery 1785 (Grammar School Archives).

Revd. Joseph Horsfall, who in 1771 had been appointed curate of Penistone, to be Master of the school.[1] The parishioners however considered Horsfall's appointment to be unsatisfactory, especially since they remembered that he had acted as Usher for Francis Haigh for a period of twenty months in 1771 but declined to continue the post on the grounds that his health was too poor. The parishioners moved quickly and entered a caveat against his licence in the ecclesiastical court at York[2] so that the Trustees knowing this, persuaded Horsfall to sit quiet until the affair had settled down and between themselves the Trustees held a private election to make up the trust.[3] One of the Trustees so appointed was the shrewd Walter Spencer Stanhope of Cannon Hall, Barnsley, a leading ironmaster of the period and a person with much influence in many quarters. He, noting the irregularity of the election, proceeded in a quiet manner to get the Trusteeship properly authorised. The opportune death of the aged Godfrey Bosville in 1783 gave the opportunity for the Revd. Samuel Phipps who lived at Banks Hall, Cawthorne, holding the livings of Penistone and Cawthorne in plurality, and being anxious not to lose the favour of his patron, to run with the majority. A Commission was set up and the Trustees were duly elected, the number being restored to the original nine.[4]

Shortly after this date the post of agent to the Trustees became vacant and Stanhope found a young acquaintance of his who had come to live at Water Hall, Penistone, one Samuel Shewabell, an attorney at law, to take over the post.[5]

In 1779 Samuel Phipps appointed Horsfall to be curate of Denby but a year later Horsfall wanted an Usher and so appointed one Jeremiah Bourne to the post and at the same time nominating him to be assistant curate of Denby, allowing him a salary of £30 p.a.[6]

Matters came to a head in 1784 when the shrewd Samuel Shewabell observed that Horsfall was frequently absent from the school for several days at a time and was enjoying, so he thought, the Master-

[1] 20 October 1771. Joseph Horsfall, a literate person, nominated to perform the office of curate in Peniston by Samuel Phipps at a stipend of £40. (*Institution Book*, Borthwick Institute).

[2] *Faculty Book* 1776, York Diocesan Registry.

[3] 15th Oct. 1780 . . . Samuel Phipps, vicar, Godfrey Bosville, William Bosville, Charles Kent of Farnham, Walter Spencer Stanhope of Cawthorne, Hans Bush of Bullhouse, Harry Verelst of Aston. to be Trustees by private election.

[4] William Bosville of Thorpe, Walter Spencer Stanhope of Cawthorne, Sir Thomas Blackett of Bretton Hall, James Milnes of Thornes House, Wakefield, Richard Milnes of Water Fryston, William Fenton of Penistone, Thomas Askam of Thurlstone and Sir Charles Kent of Farnham.

[5] Samuel was the son of Jonathon Shewabell, landlord of the Rose and Crown Inn Penistone. He lived at Water Hall and died there at the age of 29. He is buried with his father under the east wall of Penistone Church.

[6] 7th October 1780. Jeremiah Bourne to be assistant curate of Denby in the parish of Penistone on the nomination of the Revd. Joseph Horsfall at £30 p. annum (Borthwick Institute).

ship revenues of £50 p.a. for little or no work. He reports this to Stanhope and matters begin to move. Horsfall must have had some idea of what was on foot for he proceeded in January 1785 to obtain certificates from the parents of the boys attesting his competence as a master.[1] He also obtained a certificate from a large number of the parishioners testifying to his ability and this was addressed to Sir Charles Kent who was acting for the Trustees in the Chancery Court.[2] Between January and May 1785 steps had been taken to place the school on a sound basis and to remove Horsfall. He, in his own interests, appointed William Field of Barnsley to act as his solicitor. In a letter from Horsfall he complains to Field that since Shewabell is canvassing signatures to eject Horsfall, he in his turn is canvassing signatures to retain his post.

A letter from Field to Stanhope gives a candid opinion of the whole affair. He attests to the character of Horsfall and feels that the whole matter has been brought about by an ambition to make Penistone a place of importance by changing the Free Grammar School to a public school with boarders. He goes on to say, 'From the information I can obtain of this affair it has arisen in pique and mistaken loyalty that Peniston can be made a Capital City through the intervention of a school that can only exist in Chimera', and he assures Stanhope that Horsfall will abide by the decision of the court.[3]

The following letter from Horsfall to Stanhope shows how strong the movement to expropriate him must have been.

> Sir,
>
> I beg your indulgence for a moment to inform you that I am perfectly inclined to pay every attention to you in particular and the other Trustees of the Free Grammar School in Peniston. My situation as Master has been precarious from the nature of the nomination I at first received, two gentlemen the Late Mr. Bosville and Mr. Phipps being then the only surviving Trustees.
>
> From this situation I have been induced to pay every profitable regard to the Education of the Parish Boys without running into the expense of fitting up accommodation for Boarders. And this conduct has brought upon me the

[1] I do hereby certifie that my Son a Boy of between Twelve and Thirteen has been seven years at the Free Grammar School at Peniston under the care and tutorage of the Revd Mr. Horsfall and that he has made in that time a proficiency in Classics as full and compleat as I can wish and desire. Richard Lilley.

There are numbers of these in the archives.

[2] We the undersigned (200 names) being parishioners of Peniston doe hereby signify our full and entire satisfaction with the present conduct and management and ability of the Master of the Free Grammar School in Peniston the Rev. J. Horsfall and his assistant the Rev. Mr. Bourne. And we wish from pure motives that their diligence and strict attention to the duties of the school be not misrepresented. (Grammar School Archives).

[3] The whole of the correspondence is to be found in the Cannon Hall papers in Sheffield City Library.

opposition of a few individuals who reason upon the ground of it being a great advantage to the Town of Peniston by being made a Publick Boarding School. I have never heard a complaint from any parishioner untill last Christmas when Mr. Shewabell called upon me and told me the Trustees had taken a part against me and pressed me not in their names but his own to resign.

On this I put out a Parish Paper calling a Parish Meeting with a view to have heard what complaint any of my neighbours might have. But as soon as this paper appeared Mr. Shewabell put up another and sent people round to call a meeting of those he could get together under an impression of the Trustees having declared against me. I suspended the meeting I had called. I was then advised by the principal gentlemen of the neighbourhood to take no notice of what Mr. Shewabell had done but to let them state my case in a Certificate a copy of which you have already been troubled with and had not several of the names of the Trustees been made use of against me I am told that nine tenths of the Parish would give me their support. The proceedings of my opponents being perfectly secret I am not able to answer any particular complaint which may have reached you and therefore I can only hope for the favour of a candid hearing and should any reasonable objection be substantiated against me I will readily give up the hope I have entertained of meeting your countenance and support.

On the other hand if upon hearing what my opponents have to say with my defence you should think it proper and support me with a legal nomination to the School no pains or costs shall deter me from making it as flourishing a School as my ability or circumstance shall permit.

Yr. Humble Servant

J. Horsfall.

P.S. Last Monday Mr. Shewabell offered me ten pounds a year out of the School to resign and has since propagated a report that I had agreed to do it which is contrary to the truth.

Thomas Askham further annoyed Horsfall by a threat to evict him from the Bounty of Denby Chapel and this aroused in him a spirited defence and he resolved to determine his own conditions of resignation.

In spite of all this the action in Chancery went forward and the following findings were announced . . . . That the Trustees had been careless in their duty and paid no heed to either the estates or the Master's duties. The buildings are in a ruinous state[1] and the Master is an improper person, illegally appointed

[1] This is not to be taken literally. The accounts reveal that only minor repairs were necessary but Horsfall claimed that he left the buildings in a better state of repair than when he came. (Grammar School Accounts).

who has neglected his duty. The school is stated to be held in contempt and that Godfrey Bosville and Samuel Phipps had acted illegally in appointing Horsfall to be master without first filling up the Trust, giving due notice of the vacancy, and the public examination. Further the revenues of the School had been neglected so that they only now yield £50 instead of £80. The School had always been served by a Master and an Usher who in this case is the Master's curate at Denby so the school is neglected for ecclesiastical duties. Since Horsfall's appointment is irregular the new Trustees are entitled to appoint a new master.

In November, Shewabell instructed the tenants of the Trust estates to withhold payment of rents to Horsfall in order to force his resignation. This was the last straw for him and on the 25th he wrote to Stanhope offering to resign on the 30th. Meanwhile a statement on behalf of the parishioners was issued to the effect that if Horsfall did not resign he should be ejected.[1] After his resignation he withdrew to Denby where two years later he received the arrears of his salary as Master of £13. 0. 9½d. He remained at Denby until 1794 when John Schorey was appointed his successor.

The Trustees being anxious to fill the vacant post now advertised in the *York Courant* and the *Leeds Intelligencer* during the last week in December 1785 for a Master. This advertisement reads as follows :—

AT PENISTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Wanted a Lay Master properly qualified to teach Latin and Greek Classics, Writing Accompts, and the Higher Branches of Mathematics. The School Rooms and the School House[2] are very commodious and the latter with its conveniences, capable of accommodating 20 or 30 Boarders being originally built upon a large scale for that purpose. The Revenues amount to £51 per annum but the Rental being old and from the new Regulations it is expected that the Revenue will be £70. Applications to be accompanied by Testimonials (Post Paid) to be made to Mr. Samuel Shewabell, Attorney at Law in Peniston and Agent to the Trustees of the said School.[3]

[1] "that if the Revd. Mr. Horsfall would resign that day his situation in the School, all intended prosecutions on behalf of the Parish against him should cease; and that he should receive the Rents and Arrears up to Martinmas then past, deducting Mr. West's Bill and the Value of the Wood taken off the estate by Mr. Horsfall and not applied to the repairs of the buildings; and that Mr. Stanhope did accept of Mr. Horsfalls resignation on these and no other terms. John Firth. T. Hardy. W. Greave. (Grammar School Archives).

[2] This building was demolished in 1893. Its dimensions were 43 ft. × 21 ft. on the ground floor with two rooms over, with lavatories, playshed and ground. The whole accupied 861 sq. yds. and a frontage to Church Street and the Market of 120 ft.

[3] The letters are in the Grammar School Archives and photostat copies in the Leeds University Institute of Education Museum.

This advertisement produced a whole collection of applications from Yorkshire and giving much information about existing schools.[1] Before the final appointment was made, new regulations were issued laying down the procedure to be followed for future elections. These laid down that the Trustees were to give one month's notice of a public meeting to be held in the Grammar School to nominate persons for any vacancies in the Trust. The Trustees were to be nine in number and the vacancy was to be advertised three times in the two weekly County papers having the largest circulation in Yorkshire, while the examination and election of the Master must be public. On March 23rd, 1786 the following advertisement appeared in the *Leeds Intelligencer*.

PENISTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL

> The election of a Master to the above Grammar School of Peniston in the West Riding of Yorkshire is fixed for Tuesday, 18th April at 11 of the clock in the Forenoon at the Grammar School in Peniston.
>
> By Order of the Trustees.

At this election Jonathon Wood of Nantwich Grammar School was appointed master, but as his mastership is largely in the nineteenth century his career will follow in the records of that century.

[1] A detailed description of these applications is to be found in an article by the writer in the 1957 Bulletin of the Leeds University Institute of Education.

THE ROMANO-BRITISH EXCAVATIONS AT CANTLEY ESTATE, DONCASTER

THE POTTERY FROM KILNS 9-25

By Sheila M. Cregeen.

The Romano-British kilns found at Cantley have been published in the last three issues of this *Journal*, but their products are still to be described.

The present paper concerns pottery recovered after 1953, i.e. from kilns 9-25. It will be treated according to different types of pots, with specific reference only to anything distinctive in the output of particular kilns. Most of the pieces described come from the stokehole, flue, or firing-chamber of the kilns, but some unstratified sherds are included either for their special interest or their evident relation to the better authenticated pottery.

The Fabric.

This may be characterised as follows:—

(i) The texture is hard, its native sandy quality showing in the tiny white specks visible in many of the breaks.
(ii) The colours are predominantly grey or grey-buff, but shades graduating from these to brick-red are seen, mainly in the mortaria.
(iii) Slip-coating is confined to mortaria, all of which probably had a white or cream-coloured surface of this kind.
(iv) None of the pottery is painted, except for the mortarium sherd no. 39, and the colander base no. 179.

The Decoration.

A minority of the vessels have a linear decoration, either polished against a dull surface, or incised. One or the other, and commonly both methods have served to produce, in zones round the pots, patterns based on the following elements:—

(i) Narrow horizontal line.
(ii) Widely-spaced horizontal ripple.
(iii) Finer, multiple horizontal ripple.
(iv) Close, diagonal cross-hatching.
(v) Widely-spaced diagonal cross-hatching.
(vi) Continuous loop design.
(vii) Widely-spaced horizontal zigzag.

The simple, standardised patterns formed by these elements are not used indiscriminately, but follow the formulae demanded by each type of vessel. These conventional effects will be described later.

THE FORMS.

The following types emerge from a classification of the pottery from these kilns:—

A Mortarium.
B Shallow, lipless dish, with external groove just below the rim.
C Deeper dish : (*a*) with lip ('pie-dish'); (*b*) with grooved lip; (*c*) with flange below rim.
D Small beaker (or cup).
E Medium-sized jar : (*a*) with cavetto rim; (*b*) with recurved rim.
F Large heavy jar, probably handled.
G Narrow-necked jar (flagon).
H Wide-mouthed bowl : (*a*) shallow, possibly a colander; (*b*) deeper, with distinct neck and shoulder; (*c*) a heavier bowl, with slightly curving side; (*d*) a very heavy, deep bowl, without shoulder and with less curving side.
J Miscellaneous bases.

STATISTICS.

In the stratified deposits type E makes up 31.5% of the total output of these kilns; type H, over 26%; type C, 20%. There is then a drop to 6% each for types A and B. Type D follows with 4%; type F with 3.5%; type G with rather over 1%. The remaining material, less than 2%, consists of miscellaneous items.

If pottery which is either unstratified or from sites other than kilns is considered, the above leading three types are still by far the most prolific, although amongst them types C and H now take precedence over type E. These three types of vessels were produced in practically all the kilns for which accurate information is available.

DESCRIPTIONS.

The types will be described in the order in which they have been summarised. For the individual pieces the colour of fabric is given. Mention is also made of decoration, and, where possible, the diameter, or supposed diameter, of the vessel at its mouth from the outer edge of the rim.

Some analogies for types, or for groups of items, are provided; and occasionally single pieces are distinctive enough to lend significance to a close parallel. The purpose of these quotations is not often to suggest a definite date for a type, but rather to demonstrate both the widest limits of its chronological range and also the period within such limits when its greatest vogue was enjoyed. Where possible, comparisons have been culled from the dateable sites nearest to Cantley, since it is in the local framework, if anywhere, that an understanding of the industry can be reached.

A. MORTARIA (FIG. 1, NOS. 1-51).

The fabric of these vessels varies more than that of other Cantley types. It may be grey, buff, orange, brick-red, or red with a distinct grey core. White or cream-coloured slip-coating is normal, although often only the merest trace of it remains. The grit on the inner surface is more often a mixture of red, black and white material than all of one kind. It reaches close to the rim in many instances, and occasionally appears on the rim itself.

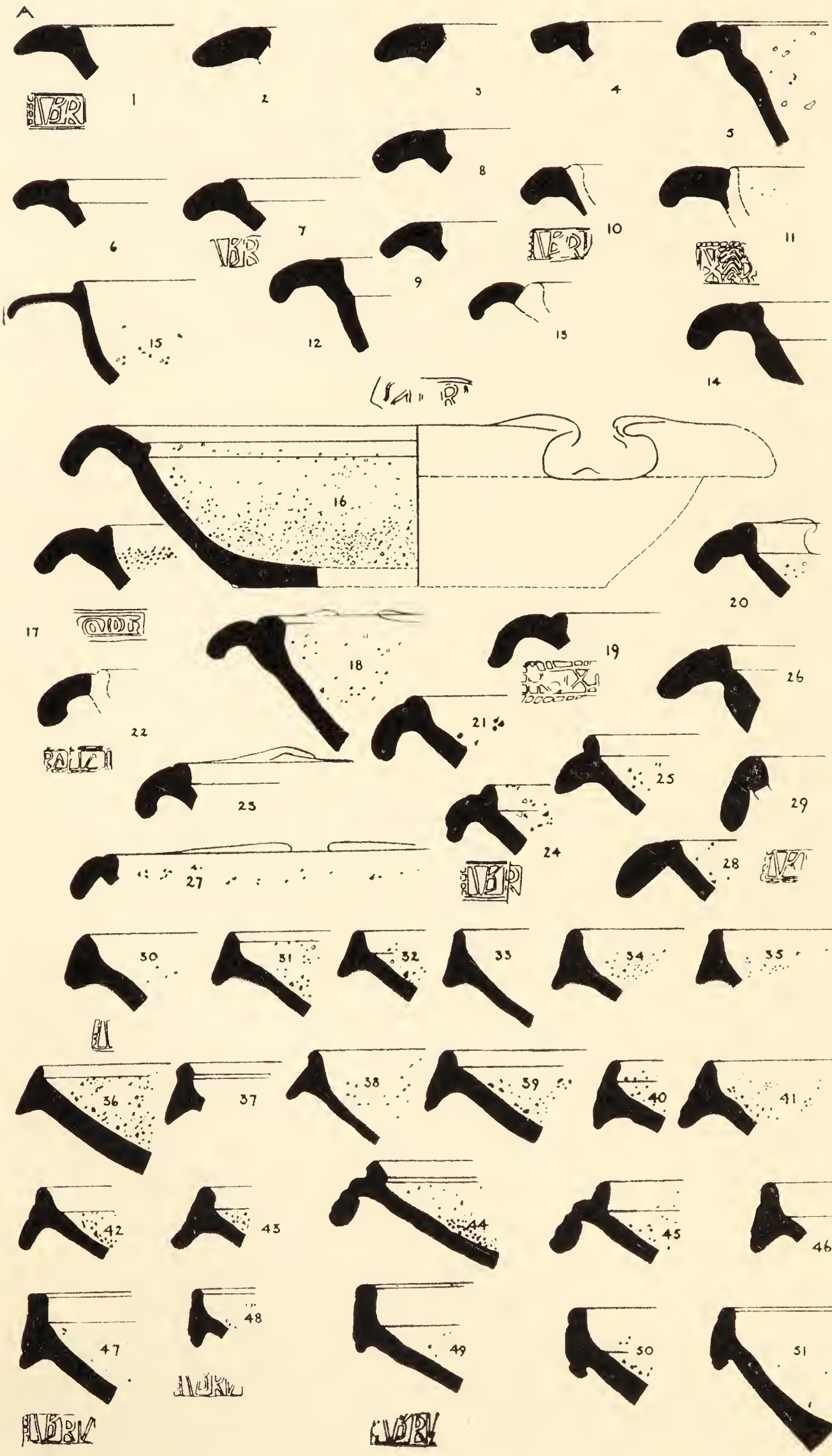


FIG. 1. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

No. 16 offers a complete profile, but that of the other mortaria has to be inferred from smaller fragments. Diameters range from about 9½ to 14 inches. The rims belong to three main groups: bead-and-roll (nos. 1-29); 'hammerhead' (30-45); and 'wallside' (46-51). These figures represent their relative proportions. A few spouts survive. Associated with the first rim form is the spout consisting of a broad channel between well-moulded ridges; with the wallside rim, simply a thumb-depression spout.

The distribution merits a note. Some kilns yielded no mortaria. The great majority came from kiln 24; and on the other side of Birch Road were found many bright orange sherds, slightly softer and without a slip-coating, which may well have been unfinished products.

Potters' Stamps (Plate I).

A potter represented by the mark 'VBRN' made mortaria with all three types of rim form. Thirteen of these are bead-and-roll (nos. 1, 7, 10, 24, and nine others closely similar to 7 and 10); two have a roll rim without bead (29 and a similar piece); one hammerhead (30) is included; and there are four of wallside form (47-49, with another like the latter). It seems typologically probable, and mathematically even more so, that some of the unstamped pieces were made by the same hand. But in any case, the representativeness of range in this one phase of production would allow a fair contemporaneity for all the mortaria. That only one of the plain, and none of the reeded, hammerheads, however, are demonstrably by VBRN, suggests that these perhaps continued rather than coincided with the period of his work. There was indeed some slight indication of a renewed floor in kiln 24, but in the stokehole itself no evidence of a break in continuity.

Professor Eric Birley, from the evidence of form and fabric, has suggested that VBRN was working in the last quarter of the second century. This was a time when plain hammerhead and wallside forms were coming into fashion. Just previously, South Carlton was producing almost exclusively the bead-and-roll type. On the other hand, reeding seems not to have become at all common on hammerheads before the third century; by the end of that century the Swanpool kilns concentrated on reeded hammerheads. The mortaria series at Cantley, therefore, may have extended from the Antonine period into the third century.

The six different stamps found at or near kiln 24 have been examined by Professor Birley, and commented upon as follows :

(i) VBRN. The VB is ligatured and the N reversed. This was formerly, at Templeborough and Corbridge, known as IBR. It is not known what the monogram stands for. It dates to the last quarter of the second century. Twenty specimens occurred in the stokehole of kiln 24.

(ii) RVX. This is without parallel, but the fabric is closely similar to that of VBRN. One specimen occurred in the same deposit.

(iii) RANAI. Only one parallel has been noted, at Templeborough. One unstratified example was found, near kiln 24.
(iv) SARRI. Sarrus is widely attested on the Antonine wall, and elsewhere in Scotland, and in the North of England and the Midlands, including Templeborough. His date is probably A.D. 170-200. One example was found near kiln 24.
(v) Possibly C D CR. The most likely expansion of this reading would be *C. Domitius Crescens*. (A stamp CRES from Templeborough, Leicester, Lancaster, and Segontium is probably not the same potter).
(vi) An incomplete and illegible stamp in three panels.

Bead-and-roll rims.

In nos. 1-3 the slightly curved and pointed flange is almost level with the bead, as in certain Flavian-Trajanic forms at Caerleon.[1] Nos. 4 and 5 have a blunt, thick, squared flange. The commonest form appears in nos. 6-14. The blunt half-hook at the end of the flange is characteristic of the potter VBRN. Such a form occurs at Leicester, *c.*A.D.180,[2] and again round the turn of that century there[3] and at Margidunum.[4] No. 15, with its long beak-like profile, is unique at Cantley, and so also is 16, with its flange rising well above the bead before bending downwards. This is closely paralleled at Leicester, especially in Antonine levels.[5] Its commonness at that time is illustrated at the South Carlton kilns.[6] In nos. 17-19 the outer wall of the vessel continues in the same line until it reaches the final emphatic bend of the flange, as in Leicester examples dating from the mid-second to the mid-third centuries.[7] A closely similar form at Well was supposed not earlier than the mid-third century.[8] In nos. 20-23 the flange begins to curve down as soon as it leaves the bead, a form which seems to have replaced more level rims *c.*A.D.200. The clumsy and uncertain moulding of no. 24 approaches the wallside form. Identical or similar instances at Caerleon amphitheatre,[9] Margidunum,[10] Langton,[11] and Corbridge,[12] suggest that

[1] V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon in Monmouthshire. Prysg Field,* 1933. Fig. 59, 251-3.
[2] Kathleen Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester,* 1948. Fig. 46, 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, Fig. 18, 16.
[4] F. Oswald, *The Mortaria of Margidunum and their Development from A.D.* 50-400. Antiquaries Journal xxiv, 1944. Pp. 45-63.
[5] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 18, 14.
[6] Graham Webster, *A Roman Pottery at South Carlton, Lincs.* Fig. 7, type 1. Antiquaries Journal xxiv, 1944, Pp. 129-43.
[7] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 18, 18.
[8] R. Gilyard-Beer, *The Romano-British Baths at Well.* (Report no. 1 of the Roman Antiquities Committee of Yorkshire Archaeological Society). 1951. Fig. 14, 11.
[9] R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *The Roman Amphitheatre at Caerleon.* 1928. Fig. 22, 73.
[10] *Margidunum* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 6, 52.
[11] Philip Corder and J. L. Kirk, *A Roman Villa at Langton, Near Malton, Yorks.* (Report no. 4 of Roman Antiquities Committee of Yorkshire Archaeological Society) 1932. Fig. 24, 7.
[12] *Corstopitum Excavations,* 1906-14, edited by R. H. Forster and W. H. Knowles. 1911, Fig. 8, 104.



PLATE I. Potters' Stamps on mortaria.

Top row.	Left:	RANAI	Right:	VBRN
Middle row.	Left:	Unidentified	Right:	C.D. CR
Bottom row.	Left:	VBRN	Right:	RVX

an Antonine or later second century date is feasible. No. 25 is unique at Cantley. Its bold, sharply moulded bead and gently curved flange are exactly paralleled by a Hadrian-Antonine sherd at Caerleon.[1] One example is figured, no. 29, of a roll rim without bead. The almost vertical droop of the heavy rim seems to imply faulty firing.

1. Grey-buff with trace of cream slip. About 11½ ins. diameter. VBRN across the flange.
2. Grey. Same diameter.
3. Grey-buff with trace of cream slip.
4. Buff, with trace of cream slip.
5. Grey, with trace of light-coloured slip. The white grit, of medium to large size, extends to the rim. 10½ ins. diameter.
6. Buff-orange with trace of cream slip.
7. Orange with grey core and trace of cream slip. About 11½ ins. diameter. VBRN across the flange.
8. Grey with trace of cream slip.
9. Buff.
10. Grey with trace of cream slip. VBRN across flange.
11. Brick-red with dark grey core and thick white slip. Fine quartz grit. Incomplete, unidentified stamp across flange.
12. Grey with cream slip.
13. Buff, with slip over-baked to grey.
14. Grey-buff.
15. Orange, with grit of medium size.
16. Whitish-buff, with medium large black and brown grit reaching the rim. A well-formed spout. 13¾ ins. diameter. The stamp SARRI across the flange.
17. Grey, with darker core and white or cream slip, now a uniform grey through overbaking. Medium-sized grit, more black than white, coming to ½ inch of the bead. The stamp across the flange may be C D CR.
18. Grey-buff with trace of cream slip. Medium-sized red, black and white grit. A well-formed spout.
19. Originally brick-red with white slip, but the surface is discoloured and slightly damaged with overfiring. RVX is stamped across the flange.
20. Brick-red with grey core and white slip. White grit of small to medium size. A well-formed spout.
21. Buff-orange with cream slip. Large black grit.
22. White with distinct grey core. Very hard. RANAI stamped across the flange.
23. Orange, with part of a well-formed spout. About 12 ins. diameter.
24. Orange, with distinct grey core and cream slip. Red, black and white grit, of medium to large size, reaches the rim. VBRN across the flange. About 11 ins. diameter.
25. Brick-red with cream slip. Medium-sized red grit.
26. Dark grey.
27. Orange with grey core and cream slip. Red, medium-sized grit. A well-formed spout. Probably 10½ ins. diameter.
28. Grey-buff with cream slip. Red, medium-sized grit reaches the rim.
29. Dark grey with white slip. VBRN stamped across the flange.

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[1] *Caerleon* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 59, 290.

Hammerhead rims.

The plain hammerhead represented by nos. 30-36, though seen during the last phase at Crambeck in ungritted bowls,[1] appeared much earlier in normally gritted mortaria. In the Antonine period South Carlton produced a related form (type ix). But a better analogy for the Cantley examples is found in a late second or early third century deposit at Malton.[2]

The unemphatic reeding of nos. 39-43 can also be paralleled in the Antonine period or late second century at Langton,[3] *c.*A.D.200 at Caerleon amphitheatre,[4] and at Leicester in the first half of the third century.[5] From that time the reeded hammerhead became very common, as is seen in the Margidunum series.[6] It was the predominant type of mortarium at Swanpool[7] and Crambeck (type 6).

Nos. 44 and 45 have a pronounced bead and deeply reeded, undercut flange. A parallel occurs at Templeborough.[8] The examples from the carbonised wheat and the level immediately preceding it at Malton belong to the third century, not later than A.D.280.[9]

30. Grey with buff surface and trace of cream slip. About 12 ins. diameter. The beginning of VBRN along, not across, the flange.
31. Orange with grey core. Red and black grit of varying size extends to the rim.
32. Grey, similarly gritted.
33. Orange, with grey core. Probably 10½ ins. diameter.
34. Orange with trace of cream slip. Small black grit. About 11 inches diameter.
35. Brick-red with trace of cream slip. Small grit of mixed colours. Probably 10½ ins. diameter.
36. Buff, with blackened outer surface. Black grit of varied size extends to the rim. About 11½ ins. diameter.
37. Grey-buff.
38. Brick-red. Smallish mixed grit. About 10½ ins. diameter.
39. Brick-red with cream slip, discoloured through overfiring. Traces of brown paint on the rim. Grit of varied size ends ¼ inch from the bead. About 10½ ins. diameter.
40. Orange with distinct grey core and cream slip. Black grit, of fine and medium size, reaches the bead.

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[1] Philip Corder and Eric Birley, *A Pair of Fourth Century Romano-British Kilns near Crambeck.* Antiquaries Journal, vol. xvii, 1937, Pp. 392-413. Fig. 3, 10a.

[2] Philip Corder, *The Defences of the Roman Fort at Malton.* (Report 2 of Roman Antiquities Committee of Yorkshire Archaeological Journal). Fig. 14, 21.

[3] *Langton* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 12, 7.

[4] *Caerleon Amphitheatre* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 22, 76.

[5] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 18, 22.

[6] *Margidunum* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 8, 76.

[7] Graham Webster and N. Booth, *A Romano-British Pottery Kiln at Swanpool, near Lincoln.* Antiquaries Journal, vol. xxvii, 1947, pp. 61-79. Fig. 3, A4 and A6.

[8] A. M. Woodward, *The Roman Fort at Ilkley* 1925. Pl. XXIX, 14.

[9] *Malton* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 6, 4, and Fig. 7, 37.

41. Buff-orange with grey core and cream slip. Fine, reddish grit almost reaches the rim.
42. Orange with grey core, discoloured through overfiring. Black, medium-sized grit ends at the bead.
43. Creamy-white, with small and medium-sized black grit.
44. Light grey. Black grit of fine to medium size almost reaches the bead. Probably 13½ ins. diameter.
45. Light grey with paler, buff core. Small to medium-sized grit almost reaches the rim. The same diameter.

Wallside rims.

Here the bead and flange combine into a single upright wall, with a broad middle zone separated by single grooves from the upper and lower margins. The type occurs in the second century at Needham;[1] in the late second century at Corbridge;[2] *c.*A.D.200 and in the early third century at the fortress[3] and amphitheatre of Caerleon.[4] Examples could be multiplied for the later third and fourth centuries. But those of the latest period, Crambeck type 7 and the Signal Stations type 10,[5] are smaller, and characteristically painted.

46. Grey with trace of cream slip.
47. Grey with cream slip. Small red grit. Stamp VBRN along the rim.
48. Buff with trace of cream slip. Red grit of small to medium size. VBRN along the flange.
49. Grey-buff. Diameter probably 10 ins. VBRN along the rim.
50. Grey, with brick-red surface and cream slip. Thumb-depression spout. Red, medium-sized grit. Diameter about 9½ ins.
51. Buff with remains of cream slip. Thumb-depression spout. Diameter about 10 ins.

B. SHALLOW, LIPLESS DISH
(Fig. 2, 52-63)

These dishes form a homogeneous group. They are 7-8 inches in diameter and between 1¼ and 2¼ inches deep. The rims have a flattened or rounded surface and only occasionally are slightly everted or thickened. There is normally an external groove just below the top. The sides are straight or slightly convex, making with the base an obtuse angle which is curved or—more usually—bevelled on the outside. The body fabric tends to have a darker grey, smoothed outer surface. A minority are externally decorated from groove to base with burnished and irregular cross-hatching. These vessels did not occur at some of the kilns, and were well represented only at kilns 15 and 24.

Lipless dishes of this general form and fabric are ubiquitous, and though perhaps especially common in the second century, remained in fashion for a long time without much modification.

[1] S. S. Frere and Rainbird Clarke, *The Romano-British Village at Needham, Norfolk*. Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, vol. xxviii, pp. 187-216. Fig. 7, 81.

[2] *Corbridge* (*Op. cit.*, 1911). Fig. 8, 109.

[3] *Caerleon* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 59, 298.

[4] *Caerleon Amphitheatre* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 22, 77.

[5] M. R. Hull, *The Pottery from the Roman Signal Stations of the Yorkshire Coast*. Archaeological Journal, vol. lxxxix, 1933, pp. 220-53.

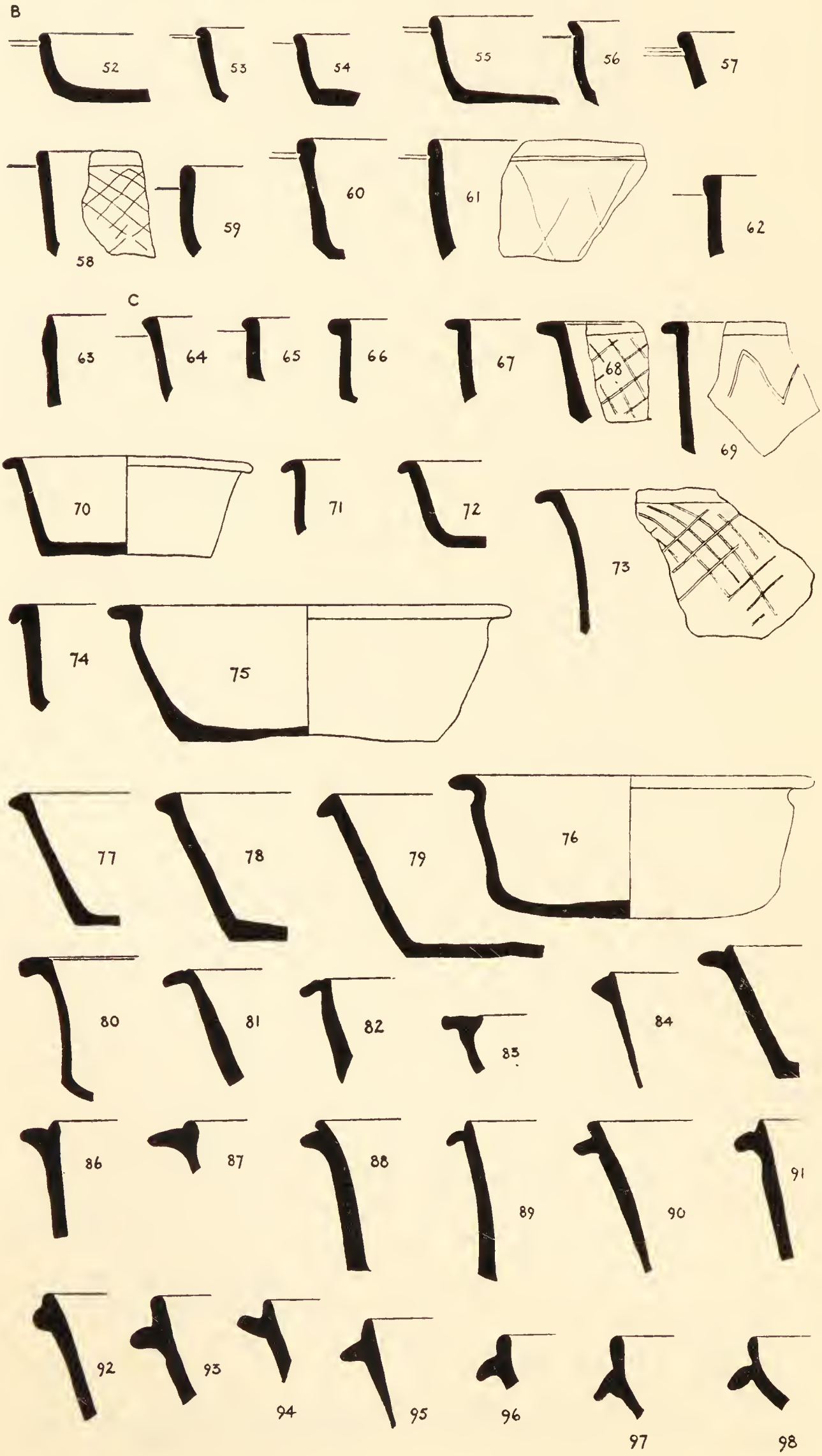


FIG. 2. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

They are therefore not readily dateable. The groove, normal at Cantley, seems an arbitrary or functional variant on the plain form, with no apparent bearing on date. Until about A.D.120 dishes of this kind had incurving sides, but throughout the second century the tendency was towards a straighter profile. The cross-hatching or other decoration common in the Antonine period and later second century afterwards became uncommon. The normal fabric during the second and third centuries was of the Cantley type; but at the end of that time Swanpool was making ungrooved vessels in a colour-coated ware.[1]

Of the pottery kilns nearest to Cantley, Torksey was producing grooved dishes in similar fabric during its second phase, *c.*A.D.230-50;[2] and rather further away, Norton from A.D.220-280;[3] and Crambeck (type 2a) from the late third century. But at none of these sites was lattice pattern used as decoration.

Nos. 62 and 63 are unusual in not having a groove, and in being thickened at or below the rim. An analogy for no. 62 is found in an Antonine sherd at Old Kilpatrick.[4]

52. Grey with trace of buff outer surface. Smooth inner surface.
53. Buff, with trace of smooth grey surface.
54. Buff, with dark grey, smooth outer surface.
55. Buff, with trace of dark grey outer surface.
56. Grey with polished outer surface.
57. Buff, with trace of smooth, dark grey outer surface.
58. Buff-orange, with smooth, dark grey outer surface, and burnished cross-hatching.
59. Buff, with distinct, dark grey core, smooth dark grey outer surface.
60. Orange, with dark grey core, and smooth, dark grey outer surface.
61. Grey, with trace of smooth, buff outer surface, and widely-spaced cross-hatching.
62. Dark grey.
63. Buff. Rather larger than the other vessels, the diameter approaching 9 inches.

C. LIPPED DISH. (Fig. 2, 64-98).

(*a*) *Pie-Dish.*

The rim diameters of these vessels range from 5 to 10 inches, and their depth from 1½ to over 3 inches. The rims form a flat or curved, wedge-shaped or clubbed lip. The sides are often straight, and though their junction with the base may be curved or bevelled, a sharp plain angle occurs more often than in type B. The fabric, however, is similar, but decoration, either of cross-hatching or a zigzag line, is scarcer. These dishes are prolific. They occur at most of the kilns, especially at kilns 22, 23, and 24, and in the neighbouring ditches.

[1] *Swanpool* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 5, E2-7.

[2] A. Oswald, *The Roman Pottery Kilns at Little London, Torksey, Lincs.* 1937. Pl. IV, 89-92.

[3] Raymond H. Hayes and Sir E. Whitley, *The Roman Pottery at Norton, E. Yorks.* (Report 7 of Roman Antiquities Committee of Yorkshire Archaeological Journal), 1950. Fig. 13, 1f, 1h.

[4] S. N. Miller, *The Roman Fort at Old Kilpatrick* 1928. Pl. XXIII, 11.

Nos. 64 and 65 have a slightly everted, wedge-shaped rim allied to some of type B. This form occurs rather early in the second century at Chester.[1] It is commonly Antonine, and occurs in the early third century at Norton Disney.[2] No. 66 has a thick roll rim which is typically third century. Nos. 67-69 have a straight blunt lip and straight sides, paralleled in the second century at Leicester,[3] and Great Casterton.[4] In nos. 70-73 the lip curves over. Very many analogies could be quoted, onwards from Hadrianic times. No. 74 is a single example with angular and downbent lip, paralleled at Norton.[5] Nos. 75 and 76, with level lip above a slight neck and shoulder, are distinctive. They are both from kiln 25. The curving profiles, while reminiscent of decorated dishes at Margidunum,[6] are more exactly matched at Norton Disney in the first half of the third century.[7] Nos. 77-79 have a clear-cut form. The rim is triangular, the straight sides make a sharp obtuse angle with the base. This form occurs at Needham before A.D.200,[8] but usually it is later than this, as in the carbonised wheat layer at Malton.[9] At Leicester in an unpolished gritty fabric it is of fourth century date.[10] No. 80, with its level, rectangular rim and concave side, is an abnormal variant at Cantley.

64. Buff. Nearly 6 ins. diameter.
65. Orange with buff core. Over 10 ins. diameter.
66. Grey with orange outer surface, originally smooth. Over 9 ins. diameter.
67. Buff with black polished surface. 8 ins. diameter.
68. Orange with a distinct grey core visible in one of the breaks. External cross-hatching from rim to bevel. 8¼ ins. diameter.
69. Buff with black surface. Zigzag line burnished on the outside. 8 ins. diameter.
70. Grey, with smoothed outer surface. Nearly 5 ins. diameter.
71. Grey with orange-red surface, originally smooth. About 10 ins. diameter.
72. Buff. 8 ins. diameter.
73. Grey, with smooth black inner surface, and grey-black cross-hatching showing through a buff-orange outer surface. About 8 ins. diameter.
74. Buff. 7 ins. diameter.
75. Grey. Nearly 8 ins. diameter.
76. Grey. 7 ins. diameter.

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[1] I. A. Richmond and Graham Webster, *Excavations in Goss Street, Chester*, 1948-9. (Chester Archaeological Society) 1950. Fig. 10, 8.

[2] A. Oswald, *A Roman Fortified Villa at Norton Disney, Lincs.* Antiquaries Journal, vol. xxvii, 1937, pp. 138-78. Fig. 4, 46.

[3] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 19, type A, chiefly 7 and 10.

[4] *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland.* 2nd Interim Report, 1954, Ed. Philip Corder. Fig. 2, 16.

[5] *Norton* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 13, 2c.

[6] A. Oswald, *Margidunum.* Journal of Roman Studies, vol. xxxi, 1941, pts. 1 and 2, pp. 32-62. Fig. 14, 5-7.

[7] *Norton Disney* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 6, 83, and Fig. 5, 60 and 63.

[8] *Needham* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 2, 13.

[9] *Malton* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 6, 28.

[10] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 19, 24.

77. Grey-buff with smooth outer surface. 6½ ins. diameter.
78. Light grey with smooth outer surface. 7½ ins. diameter.
79. Grey with smooth surface. 7½ ins. diameter.
80. Buff-grey. Nearly 8 ins. diameter.

(*b*) *Grooved lip.*

A few examples have this form of rim, which seems the first stage in the isolation of an upright bead from a horizontal flange. It is a type which appeared in Antonine deposits, *e.g.* (though in slightly more advanced form) at Corbridge,[1] and Leicester;[2] *c*.A.D.200, at Malton[3] and Holt;[4] again in the first half of the third century at Malton.[5] Several instances are figured in the report on the Llantwit Major villa.[6] The form of no. 82 closely resembles a piece in colour-coated fabric at Swanpool,[7] which is of late third or fourth century date.

81. Buff. Over 8 ins. diameter.
82. Grey with smooth outer surface. Same diameter.

(*c*) *Flanged dish.*

Most of these dishes have had a diameter of about 9 inches. Only one includes part of the base, so no information is available about depth, except that in some this is at least as great as in (*a*) and (*b*). The rim consists of a bead rising above a horizontal, downbent or upbent flange. The sides are straight or slightly concave. The ware is like that of the other kinds of dish except in the absence of decoration. These vessels are as common as the pie-dishes, and are associated with the same kilns.

The rim form of no. 83 is not typical, and it may in fact be part of a bowl similar to those implied by nos. 133 and 134 below.

The slight bead and triangular flange of no. 84 is paralleled at Swanpool, but in colour-coated fabric.[8] Nos. 85-88 have a more distinct bead and curved tapering flange. The small thin flange of no. 89, paralleled at Leicester,[9] seems to have been in use from *c*A.D.200. A number of the Cantley specimens have a heavy, clumsy flange well below the rim, as in nos. 90-94. The type occurred in similar ware at Swanpool.[10] No. 95 is more sharply moulded. The last three, nos. 96-98, are abnormal at Cantley, and seem to show something of the influence of the

[1] *Corbridge* (*Op. cit.*, 1911). Fig. 6, 71 and 72.
[2] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 19, type E, 21-3.
[3] *Malton* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 7, 28-30.
[4] W. F. Grimes, *Holt, Denbighshire.* Y Cymmrodor, vol. xli, 1930. Fig. 69, 142.
[5] *Malton* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 6, 11 and 19 (Carbonised wheat layer).
[6] V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Villa at Llantwit Major.* Archaeologia Cambrensis, vol. cii, 1953. Fig. 18; 10, 139, 148.
[7] *Swanpool* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 4, D4.
[8] *Ibid.* Fig. 4, D2.
[9] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 19, 31.
[10] *Swanpool* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 4, D7-13.

Samian form, Drag. 38. No. 98 is the nearest approximation to this, but it is a single, unstratified example. Imitations of this kind, though more typical of a late period, do occur at Templebrough[1] and Ilkley.[2]

83. Grey with brick-red core. 6½ ins. diameter.
84. Buff. 9½ ins. diameter.
85. Light grey with buff outer surface. 9 ins. diameter.
86. Grey. Nearly 9 ins. diameter.
87. Buff.
88. Dark grey with smooth outer surface. Nearly 7 ins. diameter.
89. Buff. 7½ ins. diameter.
90. Orange with traces of grey in the core. 9 ins. diameter.
91. Grey with buff surface. Nearly 9 ins. diameter.
92. Buff. 9½ ins. diameter.
93. Yellowish-buff. 9 ins. diameter.
94. Buff with black surface. Same diameter.
95. Buff. Same diameter.
96. Brick-red with black outer surface. Same diameter.
97. Buff-grey with brownish-black outer surface.
98. Orange. 9 ins. diameter.

Pie-dishes were in use from the early second century to the end of the Roman period. For the lattice-decorated, grey, chamfered variant with flat or downturned rim, innumerable examples could be cited, however, in the Antonine period and later second century. But alongside this, grooved and flanged dishes were appearing. In the third century the pie-dish rims were often thickened into a clubbed or triangular shape. This form was adhered to at the Torksey kilns from A.D.230-50, and was included in the output of Norton (type 2a) between A.D.220 and 280. At these third century sites flanged dishes were scarce, but on the other hand they were produced to the exclusion of pie-dishes at Throlam after the middle of the century, and at Swanpool from the end of the third century. Their production reached a maximum in the fourth century, and indeed the plain, grey-buff, flanged dishes at Cantley could be compared with much of this late material. Nevertheless Cantley does not share any of the local peculiarities displayed at such sites: the external wavy line sometimes employed at Throlam, the internal wavy line of Crambeck type 1b, or the colour-coating of one group (C1-6) at Swanpool.

The most striking individual analogy within this group is between Cantley 75-76 and certain Norton Disney pieces of the first half of the third century. The agreement carries the more weight because of the distinctiveness of the shape and the proximity of the two sites. It therefore combines with other indications—the fairly equal quantities of pie-dish and flanged dish, the limited use of decoration, the occurrence of roll-rims, and possibly the absence of any fabric other than the conventional grey—to suggest a period of manufacture extending perhaps from the late second century to about the third quarter of the third century.

[1] *Templebrough* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. XXIX, 176.
[2] *Ilkley* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. XXXII, 79.

D. BEAKER. (Fig. 3, 99-104).

Most of the smallest jars have a well-defined, high shoulder, and small straight rim forming an oblique platform. Rim diameters are from 3 to 4½ inches. Such of the profile as survives suggests conformity with the unstratified beaker figured in the 1954 issue of this *Journal.* (Plate C, 7). This is about 4 inches high. A rounded body curves in to a small foot. It is decorated with a horizontal groove and a wavy line.

The present group accounts for 4% of the total output under consideration, and appears in most of the kilns of the Birch Road area.

Similar beakers appeared early in the second century, were commonly Antonine, but scarcer in the third century. Nos. 99-103 are somewhat similar to Leicester examples, many of which date to the period A.D.150-60, and one to the early fourth century.[1] A comparable form, but with rouletting, occurred at Margidunum, in an Antonine horizon.[2] No. 104 is a heavier vessel, with a lower shoulder, and a roll rim. The Antonine site at South Carlton had a similar form, but with roughcast surface.[3]

99. Black with burnished surface. Nearly 4 ins. diameter.
100. Orange with grey core. Same diameter.
101. Grey with buff surface. 4½ ins. diameter.
102. Yellowish-buff with grey surface. Same diameter.
103. Buff, with trace of darker brown, burnished surface. 3½ ins. diameter.
104. Light grey. 3 ins. diameter.

E. MEDIUM-SIZED JAR (Fig. 3, 105-117).

(*a*) *With cavetto rim.*

These jars stand 7-8 inches high and have a rim-span of 5-6 inches. The rim flares obliquely outwards, sometimes ending in a slight bead. A ledge often marks the junction of the rim with the body of the pot. The greatest width is from a third to halfway down the pot. This narrows to the base, but there is no definite foot. Decoration is common, and consists of burnished cross-hatching beginning ¾ inch from the ledge and finishing about 1¼ inches from the base. Occasionally there is a light straight groove on the outside of the rim. The fabric is grey or buff. There is nothing exclusive in the distribution, but it is noteworthy that those described below were found as one batch in the firing-chamber of kiln 25. With the bell-mouthed jars the whole group makes up 31.5% of the total assessable output.

The type was in use from early in the second until the first half of the third century.

[1] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 27, 14 for the earlier period; Fig. 26, 30, early 4th century.
[2] *Margidunum* (*Op. cit.* 1941). Fig. 14, 4.
[3] *South Carlton* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 9, 5C.

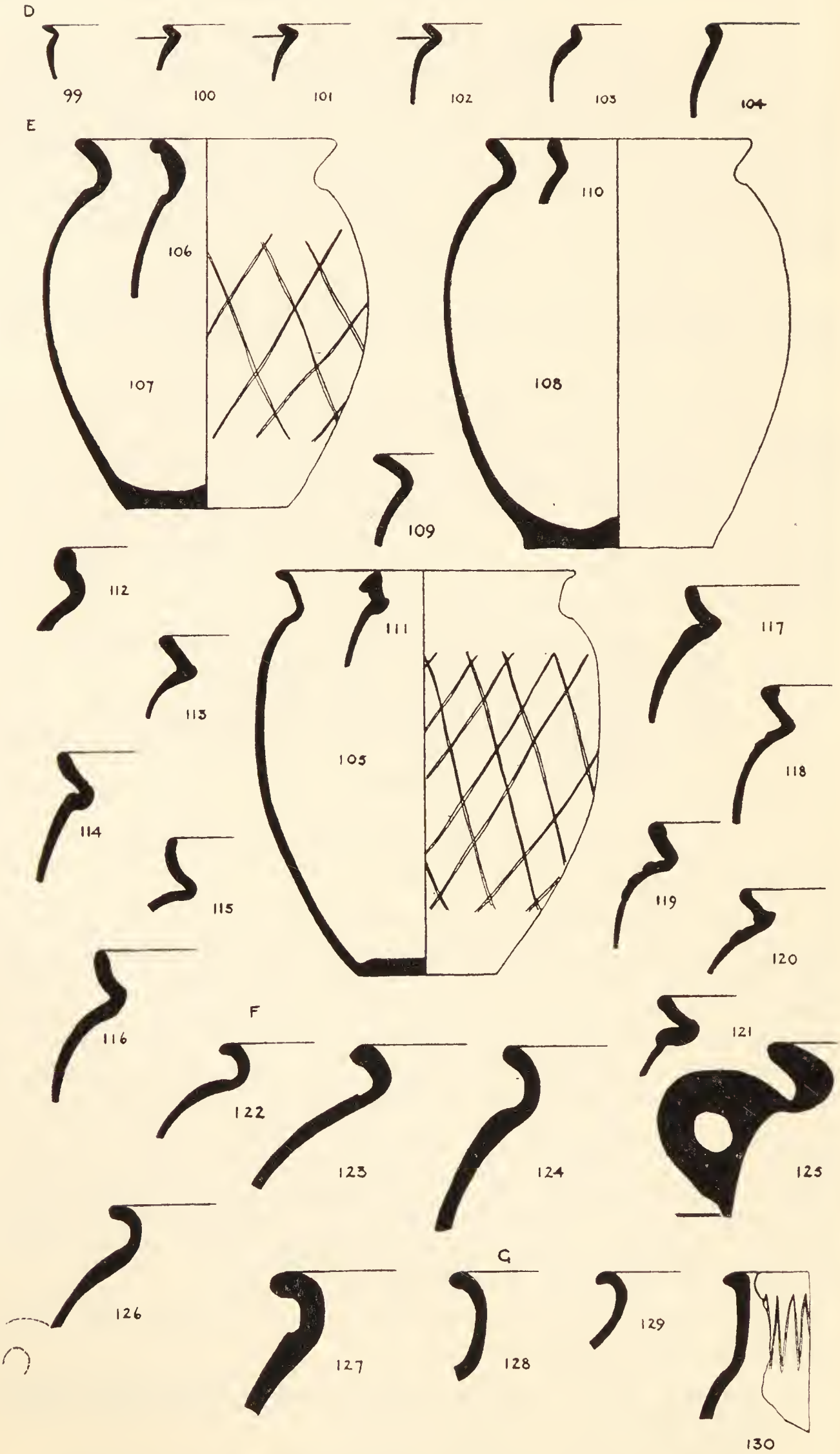

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FIG. 3. Scale ¼.

Nos. 105 and 106 represent a form which was becoming common in the second quarter of the second century, and was predominant in Antonine levels. None of ours have the wavy line appearing on the rim of rather early examples.

The Torksey kilns produced jars of this widespread type late in the first period of production, i.e. towards A.D.180.[1] By *c.*A.D.200 it was being superseded by one analogous to 107 and 108 below. This kind had appeared in an upper Antonine horizon at Corbridge,[2] and increased in popularity towards the end of the century. It occurred then at Norton Disney,[3] and was still in use in the first half of the third century. It was made late in the second period at Torksey, i.e. towards A.D.250.[4] The rim of no. 109 is more splayed, as though to reach, if not exceed, the greatest body girth. A very similar piece at the Llantwit Major villa was given a second century date.[5] The Holt report dates this form to the third century,[6] and this seems the likeliest period of its occurrence, approximating as it does to the wide cavetto rims of the fourth century.

105. Grey with burnished cross-hatching. 5½ ins. diameter.
106. Grey. 5¾ ins. diameter.
107. Light grey with burnished cross-hatching. 5 ins. diameter.
108. Grey, verging on yellowish-buff. Same diameter.
109. Light grey. Nearly 5½ ins. diameter.

(*b*) *With recurved rim.*

Differences in size, rim form, and to some extent fabric, together distinguish this group from the more usual jar. On the whole, the rim sherds imply a larger vessel, and one with a higher and more pronounced shoulder. The rim curves inward upon itself to accommodate a lid. The fabric tends to be lighter in shade than the usual grey-buff, and its surface is rougher and unpolished. This type is well-represented in kiln 20, but scarce elsewhere.

In shape these 'bell-mouthed' jars largely conform to the 'Derbyshire ware' of the North Midlands,[7] but the fabric at Cantley is not calcitic or shelly. Although this type of ware has been provisionally dated to the late third and early fourth centuries, its occurrence at much earlier sites, such as Ilkley, Slack, Buxton, and Templeborough, may permit a late first and second century date. It is interesting that some specimens of Derbyshire ware came from the villa at Stancil near Doncaster, which existed mainly in the third century.[8]

[1] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. IV, 69A.
[2] Eric Birley and I. A. Richmond, *Excavations at Corbridge* 1936-8. Archaeologia Aeliana, IVth series, vol. xv, 1938. Fig. 8, 8 and 9.
[3] *Norton Disney* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 4, 42.
[4] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. IV, 80.
[5] *Llantwit Major* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 17, 122.
[6] *Holt* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 62, 41.
[7] J. P. Gillam, *Romano-British Derbyshire Ware.* Antiquaries Journal, xix, 1939, pp. 429-37.
[8] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol.* xxxv, 1941, pp. 261-269. C. E. Whiting.

The Torksey kilns were producing a related type in ordinary grey ware but with a gritty surface *c.*A.D.230-50;[1] and deposits of the third to the mid-fourth century at the Norton Disney villa contained bell-mouthed jars both in this hard grey, but rough ware, and in the shelly, poorly-baked fabric characteristic of the Derbyshire ware.[2]

Various rim forms are figured. Those with the rilled shoulder, nos. 118-121, are all from kiln 20, and these, with nos. 116 and 117, are in a light-coloured fabric with a pink or yellowish tinge, foreign to other Cantley pottery.

110. Dark grey. Nearly 4 ins. diameter.
111. Buff. $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter.
112. Buff with trace of grey surface. 7 ins. diameter.
113. Dark grey. $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter.
114. Buff. Same diameter.
115. Buff with trace of grey surface. $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter.
116. Light grey. Nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter.
117. Light grey-buff with trace of pinkish surface. Same diameter.
118. Same fabric. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter.
119. Light yellowish-buff. $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter.
120. Black with orange core. Same diameter.
121. Light grey with trace of darker grey surface. Same diameter.

F. LARGE JAR (Fig. 3, 122-127).

The rimsherds represent large storage vessels of the type figured in the 1954 issue. These are 13 or 14 inches high, and have a flaring rim and pear-shaped body narrowing to a base diameter of about 4 inches. There may be two opposing handles, not countersunk, but moulded on to the widest part of the wall. In the same region there may be two parallel grooves separated by wavy lines. Too little remains of the following pieces to assess the decorative treatment. Some definitely belonged to handled jars, and that many others were also handled is clear from the large number of separate broken handles that were found. Some of these still retain part of the body wall, with a plug of fabric projecting from the inside as if to key the handle into the prepared pot. The grey or buff fabric is sometimes smoothed externally. Though distinctive in form, quantitatively these jars are among the less important products of the kilns, forming only $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the stratified material. Kilns 22 and 23 seem chiefly to have been concerned in their production.

Large storage jars are a common Northern type, occurring with or without handles at most of the sites already mentioned. One distinction arises in the manner in which handles have been affixed to the body wall. In Crambeck type 3 and Swanpool F1 and F2 they were countersunk; but a closer link with Cantley is found in the products of Torksey period 2,[3] Norton types 4a and

[1] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. II, 12, 13.
[2] *Norton Disney* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 5, 58; Fig. 8, 96 and 102.
[3] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. II, 25-30.

4b, and Throlam type 5,[1] where separately moulded loops had been attached to the side of the jar, which was then patched and smoothed on the inside.

122. Buff with trace of darker brown surface. 5 ins. diameter.
123. Similar fabric. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter.
124. Orange-buff, with trace of brown surface. $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter.
125. Dark grey with external horizontal groove, and handle immediately below the rim. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter.
126. Buff-orange. Originally handled. 6 ins. diameter.
127. Buff with grey surface. 7 ins. diameter.

G. NARROW-NECKED JAR. (Fig. 3, 128-130).

These fragments show a long outcurving neck, fractured at the transition to the wider body of the pot. All but no. 130 are plain. They are absent from some kilns, and more than single specimens occurred only at kilns 15, 22, and 23.

The complete vessels were perhaps comparable with the late Antonine flagons at Torksey.[2] At the same time and *c.*A.D.200 similar ones occurred at Norton Disney,[3] and in the third century, as types 7a and 7b, at Norton, though amongst these there are no decorated rims. Flagons of quite different type, with narrower ringed neck, are typical of sites of the late period in Yorkshire and the N.E. Midlands.

128. Buff with grey surface. $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diameter.
129. Dark grey. 5 ins. diameter.
130. Light grey with trace of darker grey surface. 4 ins. diameter. Zigzag decoration round neck.

H. WIDE-MOUTHED BOWLS.
(Fig. 4, 131-160 and Fig. 5, 161-178).

The group contributed over 26% to the total output. In most of the bowls the greatest diameter is at the rim, but to this common feature are allied several varieties of profile.

(a) Shallow bowl or colander.

There are a few isolated specimens, of miscellaneous size and rim form, which curve rapidly inwards from a rounded but slight shoulder. At Leicester there are examples similar to no. 131 and 132 which date from the second to the fourth century.[4] Similar forms appear in both periods at Torksey,[5] and in the later third century at Throlam.[6] In general they seem to have been produced from *c.*A.D.180. Nos. 133 and 134, however, with their

[1] Philip Corder, *The Roman Pottery at Throlam, Holme-on-Spalding Moor*, (*Roman Malton & District Reports, no. 3*), 1930.
[2] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. II, 11 and 18-20.
[3] *Norton Disney* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 3, 35 and 36.
[4] *Leicester* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 23, 6.
[5] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. V, 131.
[6] *Throlam* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 12, 46.

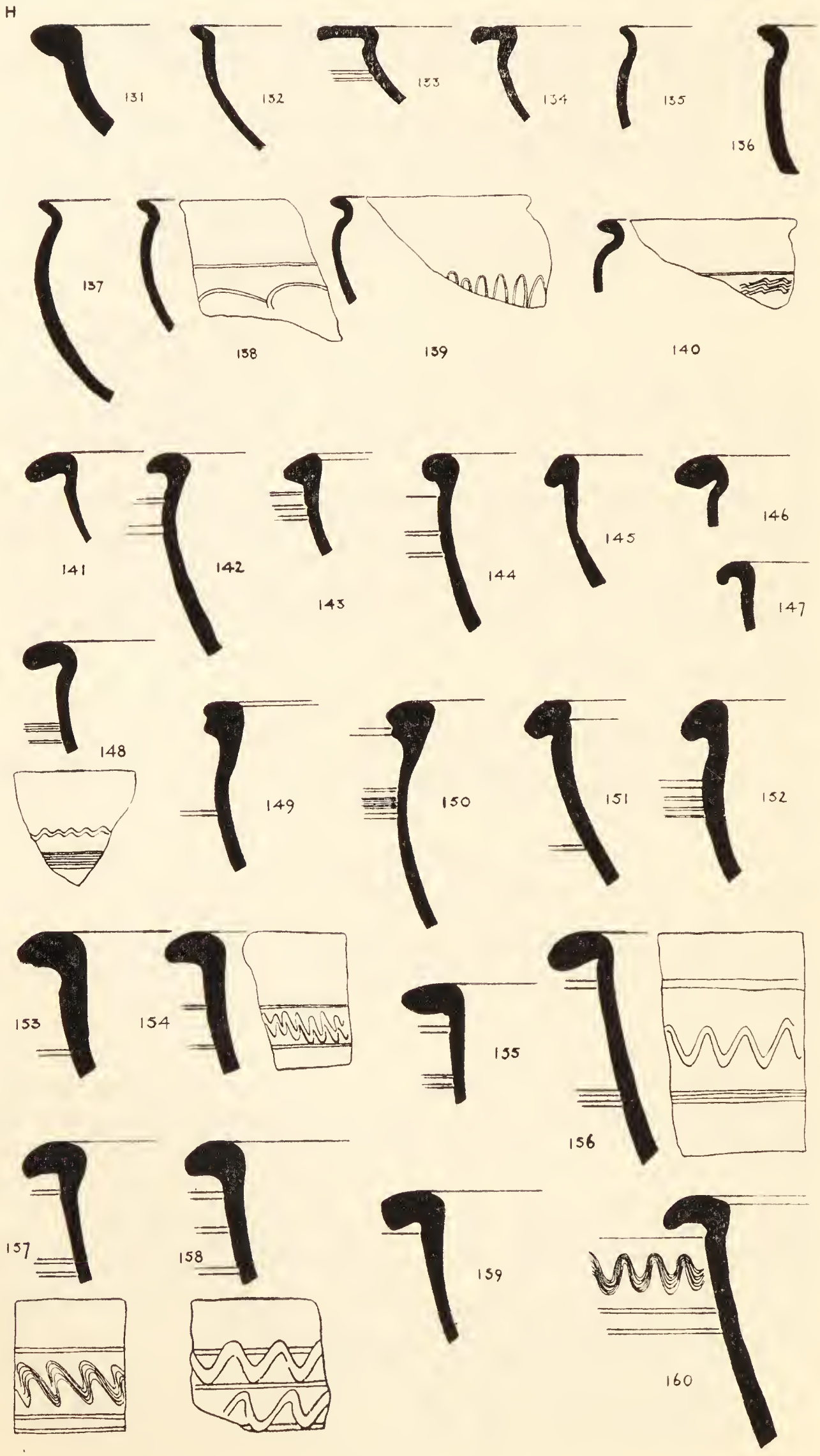


FIG. 4. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

reeded rims, find closer parallels in the shallow colander of the Trajan-Hadrianic period at Caerleon,[1] or in the deeper, carinated bowls, normally pre-Antonine, figured in the Holt report.[2]

131. Dark grey. 9½ ins. diameter.
132. Grey. 6¼ ins. diameter.
133. Buff with darker brown surface and two grooves below the shoulder. 7¾ ins. diameter.
134. Grey with darker grey surface. 7 ins. diameter.

(*b*) *Shouldered bowl.*

A commoner and more uniform type is the small bowl with flaring rim, slight neck, high shoulder, and curving sides, evidently deeper than the foregoing examples. Diameters range from 5½ to 8 inches. These vessels occur mainly in kilns 11, 12, and 15. The incomplete profiles are similar to those of cavetto-rimmed jars, but the decoration of loops or ripples on nos. 138-140 departs from the convention of that form at Cantley. Analogies could be quoted from the second to fourth centuries. The type figured in both periods at Torksey,[3] at Norton Disney from the middle to the end of the third century,[4] at Throlam in the later third century.[5] Crambeck type 4 agrees with the form. But in most of these comparisons there is a longer neck.

135. Buff. 6½ ins. diameter.
136. Light grey. Same diameter.
137. Orange. 6¾ ins. diameter.
138. Grey. The outer surface is smoothed down to the horizontal groove, and below this is a smoothed loop pattern. 8 ins. diameter.
139. Grey with smoothed rim and loop design below the shoulder. 5½ ins. diameter.
140. Grey with smoothed ripple design. 8 ins. diameter.

(*c*) and (*d*) *Heavy bowls without neck.*

These forms closely resemble each other, and both are especially common at kilns 9 and 15. The first group is a fairly heavy bowl with rim diameter between 8 and 16 inches. The rims are mostly of roll form. There is hardly any neck. The side is gently curved and usually has at least one groove at or just below the greatest body-girth. Additional decoration of a ripply line above this is exceptional.

These bowls diverge from Crambeck type 4. They resemble type 6a at Norton, which was produced in very small quantities in the third century. The Cantley type is best paralleled, however, at several sites in the N.E. Midlands. It is common at Templebrough,[6] and at Torksey, especially in the second period.[7] Apart from a difference in rim form it occurs at Throlam in the second half of the third century.[8]

[1] *Caerleon* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 62, 441.
[2] *Holt* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 65, especially nos. 80 and 88.
[3] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. IV, 76.
[4] *Norton Disney* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 7, 93 and 94.
[5] *Throlam* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 12, 42-56.
[6] *Templebrough* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. XXXIII, 215a and 215o.
[7] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. V, 106, 109, 130.
[8] *Throlam* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 11, 42-56.

Certain specific variations deserve note. Moulded rims like those of nos. 149 and 150 below are of Antonine date at Margidunum.[1] The internally dinted rim of no. 151, while characteristic of some Crambeck bowls, occurs in an Antonine horizon at Old Kilpatrick.[2]

141. Light grey-buff. 14½ ins. diameter.
142. Brownish-black with surface varying from orange to black. Two plain grooves. 10¼ ins. diameter.
143. Grey with buff surface, and three grooves. 10¾ ins. diameter.
144. Buff with one black break. Two grooves. 9½ ins. diameter.
145. Black with polished surface. 9 ins. diameter.
146. Buff with grey core. 11½ ins. diameter.
147. Light grey. 8 ins. diameter.
148. Buff, with three plain grooves and a ripply line. 11¼ ins. diameter.
149. Yellowish-buff. The outer face of the rim is indented. Same diameter.
150. Grey. Similar rim to no. 149. Multiple plain grooves. About 16 ins. diameter.
151. Light grey. Indentation on inner side of rim, and the usual external groove on the body. About 14 ins. diameter.
152. Buff-grey with black outer surface. Four grooves. 14 ins. diameter.

(*d*) is the largest and heaviest type of bowl, with rim diameters ranging from 11 to 16 inches. The rim forms include a horizontal or somewhat curved flange (nos. 153-163), a hooked flange (nos. 164-167), and a heavy knoblike roll (Nos. 168-178). There is scarcely any neck and no shoulder differentiating the unrounded side. Most of the pots are ornamented below the rim with plain grooves associated with wavy bands. Traces of burnishing survive on some of the rims, mainly in the black ware. There are no complete specimens, but comparison with an unstratified bowl found previously suggests a profile in which the diameter, greatest at the rim, contracts at first very gradually and then more suddenly to a base about 6 inches across. The depth is 9 or 10 inches. Almost identical bowls at Templebrough were thought to have been used for dipping.

The local sites already quoted for (*c*) again serve comparisons. But certain differences in chronology may be noted. Thus the Torksey kilns, though distributing both kinds (not differentiated in the report) throughout the area during both its periods of production, seem to have specialised more in our form (*d*) during the first phase, *c*.A.D.150-180.[3] They differ from the Cantley bowls only in the lack of scroll decoration. The type appears *c*.A.D.200 at Norton Disney,[4] i.e. earlier than the Crambeck type 4. Templebrough bowls reiterate the identical features.[5]

[1] *Margidunum* (*Op. cit.*, 1941). Fig. 13, B1.
[2] *Old Kilpatrick* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. XXII, 9.
[3] *Torksey* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. V, 96-8, 100.
[4] *Norton Disney* (*Op. cit.*). Fig. 7, 84.
[5] *Templebrough* (*Op. cit.*). Pl. XXXIII, 215c, d, g, h.

Wide-mouthed bowls in the third century, as at Norton and Throlam, seem, like our form (*b*), to have approximated more closely to those typified by Crambeck type 4.

153. Grey, with single groove, and indentation on under side of rim. 16 ins. diameter.
154. Grey, with traces of burnishing on the rim. Scroll and groove design. Same diameter.
155. Light grey, with burnished rim. Several grooves. 14 ins. diameter.
156. Buff with grey outer surface. Scroll and groove design. Same diameter.
157. Buff with burnished rim. Scroll and groove design. 15 ins. diameter.
158. Light grey, with scroll and groove design. Same diameter.
159. Buff. Same diameter.
160. Grey. Scroll and groove design. Same diameter.
161. Buff, with groups of fine mouldings. 11¼ ins. diameter.
162. Yellowish-buff, with distinct, light grey core, and black surface burnished at the rim. Groove design. 14½ ins. diameter.
163. Black with burnished surface. Fine mouldings at and just below the external angle of rim and side. 12 ins. diameter.
164. Grey-buff, with dark grey outer surface. Groove design. 12¼ ins. diameter.
165. Buff-orange, with buff rim-core. Scroll and groove design. 16 ins. diameter.
166. Buff, with scroll and groove design. 15 ins. diameter.
167. Orange. 12¼ ins. diameter.
168. Black, with burnished rim, and groove design. 14½ ins. diameter.
169. Grey, with buff surface, and groove design. 12¼ ins. diameter.
170. Light grey, with scroll and groove design. 14½ ins. diameter.
171. Grey with buff core. 11¼ ins. diameter.
172. Grey-buff, with indentation on under side of rim, and the usual groove below. 13¾ ins. diameter.
173. Buff-orange, with brick-red surface. 14½ ins. diameter.
174. Buff-orange, with trace of brownish-black, burnished surface. Mouldings below rim. 11 or 12 ins. diameter.
175. Buff, with trace of yellowish-buff surface, burnished on rim. Same diameter.
176. Buff-grey, with mouldings on under side of rim, and below. 16 ins. diameter.
177. Buff, with burnished rim. Mouldings on under side of rim, and scroll and groove design below. 14 ins. diameter.
178. Light grey, with pale buff surface. 14¾ ins. diameter.

J. MISCELLANEOUS BASES. (Fig. 5, 179-185).

Nos. 179-181 represent a dozen colander bases of which all but one derive from kiln 15. Each has numerous perforations, making grids of varying fineness. To judge by the thickness and angle of the sides, the entire profiles would be classifiable with wide-mouthed bowls. These colanders may therefore account for a small proportion of class H.

The drawings show outer surfaces.

179. Orange, with trace of dark brown or black paint on the surface. This has been perforated from the inside.
180. Buff, perforated from the outside.
181. Grey.

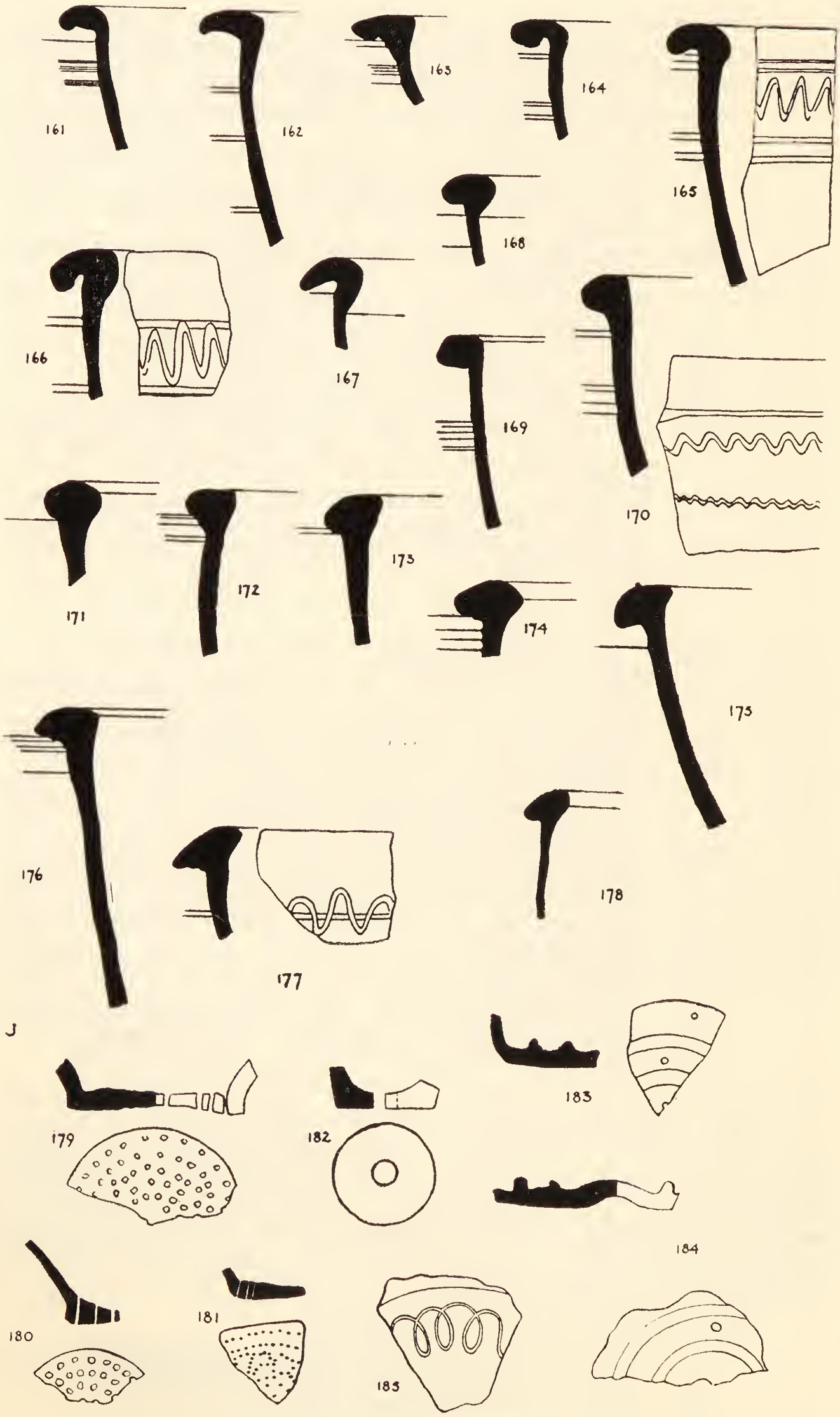

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FIG. 5. Scale ¼.

No. 182 is one of two small but thick bases with a large central hole.

182. Buff core, with black burnished surface. Central hole. Unstratified.

There are two sherds having the concentric ridges, intermediate holes, and raised centre of cheese-squeezes. The vertical wall of no. 183 and its curving angle with the base, call to mind some of the rimless dishes of class B. The inner surfaces are shown.

183. Light grey.

184. Grey, with buff inner surface and black burnished outer surface.

There is only one instance of a base bearing a design. The size of this piece, its fabric, and the presence of a chamfered angle show it to be part of a shallow, straight-sided dish belonging to either class B or C.

185. Polished black fabric, with bevelled angle. On the outer surface part of a circuit of scroll work is burnished.

THE DATE OF THE KILNS.

The occurrence of the potters' stamps 'VBRN' and 'Sarrus' shows that one at least of the kilns under discussion was in use in the last quarter of the second century. And a comparison of the VBRN products with the other mortaria further shows that many of them may well have been made at about the same time.

Broader limits, however, can be inferred for the mass of material by comparing this with the output of the nearest dateable sites where a pottery industry was practised.

Almost all the Cantley types which have been described can be paralleled at the Torksey (Little London) kilns on the Lincolnshire-Nottinghamshire border, during either or both of the two phases of production there, *c*.A.D.150-80 and *c*.A.D.230-50. The correspondence carries the more weight in that it concerns types which are prolific at Cantley, namely cavetto-rimmed jars, heavy wide-mouthed bowls, and pie-dishes; but it also holds good in vessels less common at Cantley, such as the loop-handled jars and the flagons. The comparisons between the wide-mouthed bowls is a close one, and since this is a type less generally standardised than, for example, cavetto-rimmed jars with lattice decoration, it makes a persuasive argument for contemporaneity. One should be prepared, therefore, to admit an extension of the period of production at Cantley beyond that already suggested by the potters' stamps, and consider a range of time lasting from the mid-second to the mid-third century. Some of the types common to Cantley and Torksey—latticed jars, heavy wide-mouthed bowls, loop-handled jars, and flagons—occur also at the Norton Disney villa, in those deposits which date from late Antonine times to the early third century; and the loop-handled jars continued to appear at this site in the first half and middle of the third century, alongside bowls of our (*c*) form and pie-dishes closely similar to Cantley ones.

Nevertheless, loop-handled jars were made at Norton during a period reaching as late as A.D.280, and there too, analogies may be found for our wide-mouthed bowls of forms (*b*) and (*c*). It is permissible to think of Cantley production as continuing to this date, especially considering how common at Cantley are flanged dishes as well as pie-dishes.

At this time the Throlam industry was beginning. Loop-handled jars were still in evidence, but the wide-mouthed bowls conformed more closely to the Crambeck styles than to Cantley, and pie-dishes were absent.

It seems unlikely that there was any activity at these Cantley kilns in the fourth century. For while there is some agreement with the products of Swanpool and Crambeck, it is only of a general kind. The Cantley 'bell-mouthed' jars are perhaps the likeliest evidence of a late third or fourth century phase, but the Cantley fabric does not wholly correspond to that of the Derbyshire ware, and in any case the late date usual for Derbyshire ware cannot be maintained for some demonstrably early sites. Nor, so far as the present evidence goes, did Cantley produce calcite-gritted jars or Samian imitations, and in fact hardly departed from the third century convention of plain unpainted fabric.

At present it seems that these kilns were working within a period ranging from Antonine times to the third quarter of the third century, and that their closest industrial connections were with the North-East Midlands rather than East Yorkshire.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The publication of the excavation report on the barrows on Kildale Moor by Mr. P. Ashbee has been assisted by a grant from the Ministry of Works and that by Miss Cregeen on the Roman pottery from the Cantley Building Estate at Doncaster from the Publications Fund of the Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery. Messrs. J. Addy, E. J. W. Hildyard and T. Manby have made subventions towards the costs of their respective articles and the East Riding Archaeological Research Committee and Mr. G. G. Watson towards that by Mr. T. C. M. Brewster. Mr. C. T. Clay has met the cost of the block illustrating his article, while Messrs. T. French and L. P. Wenham have met the cost of some of the half-tone plates in their respective articles.

REVIEW.

A Short Guide to Roman York, 1956. Published by Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society. 40 Pages, 6 Line Blocks, and a Plan. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Price 2/6.

This is an excellent summary of the up-to-date information on Roman York, with a short foreword by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. The great legionary fortress and civil *colonia* of York constitute one of the most important sites in Roman Britain, and it is singularly unfortunate that in the past so many opportunities for studying the very extensive remains which must still here and there underlie the mediaeval and modern city have been lost. Our knowledge of the military and civil areas is even now very limited, and this is reflected in the comparative ease in which that knowledge can be set down in this small booklet. Up to the war the only serious attempt to understand the problems of Roman York was that carried out by the late S. N. Miller, but happily in more recent years a renewed attack has been under way, thanks to the excellent work of a group of local enthusiasts through the agency of the Inspectorate Branch of the Ministry of Works and local societies (one of which has undertaken the publication of this Guide), new and important knowledge is gradually being pieced together. Its anonymous writers have been unduly modest in not underlining the results of their more recent activities. It comes therefore with some surprise to those well-versed in pre-war information to find that old theories have been quietly but firmly discounted. It now seems, for example, that the outline of the legionary fortress has remained the same throughout the whole of its long and eventful history, and in this accords well with the evidence from the post-war excavations at Chester. What is not so clear is whether in fact York suffered destruction in the great upheaval at the end of the second century. There is certainly evidence of Severan reconstruction but more needs to be known of the reasons for this. The Chester evidence as revealed in the Goss Street excavations in 1948 seemed to indicate reconstruction at this period without any concomitant destruction. Here at York the evidence from the defences needs to be associated with that from the principal buildings inside.

The booklet is clearly written and will be a most useful guide to visitors and also to students generally, the bibliography at the end being particularly valuable. The plan of cemeteries south of the river contains new and important information brought

together for the first time. The booklet is illustrated with line drawings and maps of excellent quality. It is indeed an indication of the stirring of new life on this important archaeological front. Let us hope that it will bear fruit so that at long last the citizens of York will begin to realise the existence of such riches below their feet, and be more ready to seize opportunities for further investigations when sites become available. It may also help to bring to the light of day the long neglected treasures of the Yorkshire Museum, an illustrated account of which would add materially to our knowledge of Roman Britain.

GRAHAM WEBSTER.

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THE YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL

Parts CLV and CLVI.

THE

Yorkshire Archæological Journal

POLISHED STONE AXES OF LAKE DISTRICT ORIGIN FROM LEEDS.[1]

By Leslie Alcock.

It is now a commonplace that the first Neolithic farmers of these islands sought diligently for suitable stones to make the axes with which they cleared the primeval forests. Extensive trade was organized from a few centres which yielded the desired tough but fine-grained volcanic rocks. One of the most important of these centres was at the head of Langdale in Westmorland where, on the screes of Pike of Stickle and neighbouring crags, axes were roughed-out from the scree blocks.[2] That the early settlers of the Leeds district obtained their tools largely from this source has been shown by the examination of a number of axes in Leeds City Museum.

The axes of Lake District origin are as follows :

Fig. I, 1. Polished stone axe with squarish cutting-edge, thin broad butt; oval section with squared sides and marked facetting of the faces; slight waist towards the butt. Length 8.5 in., width 3.0 in., thickness 1.6 in. Found beneath four feet of soil at 'The View', Roundhay, Leeds. National Grid Reference 321379.

2. Highly polished axe with rounded cutting-edge, thin square butt; oval section with squared sides. Length 8.6 in., width 3.0 in., thickness 1.7 in. Found in the garden of 'Castle View', Stonegate Road, Leeds. National Grid Reference 297383.

3. Polished axe with squarish cutting edge, oval section with squared sides; thin square butt, slightly damaged; marked waist towards the butt. Length 8.1 in., width 2.4 in., thickness 1.3 in. From Kentmere Approach, Seacroft, Leeds. National Grid Reference 344366.

[1] The recognition and collection of these axes is due largely to the enthusiasm of Dr. David E. Owen, erstwhile Director, Leeds City Museums. Dr. Owen had some of the specimens sectioned and examined microscopically by Dr. H. C. Versey, and kindly allows me to refer to Dr. Versey's identifications.

[2] B. Bunch and C. I. Fell, A Stone-axe factory at Pike of Stickle, *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* XV (1949), pp. 1-20; C. I. Fell, Further notes on the Great Langdale axe-factory, *op. cit.*, XX (1954), pp. 238-9.

4. Polished axe (or possibly an adze) with rounded, slightly damaged cutting edge, thin square butt, asymmetrical pointed-oval section. Length 6.0 in., width 2.7 in., thickness 1.5 in. From Roundhay Golf Links. National Grid Reference 335385 (approx.).

5. Polished axe with rounded cutting edge, thin square butt, very straight sides; oval section with squared sides. The cutting edge is badly damaged, and the implement has been reused as a whetstone. Length 5.2 in., width 2.1 in., thickness 1.0 in. Labelled 'Neville Street, Leeds'; but this is not the axe illustrated as from Neville Street in *Thoresby Society Publications*, XV, facing p. 219, no. 7, and its provenance is therefore doubtful.

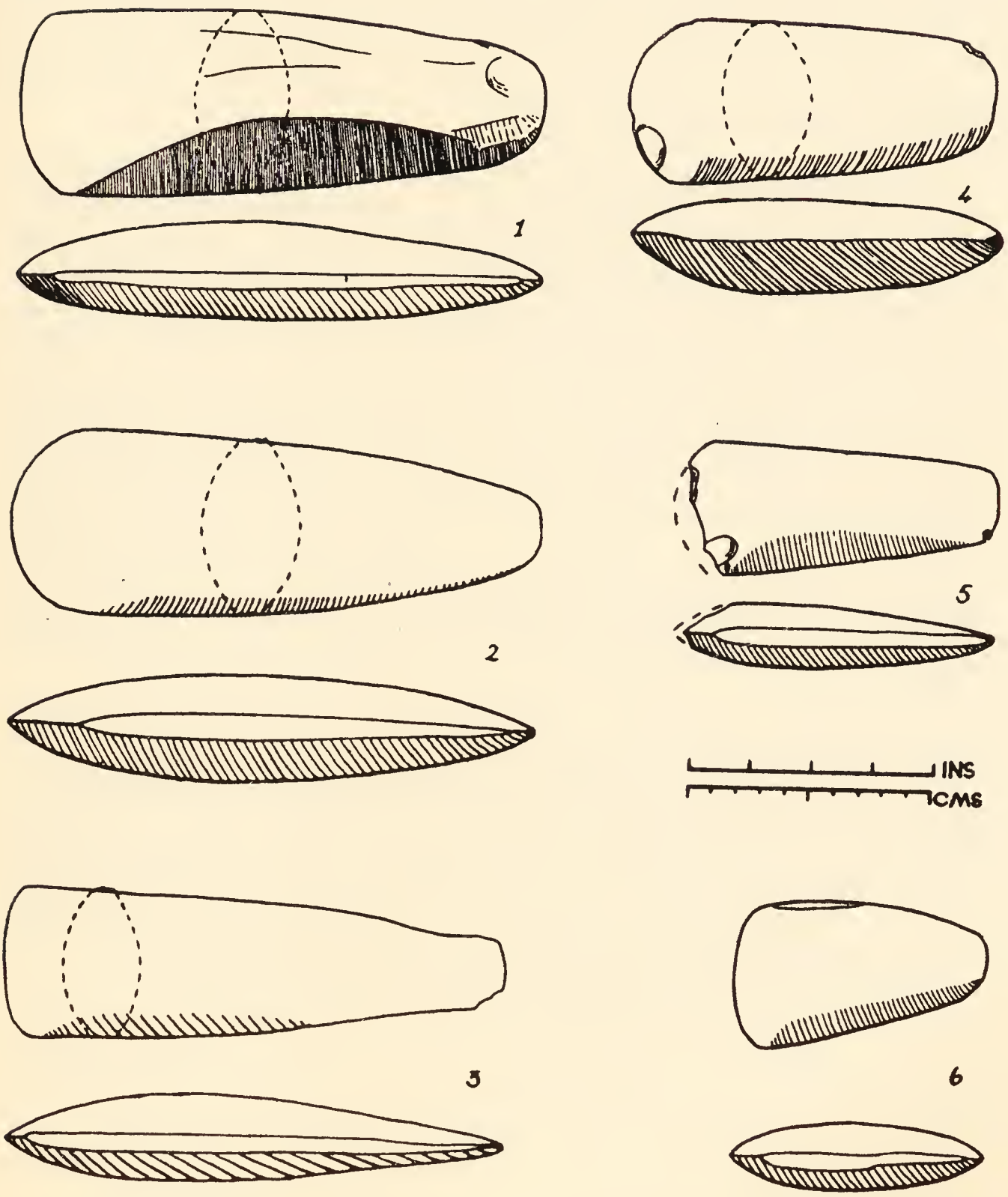
6. Polished axe, irregular wedge-shape, with squarish cutting edge and butt, oval section with squared sides. Length 4.1 in., width 2.3 in., thickness 1.1 in. From Alwoodley Crescent, Leeds. National Grid Reference 314401.

Superficial inspection suggests that all these axes have been made from the same type of stone, a creamish or greyish volcanic rock. This has been largely confirmed by a microscopic examination of sections taken from Nos. 1, 5 and 6. These were examined on behalf of Leeds City Museums by Dr. H. C. Versey who reports that :

> These three are very similar. They consist of a micro- to cryptocrystalline aggregate of Felspar in a metastasis so decomposed as to be opaque. Certain portions of the section with slightly differing texture may represent originally distinct fragments which may have accumulated as a volcanic ash. The differences between the three specimens are of finish and weathering. All three are derived from the Borrowdale Volcanic Series.

The raw material of these three axes—and most probably of the other three—comes therefore from the Lake District. Dr. Versey considers the possibility that they came from the Pike of Stickle factory itself; but he adds the warning that 'erratics from the Borrowdale Volcanic Series are very common in Yorkshire'. Indeed, on petrological grounds alone, we cannot here distinguish between rocks which have moved by natural glacial action, and those which have been carried by human trade or barter. The possibility of such glacial transport is frequently given insufficient weight by archaeologists. Here, fortunately, we have the supplementary evidence of implement typology to prove that some at least of our specimens were made in the Lake District and brought to Leeds by human agencies.

The axes from 'The View', Roundhay (No. 1) and from the Kentmere Approach (No. 3) are distinguished by a more or less marked waist towards the butt end; on No. 3 the butt itself



LEEDS, YORKS: POLISHED STONE AXES

Fig. 1.

expands slightly with a fish-tail effect. Now these are characteristic features of axes very commonly discovered in the Lake District and known therefore as the Cumbrian type.[1] The concentrated distribution of such a specialized form argues of course for a common centre of manufacture. Although only rough-outs are found on the Pike of Stickle screes, it seems clear that the implements were worked up in the neighbourhood and were exported thence in finished form.

In this connection, the discoveries at Ehenside Tarn (Cumb.) are of the greatest importance.[2] Here were found, along the lakeshore, hearths with occupation debris including pottery of both Neolithic 'A' (Yorkshire Wold or Lyles Hill variety) and Neolithic 'B' (Peterborough) traditions; abundant wooden objects, among them the haft of a polished stone axe; and stone objects. Of the latter the most important for our present purpose are axes which, in their squarish cutting edges, flat sides, facetted faces and fish-tail butts compare closely with our Nos. 1 and 3; and also sandstone and gritstone rubbers which had been used for grinding and polishing the axes. Similarly, at the Kell Bank Sewage works, Gosforth (Cumb.), a Cumbrian axe was found with 3 rubbing stones.[3] Kell Bank and Ehenside Tarn were two of the factories at which the Cumbrian axe was made; there, or at some similar neighbouring sites, are the sources of the first three of our Leeds axes.

The other three axes have no such marked characteristics. With the exception of that from Alwoodley Crescent (No. 6), they are undistinguished members of a broad class of polished stone axe, with nothing to show whether they were made in a Lake District factory or in the neighbourhood of Leeds. No. 6, however, is so markedly irregular in form and diverges so strongly from the Cumbrian type that it is easy to believe that it was made locally from some glacially-transported pebble.

[1] The classic site for the type is Ehenside Tarn (*Archaeologia* XLIV, p. 281, pl. VIII), but comparable axes may be found in *Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society Transactions, passim.*

[2] R. D. Darbishire, Discoveries in Ehenside Tarn, Cumberland, *Archaeologia* XLIV (1873), pp. 273-292.

[3] M. C. Fair, The Gosforth Area in Prehistory, *C.W.A.A.S.*, N.S. XLIII (1943), p. 52 and plate.

A CINERARY URN FROM WELBURN, N.R.

By T. G. Manby.

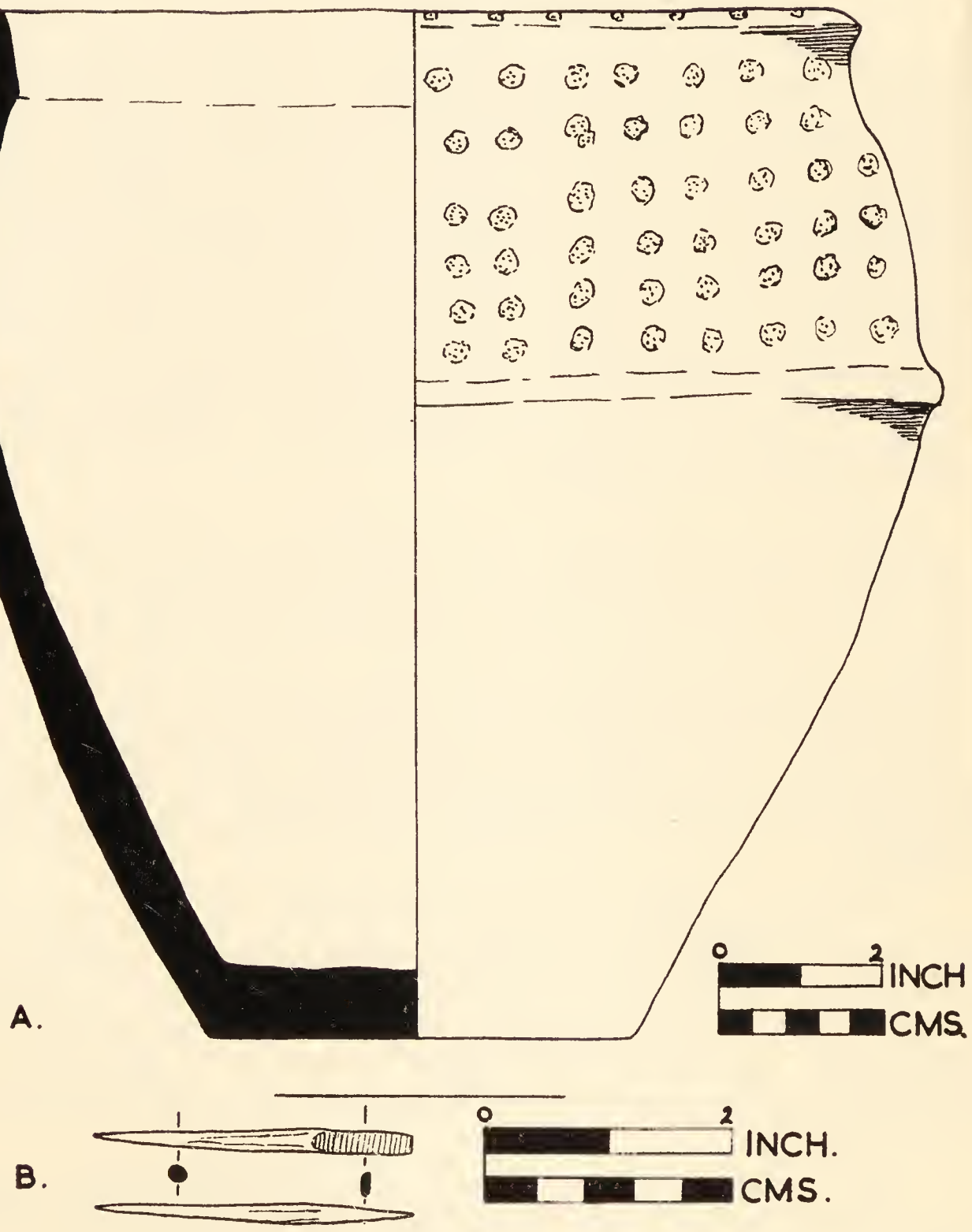
In the Roman Malton Museum is a large Late Bronze Age Cinerary found on the Howardian Hills, about one mile N.N.E. of the village of Welburn. This urn was found about 1912 on East Moor in the old Parish of Henderskelfe, on the north side of the trackway between Low Gatherley Farm and Castle Howard Guest House. The site is described in a manuscript account by a Mr. Benjamin Crowther as found, "Forty yards from the road at a point about in line with the sharp rise on the woodside (Lowdy Hill Wood) at the opposite side of the valley (Lowdy Gill) the bank from the road to the field was fairly shallow at this point and had been used to come up with carts". This site would be about opposite the Castle Howard Mausoleum and have a National Grid reference of SE 725694.

The urn is 12½" high, 10" diameter rim, 5⅛" diameter base. The ware is coarse brown to buff with black core, the decoration is of impressions of a broken stick end on the collar and top of rim. The urn is a biconical cordoned urn and is unusual because of the recurved rim and external bevel. An urn of similar profile to this one was found at Site B, Plumpton Plain, Sussex[1]. This vessel had a flat topped rim and finger mark decoration and represented a native element in a settlement of invaders from Northern France and was dated by Hawkes to between 750 to 500 B.C.

Preserved with the urn are two sherds of similar fabric to the urn, two fragments of calcined human bone and a bronze awl. The awl is 2.7" long and is now a golden colour because of abrasive cleaning but traces of a dark green patina remain on the tang and in pits. It has a round sectioned shaft and a flattened tang and this form is typical of the bronze awls found with burials of the Bronze Age.

The writer is indebted to Sir Edward Whitley for making this urn available for study and for granting permission on the behalf of the Trustees of the Roman Malton Museum for the writer to publish this account of it.

[1] Hawkes, 'The Pottery from Sites on Plumpton Plain', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 2. 1935, p. 49, fig. 7.



A Cinerary Urn.

B Bronze Awl.

BEAKERS FROM THE HOWARDIAN HILLS, N.R.

By T. G. Manby.

Only two finds of Beakers have been recorded from the Howardian Hills, the lower part of an 'A' Beaker was found at Whitwell in 1937[1] and a small sherd was excavated from a barrow at Gilling in 1938.[2] While studying in the British Museum the writer came upon two previously unpublished Beakers from these hills.

A. A rim and a base sherd of a type 'A' Beaker were purchased with a collection of stone and bronze axes by the British Museum in 1853 from a dealer, H. J. Still. These objects were described as found near York and only the sherds had a specific location, that of "West Lodge Gate". These sherds were included in Fox's list of Beakers[3] under York, but the writer favours the site was at West Lodge Gate, half a mile west of Malton. This is reinforced by the presence of a white substance on one sherd similar to limestone dust as is found at West Lodge Gate which is at the foot of the limestone range of the Howardians.

The rim diameter was originally about $5\frac{1}{2}''$ diameter and the base $2\frac{5}{8}''$, the height cannot be calculated. The ware is hard, with smooth buff surface with reddish patches and dark grey towards the base, the core is black. The decoration on the exterior and base is of impressed comb lines in a diamond and line pattern. British Museum accession No. 53.11-15.18.

B. In 1876 A. W. Franks presented a small collection of pottery found at Amotherby to the British Museum. This collection consisted of four Food Vessels, the rim of a fifth and sherds of a type 'C' Beaker.

The rim diameter was originally about $4\frac{3}{4}''$, the base diameter about $3''$, the height cannot be accurately calculated. The ware is soft buff and decorated with horizontal lines of stab impressions; these as far as could be ascertained covered the whole of the vessel except for narrow bands around the rim and base. British Museum accession No. 76.2-10.5.

In Denmark, Germany and Holland small bowls with four to nine nipple-like feet are found associated with Bell, Corded Ware, Single Grave and Zoned Beakers. This type of bowl has been found on several sites in this country but only once associated with a Beaker[4]. Two of these bowls have been found on the

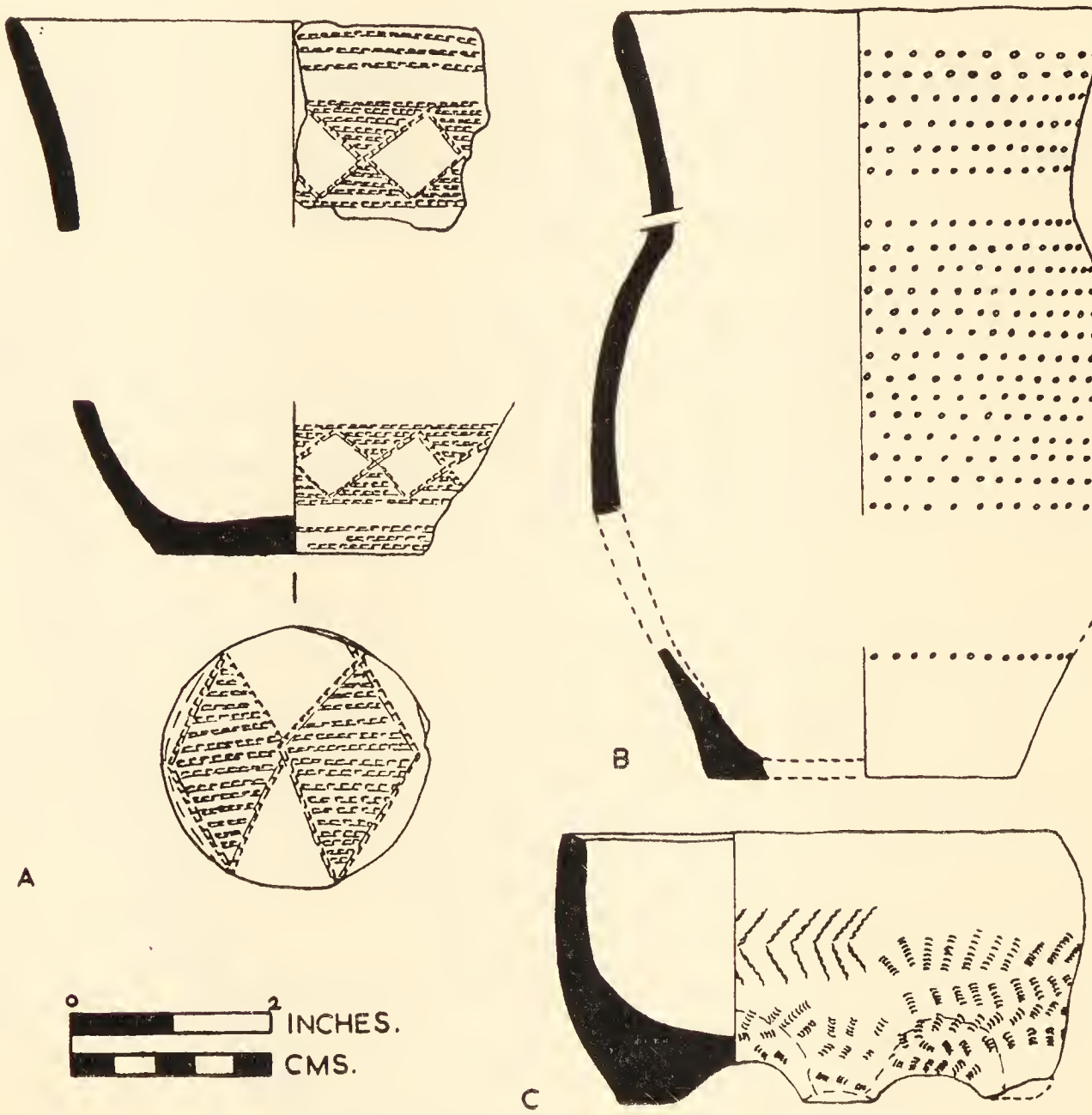
[1] N. Newbigin, 'A Bronze Age Beaker from Whitwell Hill, N.R. Yorks.' *Y.A.J.* xxxiii, (1937), p. 119.

[2] *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 4, 1938, p. 215.

[3] Fox, 'Two Beakers of the Early Bronze Age &c.', *Arch. Camb.* lxxx, (1925), p. 29.

[4] Inkpen, Berks. *Ant. Jour.* xvi, pp. 97-8.

Howardian Hills, Greenwell mentions a bowl from Amotherby[1] and Mortimer tells us that this bowl was in the possession of G. Pycroft of Malton but had been accidently destroyed.[2]



In the British Museum is a Footed Bowl catalogued and published as from Appleton le Street N.R.,[3] but stuck on the bowl is an old label describing the bowl as, "Found in a barrow at Amotherby, N.R." which is the adjoining parish. This bowl C. is $2\frac{5}{8}''$ high and $4\frac{3}{4}''$ diameter rim, the base is rounded and had four small feet; only one is now still intact. The decoration is on the lower part of the bowl only and is a herring-bone pattern executed in wrapped-cord maggots and in one place only with simple cord impressions. British Museum accession No. 79.12-9. 1712.

[1] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, p. 88 footnote.
[2] Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches &c.*, p. 20 footnote.
[3] Abercromby, *A Study of Bronze Age Pottery &c.*, Vol. 1, fig. 223 bis.

These Beakers on the Howardian Hills mark a westward movement of the Beaker-using peoples from the great Beaker settlement area of the Yorkshire Wolds. This movement ultimately reached the Hambleton Hills where type 'A' Beakers were found in a barrow at Boltby[1] and a Handled Beaker in Slip Gill, Helmsley.[2]

The writer is indebted to Messrs. E. M. M. Alexander and J. W. Brailsford of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum, for making this pottery available for study.

[1] Denny, 'Notice of Early British Tumuli, &c., *Proc. Yorks. Geo. & Poly. Soc.*, iv (1865), pp. 491-5. Elgee, *Early Man in North-East Yorks.*, p. 56. Fig. 14, e. & g. This pottery was in the City Museum, Leeds, but was destroyed in an air raid during World War II.

[2] *Ant. Jour.* xxxv (1955), pp. 223-4.

ROMAN BURIALS FROM CASTLE YARD, YORK

By H. G. Ramm, M.A., F.S.A.

At the beginning of July 1956 a deep drain was being extended across the Castle Yard from just in front of Clifford's Tower to the north end of the Castle Museum. Four Roman burials were discovered in the course of this excavation. Through the courtesy of the City Engineer it was possible to observe the work and with the co-operation of his department to remove the fine stone coffin to the Yorkshire Museum.

The site lies at the broad end of a narrow wedge of land separating the rivers Foss and Ouse at their confluence. It is low-lying but at 35 ft. above the ordnance datum is sufficiently elevated to escape flooding. In Roman times the area between the fortress, whose south corner lay some 450 yards to the north-west, and this site was occupied by civil buildings at least as far south as the site of St. Mary's church in Castlegate where a tesselated pavement was found last century. Castle Yard itself has long been known as the site of a small Roman cemetery whence two stone coffins and other finds had already been removed. It is probable also that the area was traversed by the main road from York to Brough if, as did the road from the north-west, it made direct for the south-west gate of the fortress and the river crossing outside it. This road is last proved just outside Walmgate Bar but its line produced would imply a crossing of the Foss a little more than 100 yards north of Castle Mills Bridge. The road would then turn and proceed in a north-westerly direction past the burials to skirt the south-west side of the fortress. It must be emphasised, however, that after Walmgate Bar the course of this road is entirely conjectural.

The Burials.

In the following description the burials are numbered from west to east and not in the order of their discovery. All the remains from the burials are now in the Yorkshire Museum.

Burial 1. (Plate 1a). A lead coffin containing the remains of the gypsum coated body of a child of about 7 years old (see appendix A, p. 40 for a report on the skeletal remains).

The lead coffin had been made from a single sheet of lead 5 ft. 7½ ins. long by 2 ft. 6 ins. wide and varying in thickness from $\frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ in. From each angle pieces 9 ins. square had been cut, the sides and ends then bent up, and the joints soldered. Thus was formed a small coffin 4 ft. long by 9 ins. high and 1 ft. wide. The lid was formed from a similar sheet 4 ft. 3 ins. long by 1 ft. 4 ins. wide. The flanges of the lid were 2 ins. deep. It is clear

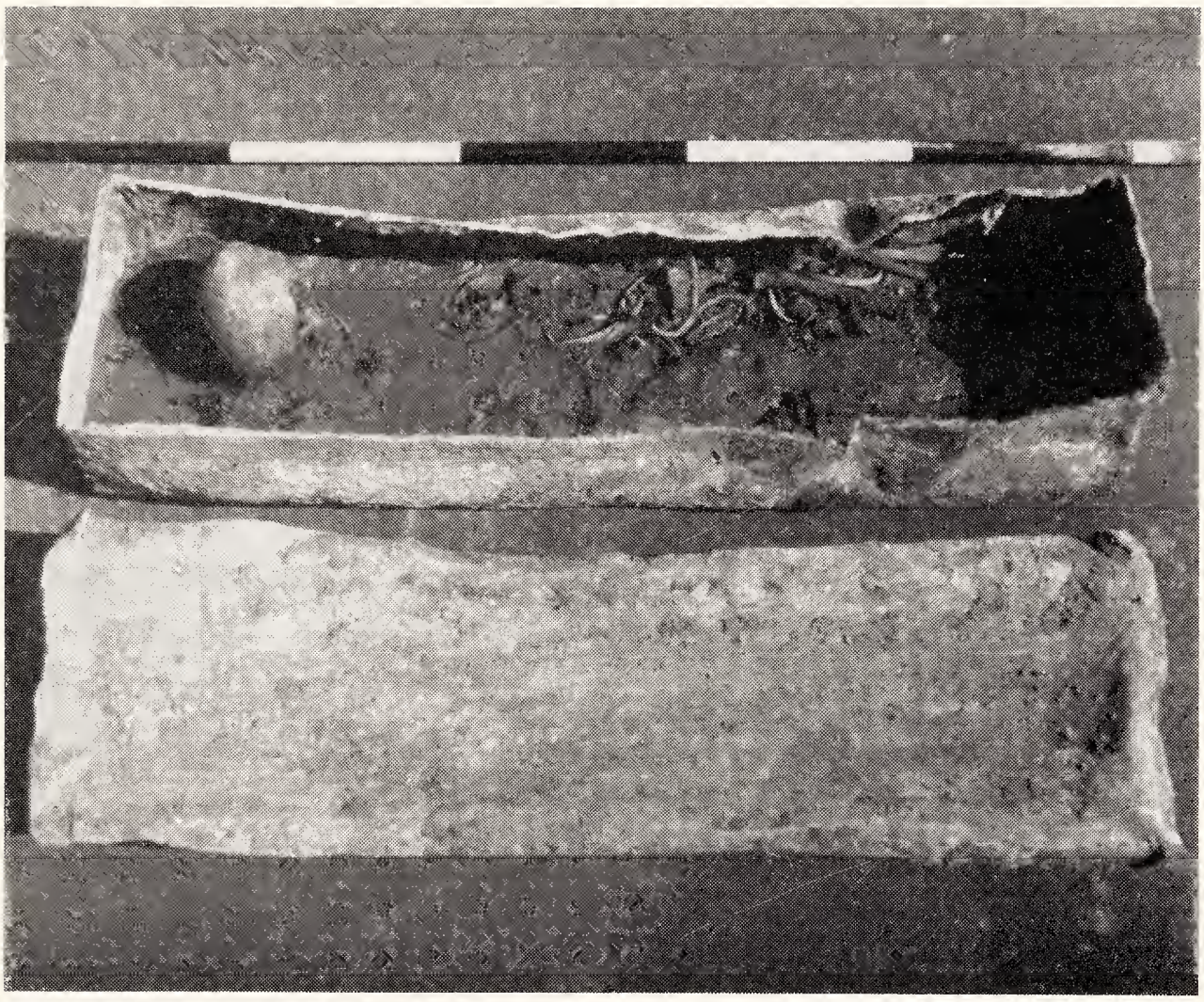




PLATE I. *Photo.: R. A. Hill*

A.—Lead coffin after removal to museum.
B.—Burial No. 4, showing the bracelets as found. The skull had already been removed by the workmen.

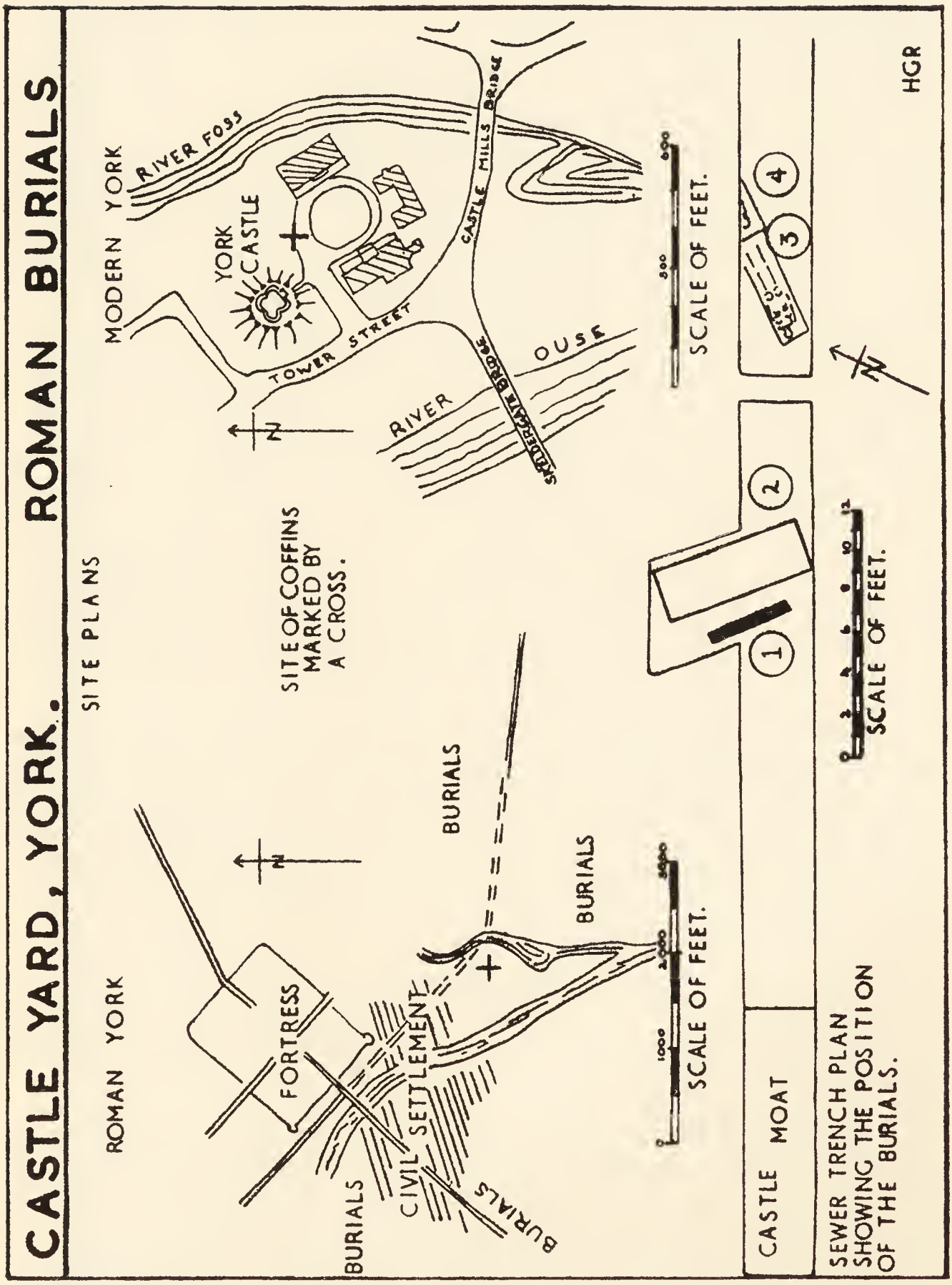

ROMAN BURIALS
SITE PLANS
MODERN YORK
RIVER FOSS
YORK CASTLE
TOWER STREET
CASTLE MILLS BRIDGE
OUSE
RIVER
SKEEGATE BRIDGE
SITE OF COFFINS MARKED BY A CROSS.
SCALE OF FEET.
HGR
ROMAN YORK
FORTRESS
CIVIL SETTLEMENT
BURIALS
BURIALS
BURIALS
BURIALS
SCALE OF FEET.
CASTLE MOAT
SEWER TRENCH PLAN SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE BURIALS.
SCALE OF FEET.

Fig. 1.

from these dimensions that lid and coffin can never have been a perfect fit. A round hole had been bored in the base of the coffin near the head.

The coffin was full of water when found and this had reduced the gypsum cast round the body to a slimy mass stained to a yellow colour by iron from the railings that had at one time stood in Castle Yard above the site of the burials. This custom of forming a gypsum cast round the body was relatively common in Roman York. There are five particularly fine casts in the Yorkshire Museum but there are also records and sometimes fragments of many more. In the case of those best preserved the gypsum had been poured over the corpse to a sufficient depth to more than cover it and the casts preserve the shape of the bottom of the coffin as well as of the body. In the present instance a different procedure had been followed. One or two tiny fragments of the cast survived attached to the toes. These showed the cast not only to have been a thin one but also to have been held in place by a shroud since tiny fragments of linen were embedded on the *outside* of the gypsum. By this method considerably less gypsum was used than by the other method. Although gypsum is available in some quantity relatively near to York it is not a common mineral and must have been sufficiently expensive to make such economies worthwhile. It is noteworthy that the burials in which gypsum is used extravagantly are rich also in grave goods. For details of the cloth fragments see appendix B (p. 412). There were no grave goods in this coffin.

The coffin lay at a depth of 8 ft. 9 ins. (from top of lid to present ground level). It was parallel to, placed symmetrically with, and with its base on the same level as the base of the large stone coffin of burial 2. Clearly it was either buried at the same time as the stone coffin or by people who were aware of its existence. The natural clay below the coffin was stained white by a deposit from the lead of the coffin.

Two dents on the side of the coffin suggest an attempt to prise it open, and the possibility that this coffin, like the stone one, had been used on an occasion previous to the burial which it contained is suggested.

Burial 2. (Plates II and IIIb). A stone coffin with inscribed panel and reliefs contained the body of a man of about 35-45 (see appendix A, p. 411 for a report on the skeletal remains). Like the first burial he, too, had had a gypsum cast.

The coffin was hewn from a single block of millstone grit buff in colour and finer than a lot of the gritstone used in York for stone coffins. It measured 7 ft. 4 ins. long by 2 ft. 6 ins. wide at top and 1 ft. 11 ins. high. It had been hollowed internally to a depth of 18 ins., leaving sides and ends 5 ins. wide. It was clear

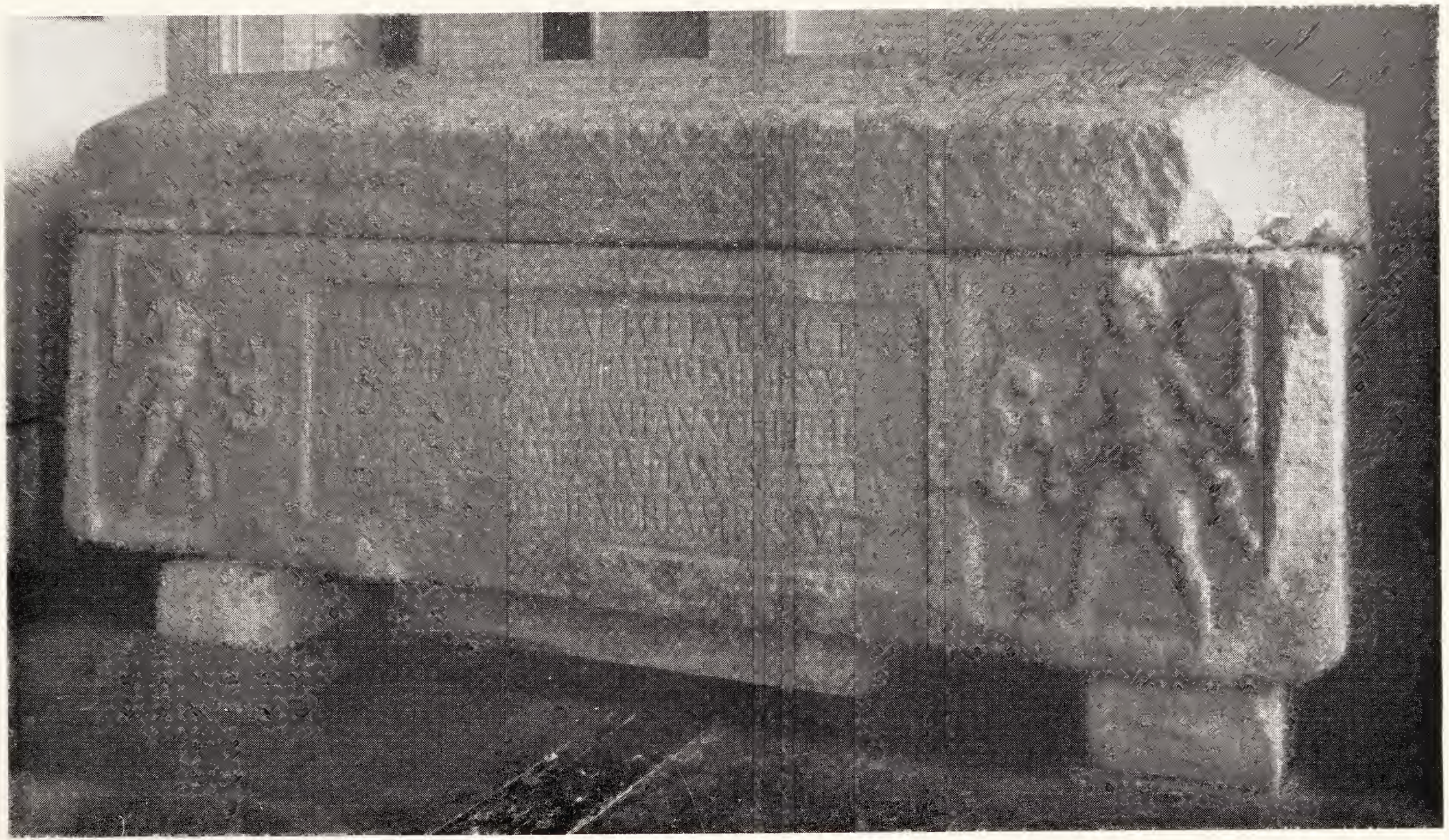


Photo.: *R.C.H.M.* (*Eng.*) (*Crown copyright*)

PLATE II. The Stone Coffin.

from the rather coarse tool marks that this hollowing had been done with a pick or pointed tool, the mason working outwards from the centre towards either end.

On the front of the coffin was a central sunk panel 48 by 16 ins., on which was the following inscription :—

D(is) M(anibus) on the margin above the panel

ET MAEMORIAE IVLIAE VICTORINE

QVAE VIXIT ANNOS XXVIIII MENSES II DIES XV

ET CONSTANTIO QVI VIXIT ANNOS IIII DIES XXI

MENSES XI SEPTIMIVS LVPIANVS ϶ EX EVOC(atis)

CONIVGI ET F[IL]IO MEMORIAM POSSVIT

To the spirits of the underworld and in memory of Julia Victorina who lived 29 years 2 months and 15 days and to Constantius who lived 4 years 21 days and 11 months, Septimius Lupianus centurion *ex evocatis* placed this memorial to his wife and son.

The lettering is good although the carver has had difficulty with his spacing, with the result that the letters are a little crowded at the ends of the first, third and fourth lines. In fact the first and fourth lines trespass onto the margin of the panel. Ligatures, except in two instances, have, however, been avoided. Lupianus was a centurion *ex evocatis* that is to say that after having served his time as an other rank in the praetorian guard he was promoted to centurion in one of the legions, in this case the sixth.[1] *Maemoriae* is a not all that uncommon misspelling, whilst the double s in *possuit* is paralleled in the inscription on the coffin of Aurelius Super found within yards of the present burials (see below p. 406).

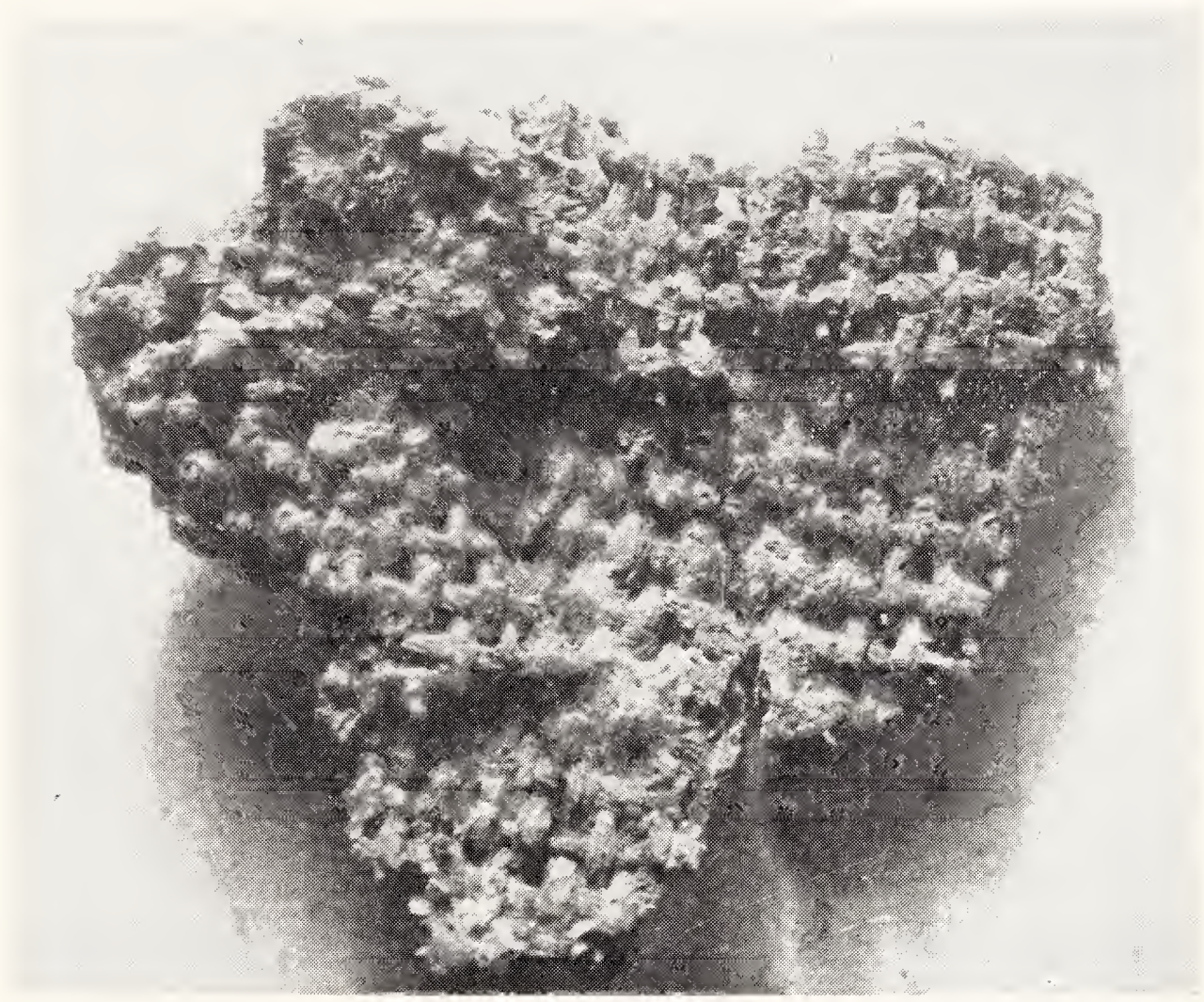
The panel bearing the inscription is flanked by two charming *amorini* in relief. They stand in sunk panels without an upper margin, grasping in one hand the *ansa* of the inscription panel and in the other holding a torch aloft. Feathered wings sprout from their shoulders and a wisp of drapery floats across their bodies. They are well above the average in conception and in execution, and although the right hand figure has been slightly damaged by the iron stain brought down from the old railings above, are in an excellent state of preservation. Figures of this kind are not uncommon on tombs and tombstones. Crudely wrought *amorini* occur on the tombstone of Eglecta from York[2] and a hitherto unpublished fragment from another coffin with *amorino* in relief from the Roman cemetery on the Mount is described below (Appendix C, p. 412). In the Schlossmuseum at Petronell is the very similar coffin of Claudia Ursa which a legionary N.C.O. from Carnuntum had inscribed for his wife.[3]

[1] E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, p. 118 f.
[2] Y.P.S., *Report for* 1931, p. 28.
[3] Erich Swoboda, *Carnuntum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmaeler*, p. 20, plate iv, 3.

At the ends of the coffin are the slots which held the metal clamps to fasten on the lid. The lid itself was made from a single slab of gritstone 7 ft. 3 ins. long by 30 ins. wide at the head and 28 ins. at the foot by 12½ ins. high. The sides rose vertically for 7 ins. and were then sloped to the centre. At the foot the lid had a vertical gable; at the head it was hipped. When found, the lid was not square to the coffin. A fragment 6 ins. long had been broken off the right front corner, and in order to cover the well of the coffin completely the lid had had to be placed so that the broken end overhung the coffin at the head.

The coffin was found diagonal to and protruding into the sewer trench, part of the side of which had to be removed in order to take away the coffin. Conditions were not ideal to observe stratification but certain facts were clear. The subsoil here was clay overlaid by sand in places and it was possible to distinguish the dirty filling of the hole into which the coffin had been lowered from the clean sand. On the east side and south end the sides of the grave were 6 ins. from the coffin. The apex of the lid was 5 ft. 9 ins. below the modern surface—another indication that the coffin, in spite of its magnificent carving, had been buried considerably below the Roman surface which in burial 4 could be seen to be at most 3 ft. 6 ins. below the modern surface.

It is obvious that a coffin carved and inscribed as this was would not originally have been intended for burial. The appropriate position for such a coffin is in a tomb chamber. The fact of the coffin's burial led at once to a suspicion of its reuse, a suspicion that was amply confirmed on opening the coffin, since it contained not the remains of Julia and Constantius but those of a man (see appendix A, p. 411). The date of the coffin and its first use cannot be accurately assessed, but a third century date seems probable. The late second century is the earliest it can be placed. The only indication of the date of the second burial was a very tiny sherd of rouletted castor ware from the grave filling above the coffin. The fact that the burial for which the coffin was originally used was for the family of a centurion and that the centurionate was a continuing institution that was powerful enough to protect the burials of its members and their families tempts the suggestion that the burial belonged to a period when the centurionate had ceased to function. Alternatively some great disaster may have left the tombs in such ruins that it was not considered worthwhile to prevent the salvage of such materials as were reusable. The reuse of inscribed coffins is exampled elsewhere in York and some of the evidence is gathered together in appendix D p. 413. The original tomb chamber cannot have been sited far away and fragments of *tegulae*, wall plaster, and building stone found in the filling of grave 3 may have belonged to it.



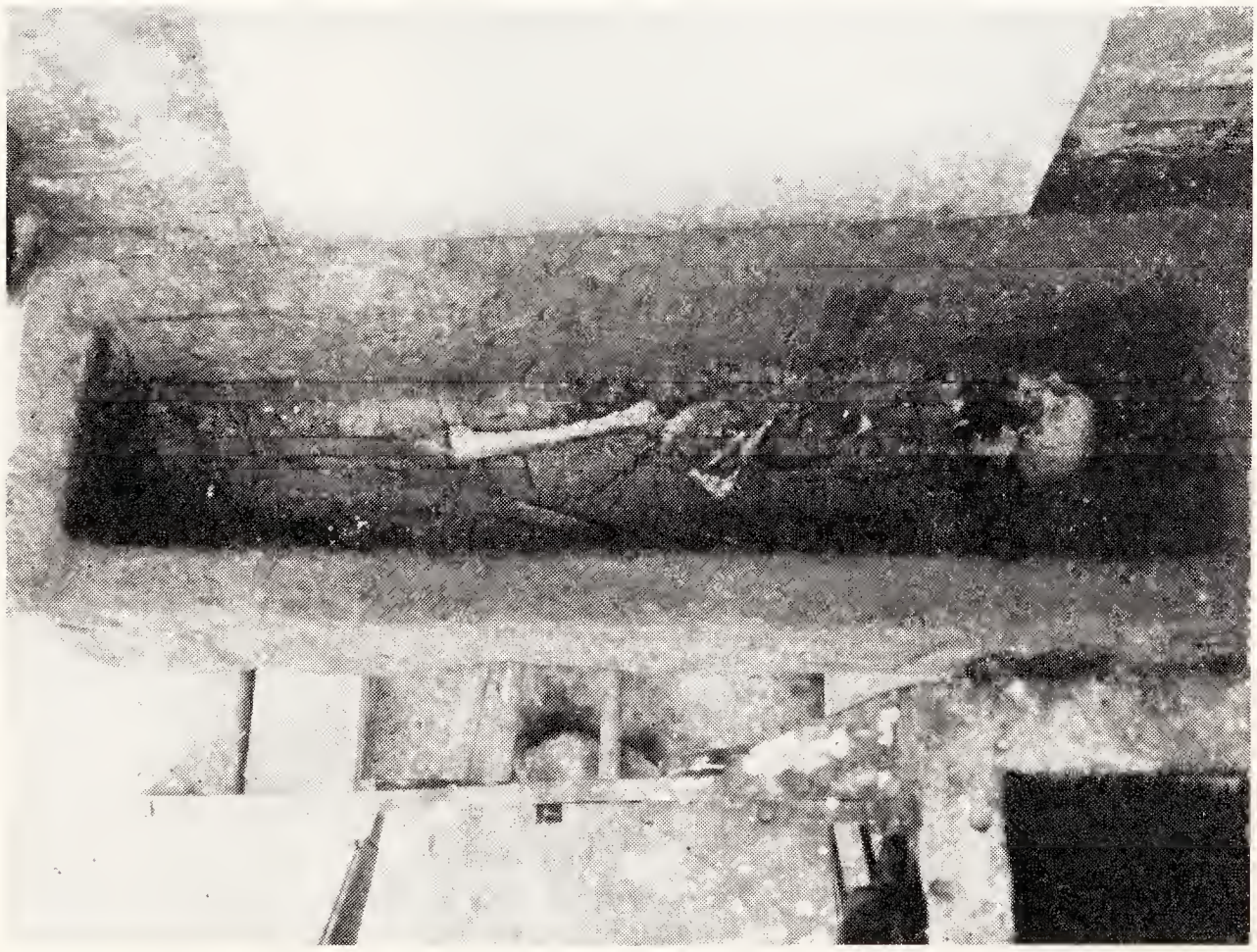


PLATE III. *Photo.: R. A. Hill*

A.—Fragment of linen.
B.—Burial No. 2, showing the skeleton and gypsum before their removal from the coffin.

The skeletal remains of a man lay in the coffin with head to the north-west. The body was fully extended on its back with hands crossed on its stomach. Under the body was a layer of gravel, and coating the bones and forming a layer at the side of the body was a yellow paste consisting of the remains of a gypsum case over the body that had been soaked by the periodic inundations to which the coffin had been subjected and discoloured by the ironstain brought down from the railings that at one time stood in the Castle Yard just above the coffin. There was a gap of 1-1½ ins. between the gypsum and the coffin side filled with gravel. It has been suggested to me that the purpose of the gravel underlying the body was to soak up the liquids produced by the decaying body. But it seems more probable that the object was to economise in the use of gypsum. A parallel example from the Mount has recently been published[1] in which gypsum was only used at the head and feet and the central part of the body was cased only in gravel. There it seems the gravel was used to support the gypsum casts of the head and feet which otherwise would have collapsed into the centre. So in this burial the gravel is used to support the gypsum covering but not encasing the body. We can distinguish three different types of gypsum burial. (a) The complete cast. Liquefied gypsum is poured over, round and under the body without regard for economy, to form a complete casing round the body and to more than half fill the coffin. (b) An economical method whereby a thin casing of gypsum was held in place round the body by a shroud. (c) A partial gypsum burial with the body only partly covered or cased in gypsum with gravel used to hold the gypsum in position.

In addition to the gravel and gypsum there was a small cobble and several pebbles at the foot of the coffin such as might have been knocked into the coffin in the process of lowering it into the grave.

Burial 3. The skeletal remains of a young man 25-30 years old (appendix A p. 411), buried at a depth of 6 ft. 10 ins. below the present surface (probably 3 ft. 4 ins. below the Roman surface) in a grave 5 ft. 4 ins. long by 1 ft. 8 ins. wide. The estimated height of the man is 5 ft. 8 ins., longer than the grave, and the skeleton was found with his head and shoulders raised forward to fit him into the grave. That the burial was not of the casual nature suggested by this is shown by the care with which the south side of the grave had been revetted with planks, traces of which remained as a stain in the soil. Traces of copper stain under the head may represent a coin. Otherwise there were no grave goods. The filling of the grave contained several pieces of limestone building stones, *tegulae*, a fragment of a mortarium and a few small sherds (including Samian), and wall plaster. This

[1] Y.A.J., XXXIX, 1957, p. 293.

grave was later than and had just missed the coffin of burial 4, to which it was end on. The orientation was approximately east to west with the head to the west.

Burial 4. (Plates Ib and IV). This burial was only partly excavated. It was not possible to reach the lower part of the body which was in the side of the trench. The remains were those of a young lady (appendix A, p. 412), who had been buried in a wooden coffin, traces of the head end of which remained as a thin black line in the soil. Two iron nails were recovered from its corner. The bottom of the coffin was at a depth of 5 ft. 10 ins. below the modern surface (that is at a probable depth of 2 ft. 4 ins. below the Roman surface). On her right shoulder, tied by a leather thong 3 mm. thick, were in part or complete 5 bracelets or anklets.

(i) Part of a polished bone circle 6.0 cm. long, radius 6.5 cm. In section it is square with rounded corners and of a diameter of 3 mm.

(ii) Penannular bracelet in two pieces, radius, 4.5 cm. In section it is oval 2 mm. by 4 mm. The material is again polished bone.

(iii) Penannular bracelet in bronze with snake head terminal, 5.7 cm. diameter. It has a circular section of 1.5 mm. diameter.

(iv) Bronze bracelet in four pieces formed from a very thin strip of metal 3 mm. wide. The diameter of the bracelet is 6 cm. It is decorated externally with incised circles and patterns of straight lines.

(v) Two thirds of a plain bronze bracelet of 5.7 cm. diameter. In section it varies from an oval 3 by 2 mm. to a circle of 2 mm. diameter.

The base of a Castor ware beaker was found *under* the body's right arm in the grave filling.

PREVIOUS DISCOVERIES.

Earlier discoveries in the vicinity of the Castle Yard had already indicated the presence of a small cemetery here and included the following.

Burial 5. An inscribed stone coffin 7 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 5 ins. wide by 2 ft. 2 ins. high, made from a single block of gritstone. It had an internal well 6 ft. by 1 ft. 6 ins. and 1 ft. 4 ins. deep. In a sunk panel on the face is the following inscription[1] except for the D M which is on the side of the lid.

AVR(elio) SVPERO CENT(urioni)
LEG(ionis) VI QVI VIXIT ANIS
XXXVIIII M(enses) IIII D(ies) XIII AVRE
LIA CENSORINA COIVNX
MEMORIAM POSSVIT

To Aurelius Super centurion in the sixth legion who lived 29 years 4 months and 13 days Aurelia Censorina his wife placed this memorial.

[1] C.I.L., VII, 246.

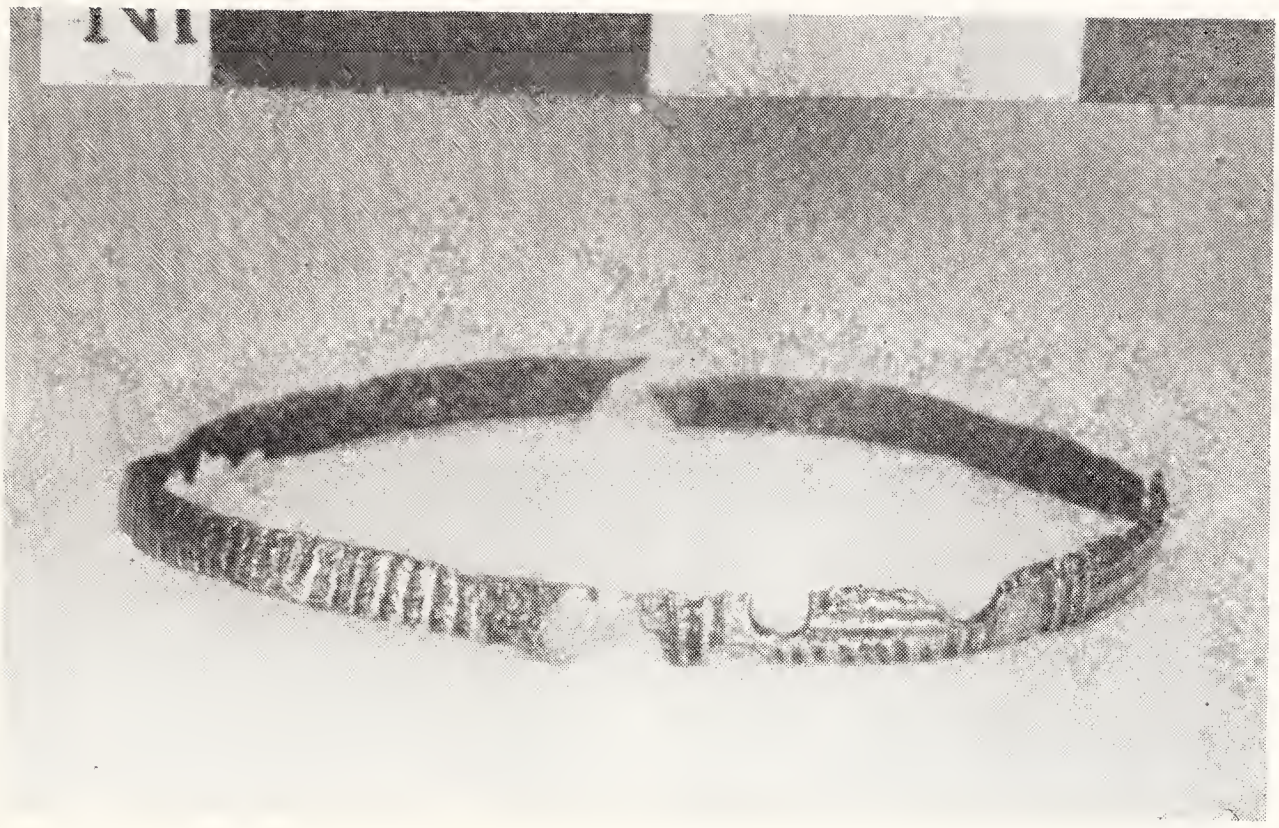




Photo.: R. A. Hill

PLATE IV.

A.—Bracelet No. iv.

B.—The bracelets.

Note the similar spelling of *possuit* to that on the coffin of Julia Victorina and that this coffin, too, is that of a centurion.

The lid of the coffin was ridged 7 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 5 ins. by 10 ins. high. There are corresponding slots in coffin and lid to hold metal clamps to fasten the two together. The coffin contained the skeleton of what at the time was reported to be a man "about 5 ft. 10 ins. in height and of strong proportions. The skull was cracked across as if by a fall or heavy blow".

It was found in 1835 in sinking a drain across the Castle Yard at a depth of 7 to 8 ft. The find spot was given as near the governor's house at the centre of the prison then in course of erection and since destroyed. It is marked on the 1851 ordnance survey 5 ft. to the mile plan of York at the same spot as burials 1 and 2 were recently found. An old drain was struck in the 1956 excavations crossing the trench east of burial 4 at an angle which would make it pass a few yards to the north of the recently found coffins.

The depth at which this coffin was found indicates that it, too, was buried in the ground and since it was inscribed, therefore reused for a second burial.

The coffin was oriented with head to the north-north-west. It is now in the Yorkshire Museum.[1]

Burial 6, found at the same time as 5, side by side and within a few feet of it. This coffin, which was uninscribed but otherwise similar to no. 5, is now inside the Multangular Tower. The coffin contained a much smaller skeleton than no. 5 and it is possible that we have here side by side the coffins of a man and his wife. But the fact of the reuse of the first coffin disproves the suggestion[2] that this is the coffin and skeleton of Aurelia Censorina.

Burial 7. In underpinning Clifford's Tower there was found under the motte a burial in a native rather than Roman tradition. The burial was crouched and in a cist formed by four pieces of rough sandstone and covered by a somewhat larger stone.[3] It is not necessary to assume a prehistoric origin for this burial. Crouched burials occurred in the Roman cemetery on Trentholme Drive, York[4] and the cist is paralleled by a massive example from the railway station cemetery[5] which contained a gypsum burial in a wood coffin.

[1] *Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum*, (1891), p. 53, no. 41. Sheahan and Whellan, *York and the East Riding*, I, p. 305. Raine, *Simplicia Florentina*, p. 18. Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, p. 110. Hargrove, *New Guide*, p. 57. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1836, I, p. 182.

[2] Made for example in *Arch. Journ.*, CIII, 1946, p. 81.

[3] Y.P.S., *Report for* 1902, p. 72.

[4] Information from L. P. Wenham, the excavator.

[5] Y.P.S., *Proceedings*, I, (1855), p. 97-8.

Burial 8. Fragment of a tomb consisting of a block of gritstone about 2 ft. high. Carved on the angle is a head with swept back ray-like hair. Below the head on the left is written DM, on the right CE. The stone was found in 1879 built into a modern wall behind what is now St. George's Cinema and is now in the Yorkshire Museum.[1]

Other burials. In addition to the individual burials described others have been found from time to time but not reported in detail. With burials 5 and 6 "crumbling relics of humanity including several skulls were also brought to light".[2]

In the Norman motte under Clifford's Tower it was to be expected that any burials disturbed in digging the moat would have been cast up. G. Benson,[3] in reporting the finds made in underpinning the tower, states "Bones were found in every part of the mound. Human bones were particularly abundant especially in the interior of the keep. Several skulls were discovered . . . . . Roman pottery especially Samian was tolerably abundant". An earlier excavation in 1824 revealed the same facts : "In digging the earth of which the mound is formed a quantity of human bones as well as those of quadrupeds . . . . . have been discovered".[4] Some of these bones may of course have been connected with events in the history of the Castle.

Conclusions.

The burials found in 1956 form part of a flat inhumation cemetery of late Roman date. The cemetery included burials in stone, lead and wooden coffins, at least one burial without a coffin, burial 3, and one in a native rather than a Roman tradition. All the interments, not excluding the stone coffins, were buried in the ground. The burial of elaborately carved and inscribed coffins clearly intended for display suggests that the coffins were reused, and in the case of one of the coffins, that of Julia Victorina, this was proved by the non-identity of the skeletal remains with the person stated by the inscription to have been buried in the coffin. Both the inscribed coffins must have been originally housed in tomb chambers and, in view of the weight of the coffins, near to the site of their later reuse. This earlier cemetery, since both inscriptions relate to the centurionate, probably belonged to a burial club connected with that institution. It was probably in use in the 3rd. century. What calamity lead to the ruin of these tombs and the reuse of the coffins, although belonging to such a powerful institution as the centurionate, is beyond present speculation.

[1] Y.P.S. *Report for* 1879, p. 11. Raine, unpublished notes now in York Public Library, under date May 31 1879. *Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum* (1891), p. 63, no. 60.

[2] Hargrove, *New Guide*, p. 55.

[3] Y.P.S., *Report for* 1902, p. 72.

[4] *Yorkshire Gazette*, May 1st, 1824.

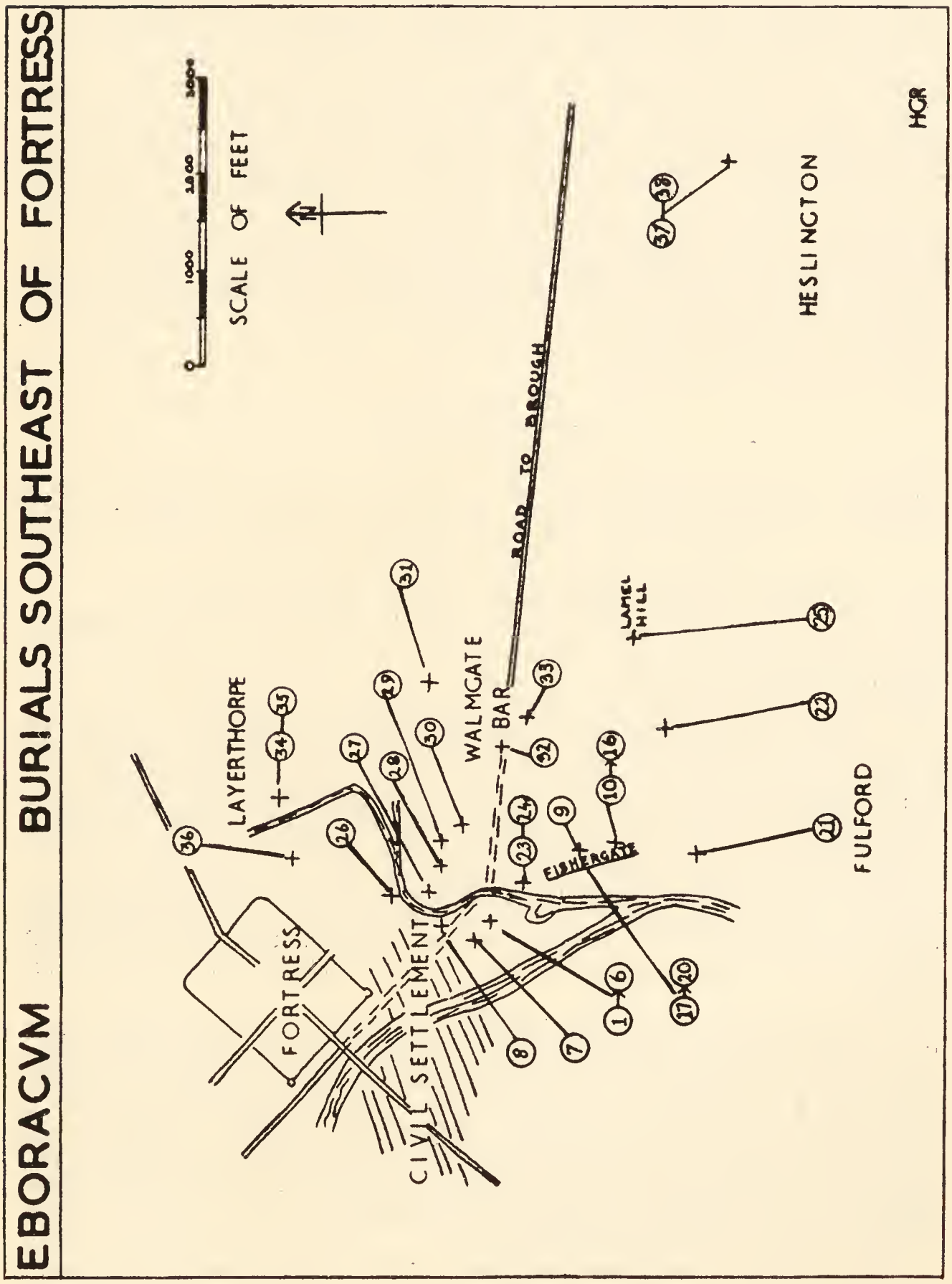

EBORACVM
BURIALS SOUTHEAST OF FORTRESS
SCALE OF FEET
1000
2000
3000
N
FORTRESS
CIVIL SETTLEMENT
LAYERTHORPE
WALMGATE BAR
ROAD TO BROUGH
LAMEL HILL
HESLINGTON
FISHERGATE
FULFORD
HGR

Fig. 2.

The extent of the cemetery cannot now be accurately assessed. The position of the rivers limits the area on two sides; whilst on the north the pavement under St. Mary's church indicates that we are out of the burial area there. Within these limits the recorded burials lie immediately east of the Norman motte with some evidence that burials originally extended underneath the motte. The site of this cemetery and that preceding it was presumably chosen for its proximity to the main York to Brough road. East of the Foss some 30 further burials have been recorded scattered over a fairly extensive area. To complete the picture this evidence is briefly summarised in Appendix E and on the plan fig. 2. Compared with the burials on the west bank of the Ouse and on the north west of the fortress they are very few. Possibly this evidence indicates a decline in the importance of the Brough road as a route to Lincoln in favour of the road via Calcaria and Doncaster.

APPENDIX A.

Report on Skeletal Remains from Sewer Trench near Clifford's Tower found in 1956.

By Roger Warwick, B.Sc., Ph.D., M.D.,
University Professor of Anatomy, Guy's Hospital Medical School.

Burial 1 (Lead Coffin).

Though damp when first seen, and hence rather fragile, the bones of this skeleton were generally in very good condition when dried out. Though a few were displaced in the coffin, on the whole the different elements lay in a completely natural order. Many of the epiphyses were still present, but those from the smaller limb bones and from the clavicles, ribs and vertebrae, had mouldered into unrecognisable detritus.

The skull, all vertebrae, ribs, pelvis and most of the sternum were present. All the limb bones were found except in the case of the hand and foot, where many of the smaller ones were missing. Some of these would probably have been entirely cartilaginous and would naturally not be preserved.

No epiphyses were fused, but from their state of development and that of the dentition, an age of about 7 years can be assigned to this individual at the time of death. Sex is uncertain, the slender evidence available indicating a male child. Stature in life was about 4 ft. 3 or 4 ins., but possible error of an inch or two above or below this must be admitted, since it is always difficult to measure long bones with separate epiphyses, and also because the available formulae for calculations of stature from them apply strictly to adults of known sex. This height is a little above average for modern boys or girls of 6 to 7 years.

The skull is excellently preserved. The occipital region presents a bulge below the lambda such as is frequently encountered in York Roman-British interments (V. Trentholme Drive Cemetery). The cranial capacity (calculated) is approximately 1270 c.c. The milk teeth are all erupted and some of the incisors were lost; all the first permanent molars are fully erupted, but show no abrasion, as do the deciduous teeth, though the degree of this is not severe (i.e. the crowns are flattened, but no pulp cavity is exposed). No caries is detected.

Little of value can be said of the racial affinities of skulls of children of this age. The cephalic index is 79.5 (i.e. almost brachycephalic). The facial index is 82.9, indicating a rather broad face. Orbital and nasal indices are respectively 97.4 and 48.8, the nose being hence of medium breadth. In these features the skull is similar to those found in other Roman-British burials at York.

No osseous evidence of injury, disease or abnormality, is present.

Burial 2 (Stone Coffin).

The bones of this burial are, like all those found in the trench, very heavily stained with some ferruginous material. Damp and fragile when found, they dried out well and after cleaning were hardened with cellulose acetate (at York).

The remains comprise an almost complete skull and mandible (there is some damage to the left maxilla and the basisphenoid), some vertebrae (2 cervical, 5 dorsal, 4 lumbar and the sacrum—mostly damaged), fragments of 10 ribs, both clavicles (defective), both scapulae, both innominate bones, both humeri and femora, both radii and ulnae (lower ends missing on right), both tibiae and fibulae, both patellae. Few of the bones of the hands were found (3 carpals, 2 metacarpals, 1 phalanx). The feet are represented by 14 tarsals, 10 metatarsals, and several phalanges.

The skull, pelvis, and long bones are undoubtedly male. The skeleton is fully adult. The state of its sutures, the wearing of the teeth, and osteo-arthritic changes (V. infra) suggest an adult of at least 35-45. Judging, however, from other Roman-British burials at York, it does not seem likely that this individual was more aged than this.

The cranium is strongly masculine, as is the mandible. It is markedly asymmetrical and shows the occipital bulge so frequently seen in Roman-British remains at York. The skull is mesocephalic (cephalic index 78.3). Cranial capacity can only be estimated; it is approximately 1400 c.c. The facial index is 97.7, the right orbital index 87.8, and the nasal index cannot be estimated, owing to damage. In these features the skull resembles the "Roman-British type" at York.

The cervical vertebrae, the patellae, and the metatarsophalangeal joint of the great toes display osteophytes typical of osteo-arthritis. The linea aspera and trochanters of both femora are also excessively developed. The left tibia and fibula are fused together at their lower ends. All these findings suggest a strong, active, hard-pressed male, who may have been long in the humid northern climate.

Burial 3.

As in Burial 2, this collection of bones represents a single individual, as would be expected from the natural disposition in which they were found. Apart from the skull, however, which is almost perfect, as is the mandible, the general condition of the rest of the skeleton is inferior. A few fragmentary ribs and 11 vertebrae (6 cervical, 5 thoracic) represent the axial skeleton. The limb girdles are well preserved (both clavicles, scapulae, and innominate bones), but some of the long bones of the limbs are broken or defective (both ulnae, the right tibia, and both fibulae are incomplete). There is a left patella only. No carpal bones were found, but 5 tarsals. Metacarpus and metatarsus are both almost complete (8 bones to each). There are 9 phalanges in all.

Although the general development of the skeleton is not pronouncedly masculine (e.g. the slender, short clavicles are almost feminine in dimensions), the skull and pelvis are those of an adult male. Regarding age, the teeth and skull sutures suggest an age of over 25, but almost certainly under 30. The third molars have erupted in the mandible but are only beginning to do so in the maxillae, and the rest of the permanent teeth are comparatively little worn. Nevertheless, the base of the skull has finished its growth, an

event usually to be expected at about 25 or so in males today. The epiphyses of the clavicles have also fused, a process usually completed between the years of 25 and 30 in males. This I think is the age range in which this individual can confidently be placed. As regards stature, calculation from the long bones yields a probable height of 5 feet 8 or 9 inches.

Some of the vertebrae (cervical) show slight "lipping" of the bodies, but there are no undeniable osteo-arthritic changes anywhere in the skeleton, nor indeed signs of any other bony disease or injury.

The skull is perfect, except for small defects in both zygomatic arches. It is mesocephalic (cephalic index 76.3), with a broad face (facial index 82.6) and a medium breadth of nose (nasal index 51.0). The occipital part of the skull shows a moderate degree of bulging. Roughly, therefore, this skull conforms to that in Burial 2.

Associated with this individual were fragmentary remains of other creatures: part of an oyster shell, 4 rabbit bones, a rib fragment (probably from an ox), and a phalanx and mandibular fragment from a pig.

BURIAL 4.

This skeleton also represents one individual, but is much less complete than Burials 2 and 3. The skull is much damaged, consisting of a broken calva, or skull-cap, together with detached maxillae and a mandible. Cranial measurements are impracticable, but the shape of the calva suggests mesocephaly. Reliable indications of sex are absent, but the jaws are almost certainly feminine. All the teeth have erupted, some are missing, wear is slight. This indicates a young adult.

The vertebrae (2 cervical, 6 thoracic, 2 lumbar and the sacrum) are adult, probably feminine, and show no osteo-arthritic changes. There are fragments of 22 ribs.

Fragments of both clavicles and scapulae also indicate an adult female. The right or left humeri are the only complete long limb bones; their lengths (28.9 and 27.9 cms.) yield an estimated stature of 4 feet 10 inches, which conforms with the supposed sex.

The lower limbs are unrepresented except for the innominate bones, which are damaged. These are feminine.

Around the bones of the right elbow joint was an adherent conglomerate of iron-stained material. X-ray of this showed no clear signs of any metallic object. There is no skeletal evidence of disease or injury.

APPENDIX B.

REPORT ON TEXTILE FROM BURIAL I (LEAD COFFIN).

By MISS ELISABETH CROWFOOT.

Fragments from textile originally surrounding the gypsum cast containing the body, the largest being *c.* 1.5 × 2.5 cms. at widest. Probably linen.

Warp and weft Z-spun, rather, lightly twisted.

Plain weave, fairly regular, rather open, count *c.* 16 × 8-9 threads per cm.

Most of the fragments have two thicknesses of the cloth. (Plate IIIa).

APPENDIX C.

A FRAGMENT OF A SIMILAR CARVED COFFIN FROM THE ROMAN CEMETERY ON THE MOUNT.

In the Yorkshire Museum is a fragment from a carved gritstone coffin showing the greater part of the figure of an *amorino* in high relief. This figure would originally have stood to the right of the inscription panel

(viewer's right) and stands with body half turned towards the presumed inscription panel which his arms are holding and displaying whilst his head faces forward. He has feathered wings but no drapery. The fragment measures 11½ ins. wide by 17 ins. high. It varies in thickness from 3¼ to 4 ins. The greatest projection of the figure is 3¼ ins. which suggests an original thickness for the side of the coffin of about 6½ ins. The stone is a gritstone similar to that of Julia Victorina's coffin and the carving is well executed.

According to the Museum Handbook (1891 edition no. 87, p. 70) this fragment was found "near Micklegate Bar, in 1860" and originally belonged to the Cook collection. However, on the drawing which serves as a frontispiece to Cook's ms. book of drawings illustrating his collection which is in the museum, it states that the fragment was found "near the Mount". Building was in progress at that time on and near the Driffield estate from where have come the relics of many fine tombs and it is possible that this stone comes from there too.

APPENDIX D.

EVIDENCE FOR THE REUSE OF INSCRIBED STONE COFFINS IN ROMAN YORK.

Inscribed stone coffins are relatively rare in Roman York. Among the numerous stone coffins that have been found only 8 are inscribed. Out of a total of 36 sepulchral inscriptions only 8 are on coffins. These inscribed coffins originally stood in tombs. On the Mount is preserved the sole surviving example of a vaulted tomb chamber[1] with uninscribed stone coffin; the earlier discovery of a further example is recorded also from the Mount.[2] Others existed originally. Judging from fragments of sculpture surviving, some of the tombs must have been fairly elaborate. This little group of 8 inscriptions is interesting for the sidelight it shows on the composition of the upper class of Roman York. Three belong to Centurions or their families, one is a *decurio* or magistrate of the *colonia*, and the remainder belong to the wealthy class of freedmen, the business men of the Empire (a *sevir*, his Sardinian wife, another set up by a man who is explicitly described as *libertus*, and Theodorianus of Nomentum whose Greek name and that of his mother betray their servile origin). It is also significant that these 8 inscriptions come from only three places—the Castle Yard where we have suggested there was a centurial burial place, from the Driffield Estate on the Mount, and from the Railway Station site near to the Scarborough Bridge. These two last sites were, as other finds indicate, part of the fashionable burial grounds of Roman York.

From the following table it will be seen that of these 8 coffins four have certainly been reused and a fifth possibly so. Of the remaining three only in one case can we feel at all sure that the body in the coffin was the one for which the inscription was made. In three cases we can be certain that the coffin was buried at the time of its reuse so that the inappropriateness of the inscription did not matter. A fourth showed signs of a possible attempt to remove the inscription. In addition to the 8 inscribed coffins there is another coffin (no. 9 in the table) which, it has been suggested, has had panel and inscription successfully removed from it.

Three of the reused coffins contained gypsum burials and there reuse can be confidently assigned to the Roman period whilst the associations of the fourth likewise establish the Roman date of its reuse.

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[1] *Archaeologia*, xvi, p. 340, pl. xlvii.

[2] *York Courant*, 7 Nov. 1769. *Illustrations to Drake*, ms. and scrap book in York Public Library. At the time it was supposed that this was connected with St. James' Chapel which originally stood on the Mount, but this chapel lay on the other side of the road to this find.

Since it is only in the case of inscribed coffins that reuse can be proved either by the inconsistency of skeletal remains and inscription or by the burial of an inscription clearly meant to be seen, it is quite possible that many of the uninscribed stone coffins were also reused. Since the percentage among the inscribed coffins is as much as 50% the reuse of coffins may well have been widespread. The evidence we have is too slight to evaluate the significance of this but it clearly indicates that the fashionable and rich tombs that had in the third century adorned the Mount and Railway Station cemeteries had, like the centurial cemetery in the Castle Yard, already been ruined and robbed in Roman times.

Person referred to in inscription	Findspot and Depth	Sex and age of body found	Remarks and references
(1) Aelia Severa. Memorial erected by her freedman	Driffield Estate at a depth of 2 ft. 6 ins. to top of lid.	Adult male	Reused and buried. The tombstone of Flavia Augustina was used as a lid. C.I.L. vii, 249. Y.P.S. *Report for* 1859, p. 13 and p. 29.
(2) Aurelius Super.	Castle Yard, at a depth of 7-8 ft.	Adult Male.	Reused. Discussed above, no. 5.
(3) Flavius Bellator. *Decurio* of the *colonia*.	Scarborough Rly. Bridge.	Adult Male.	No evidence for reuse. Probably original burial since the official ring was still on the body's finger. *E.E.* iii, 79. *Handbook to Y.M.* (1891), p. 54 note.
(4) Julia Fortunata. Wife of Verecundius Diogenes.	Scarborough Rly. Bridge.	Adult skeleton, believed female but described as "tall and masculine".	No clear evidence of reuse but the skull, now in the Yorkshire Museum, clearly needs an expert examination to establish its sex with certainty, in view of the description applied to it. *E.E.*, iii, 183. Y.P.S., *Report for* 1877 p. 9. Y.P.S., *Communications* 1877, p. 38.
(5) Julia Victorina.	Castle Yard, at a depth of 5 ft. 9 ins. to apex of lid.	Adult male	Reused. Discussed above, no. 2.
(6) Simplicia Florentina. 10 months old.	Rly. adjacent to the Driffield estate.	Child judged at the time of discovery to be about 12 years old.	Reused. There has been an attempt to chisel off the surface of the coffin perhaps with the object of removing the inscription, but it was given up before the inscription was damaged. The insertion of the centurial sign before *pater* and the name of the legion at the end of the inscription are more likely an afterthought of the original inscription than be-

Person referred to in inscription	Findspot and Depth	Sex and age of body found	Remarks and references
			longing to its reuse. There is no evidence as to whether the coffin was buried at the time of its reuse. C.I.L., vii, 247. Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, p. 111. Hargrove, *New Guide*, (1844), p. 21-2.
(7) Valerius Theodorianus of Nomentum.	Driffield Estate.	Adult male.	No evidence. C.I.L., vii, 253. Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, p. 110.
(8) Verecundius Diogenes, a *sevir*.	1579, probably near where (4) was found.	Not known.	No evidence. C.I.L., vii, 248.

(9) In the *Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum* (1891), p. 12, it says that traces of an effaced inscription exist on one of the coffins preserved in the grounds of the Museum and found on the railway station site. It is possible that an inscription originally existed on the coffin in question but the evidence is not so clear as the Handbook suggests. An effaced inscription is suggestive of reuse but does not imply that. The effacement could be equally due to a stone cutter's dissatisfaction with his original work.

It has been suggested to me that we have not really got evidence of reuse in any of the above examples since we have no proof in any case that the coffins were used for the burials for which they were originally intended. This is of course true, but it seems more natural to me to suppose that they were used than that they were sold cheap as rejects from the stone mason's yard. Although such a theory receives colour in the case of (6) *Simplicia Florentina* with its attempt to chisel off the surface of the stone, it seems ridiculous in the case of (5) *Julia Victorina* with its good lettering and fine carving.

APPENDIX E.

Other Burials South-East of the Fortress.

The burials are numbered continuously with those from the Castle Yard and their position is marked by these numbers on the accompanying plan (fig. 2).

(9) Cremation in pear shaped jar with flat reeded collar. The vessel is a first century type. Yorkshire Museum, H50. Found 1929 Fishergate School. Journal of Roman Studies, XIX, p. 186.

(10) Cremation in "rusticated" jar. 1st—early 2nd century. Yorks. Museum H148. Found 1877, Northern Command H.Q. Fishergate; Y.P.S. *Report for* 1879, p. 27; *Handbook to Yorks. Mus.* (1891), p. 104. Raine, unpublished notes, under April 1879.

(11) Wide necked jar of 2nd century type. Probably with cremation. Yorkshire Museum H2359. Findspot and references as for 10.

(12) Large biconical jar of 1st century type with cremation. Yorks. Museum H 826. Findspot and references as for 10.

(13) Small fused glass bottles found with a cremation in one of the above three vessels. Yorkshire Museum. Find spot and references as for 10.

(14) Small unguentarium may have been associated with one of the above or another burial. Yorkshire Museum H2147. Findspot and references as for 10.

(15) Single-handled screw-neck flagon. Yorkshire Museum. Findspot and references as for 10.

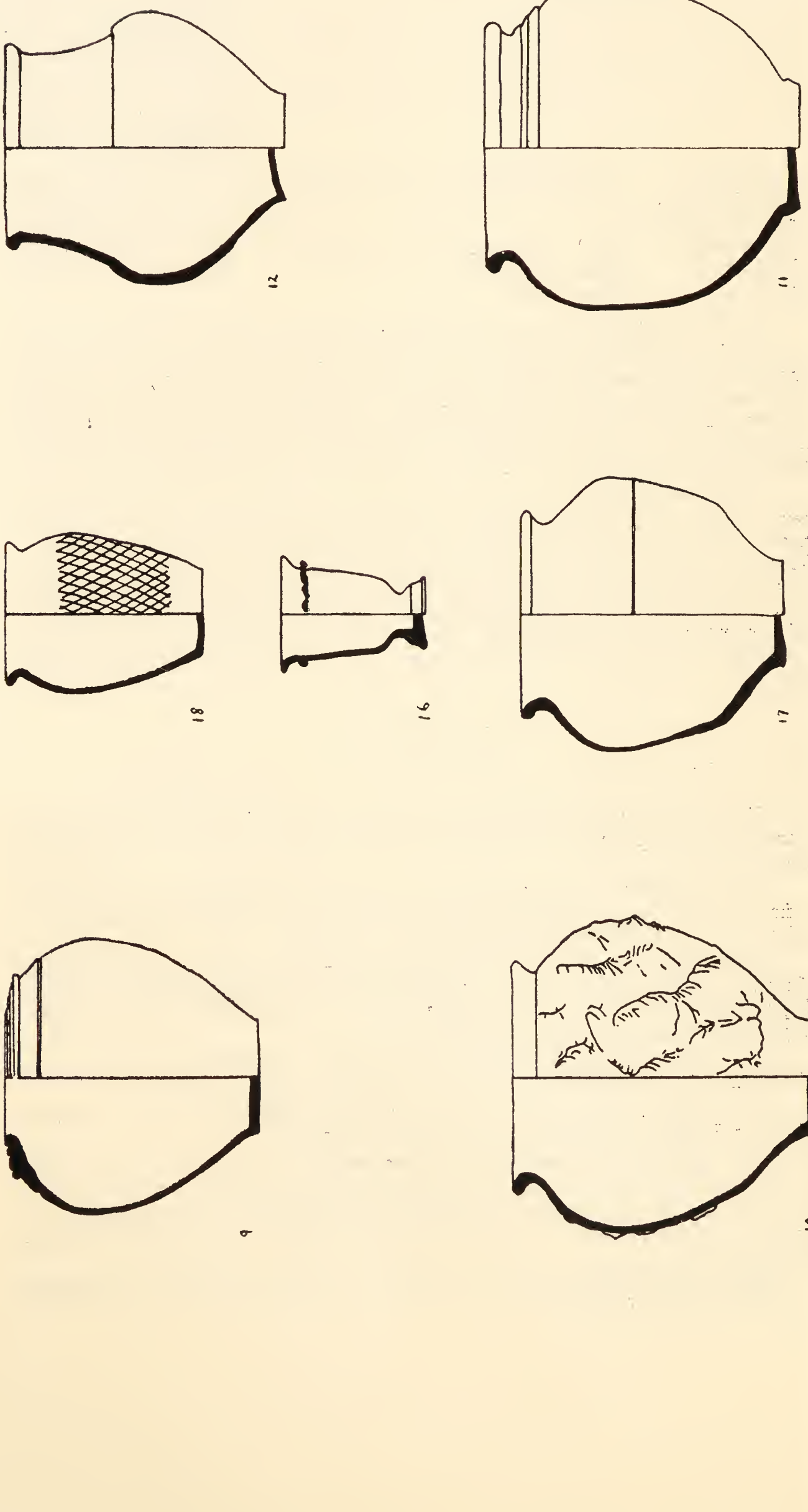


Fig. 3. Pottery from Fishergate.

(16) Footed beaker or goblet with frill below lip. Yorkshire Museum H872. Found "New Barracks 1880" a name Raine uses in his notes to refer to the Northern Command H.Q.

(17) Large wide mouthed jar. Yorks. Museum H2342. Found Fishergate 1894. Burials 9-17 demonstrate the existence of a small late first to early second century cremation cemetery near the junction of Fishergate and Fawcett Street. That the area continued in use as a burial ground at least sporadically is shown by the later burials from unlocalised find spots in Fishergate and from its vicinity.

(18) Small black jar with acute angled lattice pattern. Yorkshire Museum H2341. Found 1881 in the road 14 ft. deep at junction of Fishergate and Fulford Road. Raine, unpublished notes, under March 30th, 1881.

(19) Face vase. Whole vessel shaped in form of female head with hair swept back to a bun. Yorkshire Museum H2134. Found in Fishergate 1855.

(20) Female head in limestone probably part of a memorial, well carved, and in the round. The hair style is that of the third century. Yorkshire Museum. Found in Fishergate 1882.

(21) Brick tomb now rebuilt in Yorkshire Museum. Height 1 ft. 5 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins. wide by 7 ft. 4 ins. long. The roof is of *tegulae* laid flat with flanges downwards cemented in position. Found Grange Garth 1897.

(22) Large face vase. Whole vessel in the shape of a female head with hair swept back in a bun. Yorkshire Museum H2132. Found in York Cemetery 1888; *Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum* (1891), p. 116. Y.P.S., *Proceedings for* 1936, p. 9.

(23) "Roman urn" found near Fishergate Postern. Y.P.S., *Report for* 1825, p. 24.

(24) "A bust of a male personage found near Fishergate Postern, in 1890". *Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum*, (1891) p. 117 j. No indication is given of the size or material but its position in 1891 suggests that the object was a small one.

Other finds from the Fishergate area include a cornelian ringstone (*Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum*, p. 123, xiii) another "Roman urn" (Y.P.S., *Report for* 1867, p. 27), and, now in the Sheffield Museum (J 93, 150), a skull found in 1858 near the cattle market. This latter is possibly mediaeval.

(25) Lying somewhat to the east of the last group and some distance to the south of the Brough road on the summit of the ridge overlooking it is a flat inhumation cemetery disturbed first by the erection of a windmill and afterwards by the heaping up of a Civil War battery. The burials were in iron bound wooden coffins oriented approximately east to west. A late 1st early 2nd century jar was found adjacent to one burial but does not necessarily belong to it. This vessel is now in the Retreat. The site known as Lamel Hill is now in the grounds of the Retreat. The cemetery was excavated in 1849 by Dr. Thurnam. His conclusion that the cemetery was Anglo-Saxon was not based on any firm evidence. *Archaeological Journal*, VI, (1849), p. 27 and 123.

From the Walmgate—Fossgate area, that is to the west of the line the Roman road would take if it turned at Walmgate Bar and ran direct to the south-east gate come a number of finds. (26) and (27) are not necessarily sepulchral although the fact of their preservation whole suggests that they were buried and possibly so. (28) is included to complete the picture of the area.

(26) Two handled flagon, reddish buff fabric with cream slip externally. Yorks. Museum H190. Found in Fossgate.

(27) Rhenish ware motto beaker, NOLITE SITERE. Yorks. Museum H155. Found in Piccadilly near the Foss in 1914 at a depth of 20 feet.

(28) Altar to *Deo Arciacon*, an otherwise unknown god, and the *numinibus Augustorum* found in 1846 in the foundation of one of the piers of St. Denis' church and now in the Yorkshire Museum. *Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum*, (1891), p. 31, no. 2.

(29) Stone coffin found 1827 in excavating in the yard of the Crown Inn, Walmgate. York Courant, Oct. 20th. 1827.

(30) Lead coffin containing a female skeleton and a fine series of necklaces, including a jet one with gorgon pendant, bracelets, and three glass perfume bottles. There was also a coin of Severus *c.*200 A.D. Yorks. Museum H321 1-16. Found 1892 under the road in Walmgate. Raine, *Simplicia Florentina*, p. 38, Y.P.S., *Report for* 1892, p. 7.

The three following burials come from the vicinity of the Brough road near Walmgate Bar.

(31) Tile tomb (VI Legion) over an inhumation with a Samian beaker. Found 1906 in the brickworks, James St. York Herald, 26 Feb. 1906.

(32) "Cinerary urn (red clay)" Cook's drawing (Cook ms. in Yorks. Museum B84) shows a vessel similar to (9) but without reeding on the collar. Found mouth downward at a depth of 6 feet outside the walls near Walmgate Bar, 1845.

(33) "Portion of a Roman stone coffin" St. Lawrence's church, 1887. Yorkshire Gazette, Jan. 27, 1883.

From well to the north of the Brough road at Layerthorpe comes a small group of burials.

(34) Lead coffin, enclosing a wooden coffin in which was a burial "enveloped in mud". It is possible that the description mud may hint at a gypsum burial since a similar adjective was used by members of the public whilst the coffin (2) was being examined to describe the remains of the gypsum cast there. Lead coffin in the Yorkshire Museum. Found 1855 to the south of Layerthorpe. *Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum*, (1891), p. 151. Y.P.S., *Report for* 1855, p. 9. Other finds unspecified were made at the same time.

(35) Stone coffin from the same site as no. 34 found previously to 1855. Y.P.S., *Report for* 1855, p. 9. Earlier finds of pottery are also reported from the same site. Y.P.S., *Report for* 1855.

(36) Skeleton with small bronze statuette of Hercules. Yorkshire Museum (illustrated Home, *Roman York*, opp. p. 130). Found near Peaseholme Green, York. British Archaeological Association, *Journal*, IX, (1854), p. 88. Bateman Collection Catalogue, 1855, El, 194. R1, 23.

Nearly 2 miles from the fortress and somewhat to the south of the road to Brough were two further burials.

(37) Stone coffin containing a complete gypsum cast of a woman. Her jewelry was recovered from just above her left shoulder and included bracelets and rings of bronze, jet, and gold, and bead necklaces. Yorkshire Museum H323 1-14. Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, p. 108-9. Handbook to the Yorkshire Museum, (1891), p. 6 & p. 116.

(38) Stone coffin found with 37. Wellbeloved, *ibid.*

EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES IN A CELLAR IN MESSRS. CHAS. HART'S PREMISES, FEASEGATE, YORK, 1956.

By James Dyer and Peter Wenham.

At the time that Mr. Stead was finishing his work alongside the S. E. Multangular Tower (reported pp. 515-537), new archaeological features were detected in the adjoining cellar some 20 feet away by the workmen who were carrying out structural alterations to the premises. As they were taking up the soil (layer 2)[1] below the concrete floor (layer 2) they found that they were (i) cutting through and exposing what appeared to be wickerwork supported by stakes and (ii) uncovering the concrete core of the fortress wall (layer 8). Both of these discoveries were important. The first because, the level at which the wickerwork feature was appearing promised to reveal something of the late Saxon/Danish and/or early mediaeval occupation of York, of which so little is known from archaeological sources, and the second because, for the first time, it was possible to examine part of the N.E. fortress wall in the sector between the *porta principalis sinistra* (in King's Square) and the S.E. corner tower. An excavation, supervised by the writers, was therefore undertaken in this area. Dr. S. S. Hart gave every facility and, for weeks, delayed his constructional work in order to allow the investigation to proceed. The actual digging was undertaken by Messrs. M. J. Yates, D. J. Edward and D. Collins, students of St. John's College, York, and by Mr. and Mrs. H. Bowes and Mrs. D. Campbell of the Swarthmore Institute of Education, Leeds. Especial thanks are due to the latter who made numerous journeys from Leeds and did the bulk of the trowelling. Mr. H. Richardson of York has kindly drawn figs. 1 and 2.

Two areas—one outside, and one inside, the fortress, together with the fortress wall itself, were investigated (see fig. 1). These three features are considered separately below. A sectional drawing across the area dug is shown on fig. 2. The work was complicated by the presence of the footings of a wall (layer 9) which ran across the area investigated, the date of which was never established though it presumably belonged to the 19th century.

I. *Area outside the fortress wall.*

Here were found the lower portions of a number of pointed wooden stakes; over 40 were counted. With two exceptions they were all of silver birch and measured 2-2½ ft. in length. The two exceptions were at X and Y on fig. 1; these were 4 and 5 ft. long respectively and were of hawthorn. Associated with most of these stakes, besides being scattered indiscriminately over most of the site dug (Plate IIIa), was wickerwork made from silver

[1] These 'layer' numbers relate to the section drawn on fig. 2.

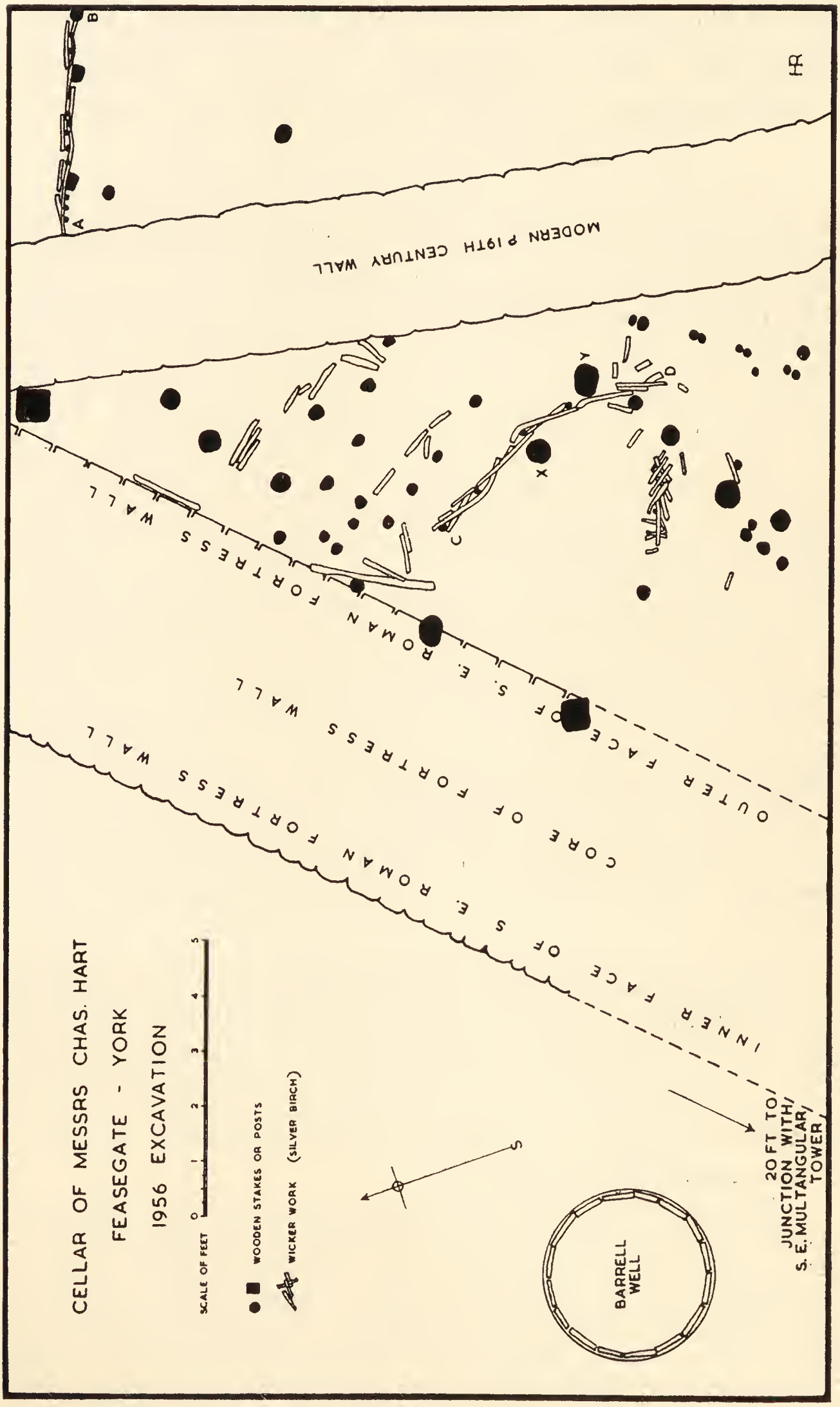

MODERN 19TH CENTURY WALL
A
B
X
Y
C
D
OUTER FACE OF S.E. ROMAN FORTRESS WALL
CORE OF S.E. ROMAN FORTRESS WALL
INNER FACE OF S.E. ROMAN FORTRESS WALL
20 FT TO JUNCTION WITH S.E. MULTANGULAR TOWER
BARRELL WELL
WOODEN STAKES OR POSTS
WICKER WORK (SILVER BIRCH)
SCALE OF FEET 0 1 2 3 4 5
CELLAR OF MESSRS CHAS. HART
FEASEGATE - YORK
1956 EXCAVATION

Fig. 1. Plan.

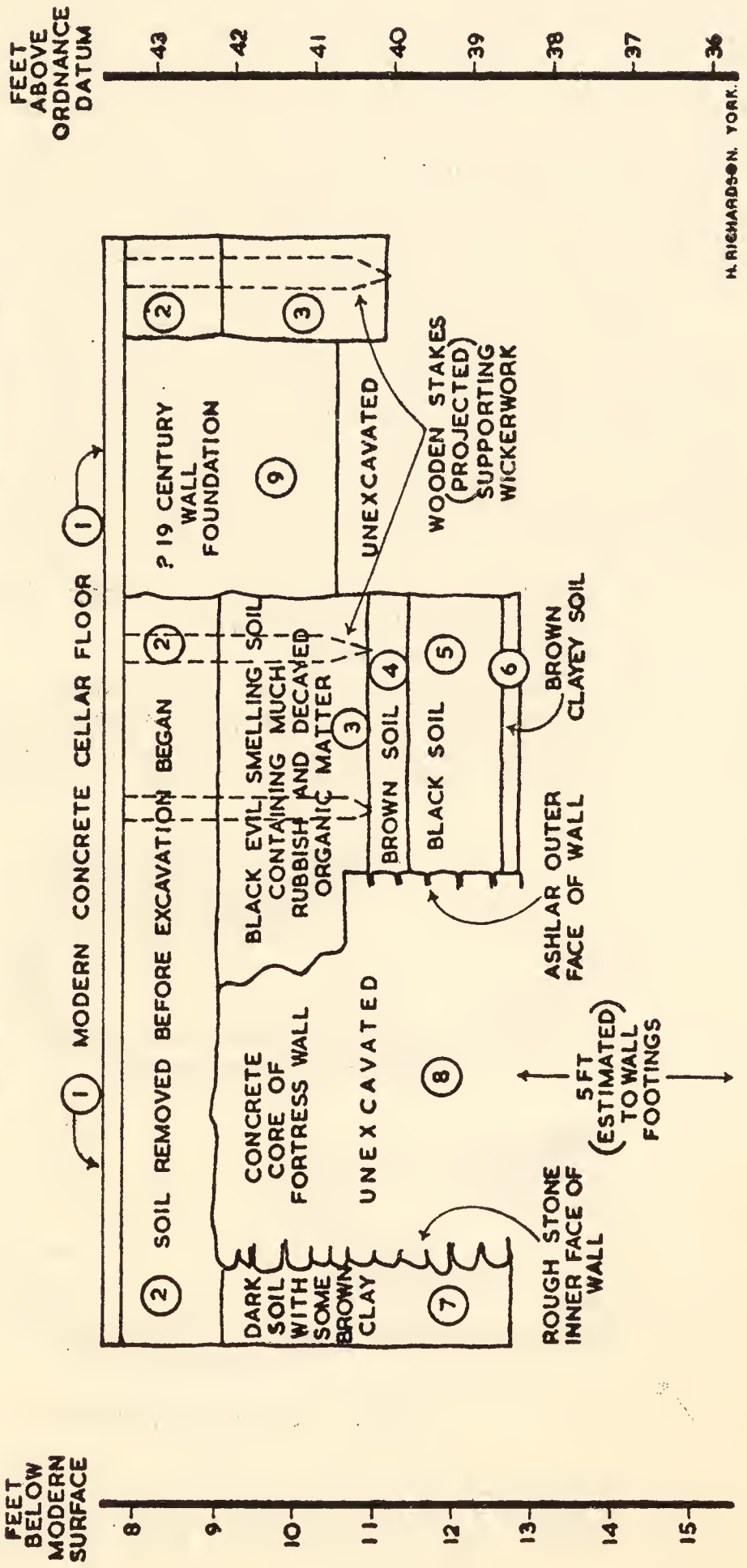


Fig. 2. Section.

birch twigs. In one place (A-B on fig. 1) a straight 4 ft. length of the wickerwork was uncovered; the vertical uprights of which consisted of three large posts and 11 small stakes. This might have represented all that remained of a single hurdle. In another place (C—D. of fig. 1) the wickerwork was semi-circular as if part of what had originally been a circular feature; this might possibly have been woven around the stakes *in situ*. It was in association with this feature that the very massive hawthorn stakes, referred to above, were found. It was evident from the 'scatter' of wickerwork encountered throughout the area examined, that originally there had been very much more.

The soil (layer 3) between the stakes was removed to a depth of 2 ft. (i.e. to a level an inch or so above their pointed ends) by trowelling and the artifacts from this retained. The soil itself was intensely black, was very slimy and contained a large proportion of decayed organic matter. It had a particularly foul smell which was so unpleasant that, at times, work could only proceed after a liberal application of disinfectant. The finds in this layer were:—

i. Hundreds of bones of domestic animals of varying sizes and sorts and dozens of bones of fowls.
ii. Over 200 oyster shells.
iii. 3 dozen sea shells, winkles and cockles.
iv. One complete shoe with a badly worn sole together with dozens of leather fragments. Most of the latter were narrow strips presumably representing the parings or clippings from a cobbler's

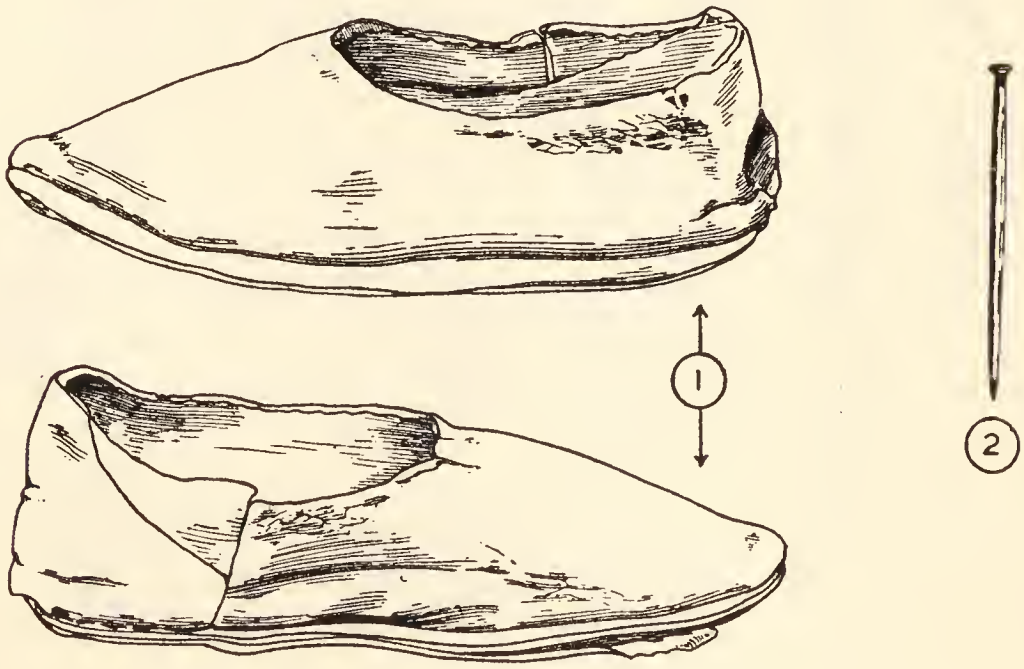


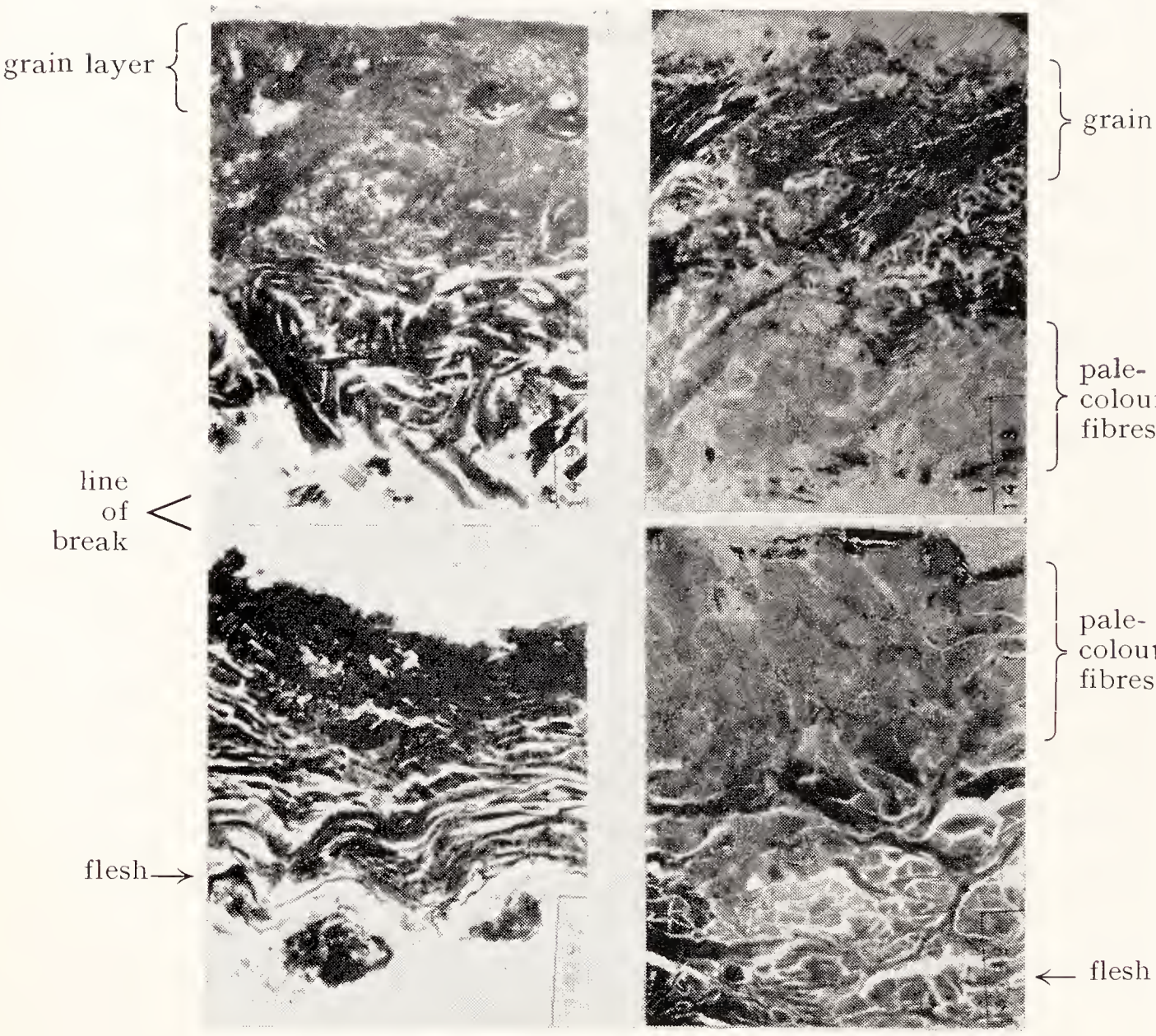
Fig 3. Shoe and Bone Pin.

shop or cobblers' shops. The shoe is illustrated (fig. 3 no.1) [1] and reported upon thus by Mr. J. H. Thornton and Mr. A. V. Goodfellow of the Northampton College of Technology:—

Complete child's shoe, 7 ins. long (about size 8), turnshoe construction with thread seam. Left foot.

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[1] We are grateful to Miss E. Meikle of the Inspectorate Branch of the Ministry of Works for this drawing.



X 25 approx.

PLATE I.

Shows photomicrographs of the leather of the shoe illustrated on fig. 3, indicating the break at the middle of the corium arising from incomplete penetration of the tan and consequent decomposition of the untanned fibres. Plate II shows a photomicrograph of sound modern leather for comparison.
(Photo. British Leather Manufacturers' Research Association. Their report on p. 530 also covers this shoe).

Vegetable tanned cattle hide.



X 12

PLATE II.

The upper is whole cut, joined on the inside quarter with a closed seam, original thread still in position. A small triangular piece has been let in just below the inside ankle, presumably as an economy measure as the original piece of leather was too small.

The whole of the top edge of the shoe is blind seamed; the detached inside layer has been produced by delamination.

The sole grain layer has worn through in three places at the forepart—one at the toe and two at the tread (where soles still wear through, particularly on children's shoes). The heel end of the sole also shows the typical rounding-off effect due to wear.

The sole illustrates the delamination effect very well, producing in places the appearance of a separate sole.

The sole stitching thread still remains in the holes in the sole and there is the usual ridge between the opposite ends of the holes. A microscopic examination of the thread shows it to be a bast fibre—probably flax.

(See further on p. 530 for a further note on this shoe).

v. Two hazel nuts and a plum stone.

vi. A bone pin, illustrated (fig. 3 no. 2).

vii. 30 shards of pottery; none illustrated. Three were Roman and therefore incidental in this layer; the remainder were all of 12-13th century date.

viii. Fragment of a crucible with some of the contents adhering. This has been examined by Mr. J. H. Wright, Chief Metallurgist, Central Research Department, Dorman Long and Co., Middlesbrough, who reports thus:—

Fragment of a moulded fireclay pot or crucible of good quality, probably made from one of the local fireclays, and although there was insufficient sample to determine the melting point or cone-refractoriness, this would be of the order of 1500/1600 deg. C., and well capable of use for melting non-ferrous metals or alloys such as copper or bronze.

The dark glassy portion on the outside of this specimen contains an appreciable amount of lead oxide, suggesting that the crucible had been stood in a hearth which contained slag from lead and copper melting or refining processes.

	Light grey refractory material (Apparently a fireclay pot or crucible)	Mainly dark glassy part on outside of specimen. (slag from crucible hearth)
Silica (SiO_2)	62.60%	57.08%
Ferric Oxide (Fe_2O_3)	2.60	8.60
Alumina (Al_2O_3)	30.60	19.60
Manganous Oxide (MnO)	nil	trace
Lime (CaO)	1.20	3.00
Magnesia (MgO)	0.10	1.73
Cupric Oxide (CuO)	nil	2.00
Lead Oxide (PbO)	,,	6.70
Nickel (Ni)	,,	trace
Zinc (Zn)	,,	nil
Cone Refractoriness	Insufficient sample, probably 1500/1600 deg.C.	Insufficient sample

These stakes and associated wickerwork probably constituted 'pits' or 'containers' into which rubbish had to be dumped;[1] their situation immediately adjoining, but outside, the fortress wall is perhaps not without significance in this connection. Their date—based on the evidence of the pottery in them—is likely to be late 12-13th century.

Layer 4 consisted of 5 ins. of brown soil in which were found no artifacts. Layer 5—14 inches deep—was of black soil (similar to, but not as odiferous as, that of layer 3). In it were found six shards of Saxo-Norman pottery which have been illustrated (fig. 4 nos. 1-6) and described by Mr. Ian Stead:—

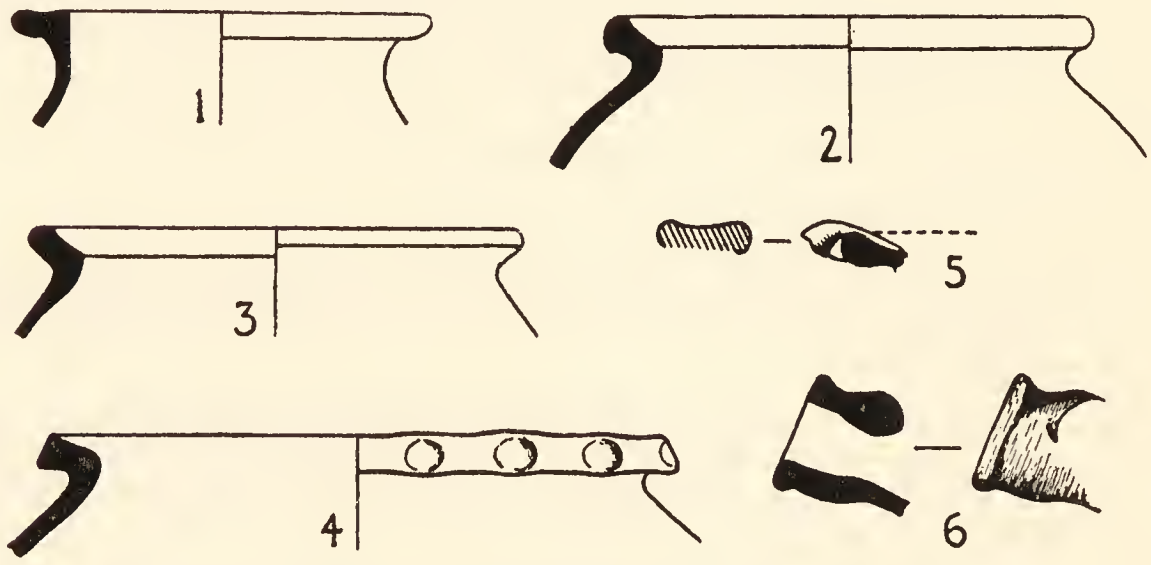


Fig. 4. Saxo-Norman Pottery.

1. Cooking pot with flat rim slightly hollowed on top. *Stamford Ware;* light grey fabric with light yellow to green glaze coating the outside and splashed into the upper part of the inside.

2. Cooking pot in *Thetford-type ware;* dark grey surface, fine sandy grit.

3. Cooking pot in *Thetford-type ware;* very dark colour due to burning.

4. Cooking pot with squared rim, marked on the outside with finger tip impressions. *Thetford-type ware;* dark blue-grey surface with a lighter grey core.

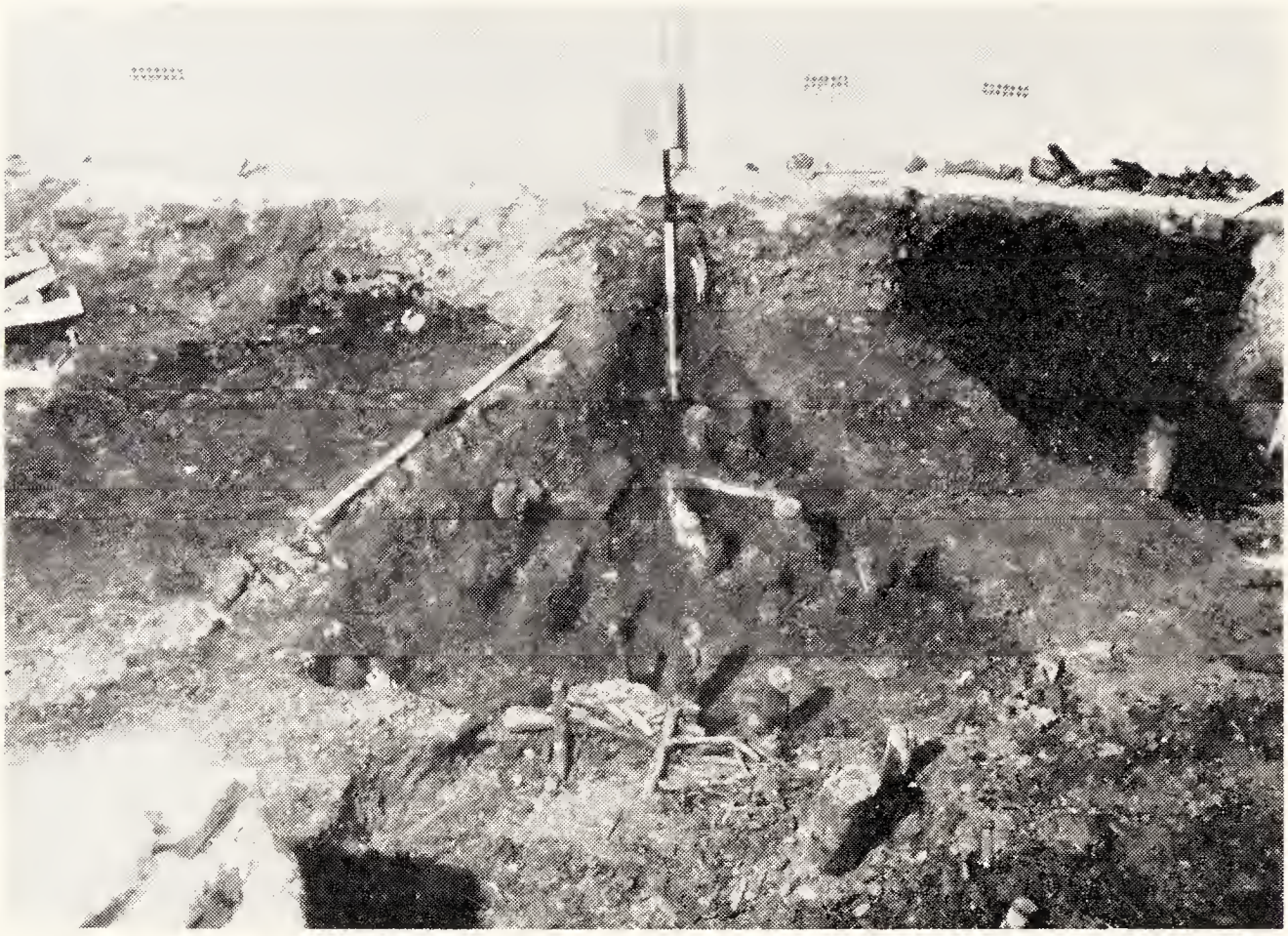
5. Top of a strap handle from a spouted pitcher. *Thetford-type ware;* light grey colour, cf. Hurst, J. G., *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, L, 1957, fig. 7, no. 1.

6. Spout from a spouted bowl in *Thetford-type ware.* Colour varies from a light yellowish grey to light blue-grey.

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[1] In this connection it is not without interest to note the following Borough regulations issued by the Alderman (=Mayor) of Richmond, Yorkshire in 1622. (Ms. in the possession of L. P. Wenham).

> "None shall make any dunghill or cast any rubbish but where stakes are set for same by Mr. Alderman and his officers on pain &c. . . . . ."



(a)



(b)



(c)

PLATE III.

(a) The excavation; the horizontal pole lies on the concrete core just inside the robbed outer face of the fortress wall.

(b) Core and outer face of fortress wall.

(c) Barrel well.

II. *Fortress Wall.* (Plate IIIb).[1]

This wall (layer 8) was encountered running diagonally across the cellar and the surviving top of the core was uncovered for a length of 14 ft. It was the usual 5 ft. in width. On the outer side an 8 ft. long trench three feet wide was dug and on the inner side a similar 3 ft. long trench (Plate IIIb); both were dug to a depth of 5 ft. below the cellar floor. It is estimated that the wall was standing another 5 ft. above its footings below this. On the outer side the core was standing 2 ft. higher than the ashlar face, the latter having been robbed. On the inner side the face—of roughly hewn, undressed pieces of magnesian limestone—existed as high as the top of the surviving core. Although the soil (layer 7) behind the wall had a greater clay content than that in front of it there was nothing to indicate the presence in the excavation of the survival of any of the clay rampart to this height. The ashlars of the outer face were those which we associate with the 4th century rebuild. This is important as implying that on the S.E. front as on the N.W. front the 4th century rebuild extended from the two gateways at the ends of the *via principalis* and encircled the whole of the *praetentura*.[2]

III. *Inside the fortress wall. Barrel well.* (Plate IIIc).

The topmost surviving barrel of what was taken to be a barrel well[3] was discovered by the workmen clearing the cellar preparatory to reconstruction there. It was found some 3 ft. away from the inner face of the fortress wall (see fig. 1). Only the upper 18 ins. of it could be examined as the concreting of the new floor was in process of being put down when it was found. It was 3 ft. in diameter and consisted of thin upright boards or laths 3-4 ins. wide (their length was not ascertained) held in position by wooden hoops. Three small pieces of 12-13th century pottery found in it might be taken to suggest that it was of that date or somewhat earlier.

[1] Dr. Hart has arranged for a wooden floor containing a trap door to be placed over this wall in the reconstruction of the premises which has followed this discovery so that it is possible for those interested to examine it.

[2] In his subsequent (1957) excavations in King's Square Mr. Ian Stead confirmed this. His report is impending.

[3] For a London example of such a well and a brief description of the type see W. F. Grimes: 'Excavations in the City of London' in *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain*, ed. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford, p. 120 and plate XXIVa.

A SHERD OF MIDDLE SAXON POTTERY FROM YORK

By I. M. Stead.

In the Yorkshire Museum there is a sherd from the shoulder of a stamped pitcher or storage vessel, marked 'Tempest Anderson Hall, York', which is the only known piece of Middle Saxon pottery from York. This type of vessel seems to date from the mid-seventh to mid-ninth century,[1] and was introduced to this country as a result of trading contacts with the Rhineland. In view of the documentary evidence for Frisian traders in York in the eighth century it is rather surprising that this is the only sherd to have been found here. Hitherto the distribution of these vessels has been limited to East Anglia and Kent.

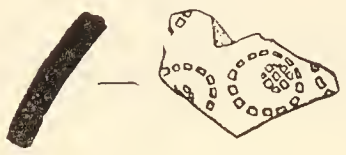


Fig. 1. A Sherd of Middle Saxon Pottery from York. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

The York sherd (fig. 1) is in well-fired light grey fabric and has been thrown on a slow wheel. The decoration appears to have consisted of two rows of stamps, and is closely paralleled by a sherd from Ipswich.[2]

I am grateful to Mr. J. G. Hurst for drawing my attention to this sherd, and to Mr. G. F. Willmot for permission to publish it.

[1] Hurst, J. G., and West, S. E., *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, L, 1957, pp. 40-2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41, fig. 5, no. 5.

AN ANGLIAN CEMETERY ON THE MOUNT, YORK

By I. M. Stead.

The Anglian cinerary urns found on The Mount, York, in 1859-60, which are now in the Yorkshire Museum, have never been properly published, and the exact location of the cemetery has never been established. Indeed, it has not even been clear whether there were one or two cemeteries here, the confusion stemming from different contemporary descriptions of the same site.[1] The matter has long needed thorough investigation, and the time seemed to be particularly ripe while Mr. L. P. Wenham was preparing his corpus of finds from the large Roman cemetery in The Mount and Blossom Street area. Mr. Wenham has kindly allowed me to use this unpublished corpus, and has given valuable assistance in several other ways.

The discovery of the Anglian cemetery was first recorded in the *York Herald* and the *Yorkshire Gazette* for 10th December, 1859, where reference is made to "a large collection of cinerary urns, found in the excavations on the Mount, in the grounds of John Jones, Esq., and F. W. Calvert, Esq." In the *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Report* for 1859 both gentlemen are mentioned (p. 32) as having donated cinerary urns to the Yorkshire Museum, and in the following year the *Report* acknowledges another urn found on The Mount, donated by a Mr. E. Rooke of Bridge Street, York.

The excavations referred to in the newspaper accounts were connected with the building of a number of houses on the north-west side of The Mount and the north-east side of Dalton Terrace. The identification of the houses occupied by Calvert and Jones is not straightforward, because in the earlier directories these particular houses are without numbers, and to add to the confusion the occupants of the Dalton Terrace houses are listed with

[1] Reginald Smith (*V.C.H. Yorkshire*, II, 1912, p. 104) refers to two Anglian cemeteries on The Mount, as do the Elgees (*Archaeology of Yorkshire*, 1933, p. 179) and they have been followed by some later writers. Smith's two cemeteries are "at the Mount" and "about half a mile outside Micklegate Bar on the right side of the road from York to Tadcaster", but both descriptions fit the same site, as Mr. Hunter Blair has suggested (*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, xxv, 1947, pp. 40-2). The former description is the one given in contemporary newspaper accounts and in the Yorkshire Museum Handbooks, and the latter is used by George Rolleston in *Archaeologia*, xlii, 1869, p. 433. Not only do both descriptions fit the same site, but both Rolleston and the newspaper accounts clearly state that some of the urns were found on Mr. F. W. Calvert's land. There can be no doubt that we have evidence for only one Anglian cemetery on The Mount.

those of The Mount, Dalton Terrace not being so-named until the 1880s. However, detailed reference to a number of York directories makes it clear that the urns came from three adjoining houses, No. 150 The Mount and Nos. 1 and 2 Dalton Terrace.[1]

It seems probable that the main Roman road from Eboracum to Calcaria runs underneath the houses on the north-west side of The Mount,[2] hence it appears that the Anglian cemetery is on the north-west side of this road, and the urns which were found in Calvert's garden[3] are likely to have come from his back garden. Furthermore Mr. Wenham has recently shown[4] that another Roman road leaves the main road at Dalton Terrace and runs in the direction of Holgate Bridge. This road may well form the southern limit of our cemetery. On the city side of the area attempts to locate the cemetery in the back gardens of Nos. 146 and 148 The Mount have proved unsuccessful.[5]

In an attempt to fix the limits of the cemetery on this side, and in order to confirm the above evidence identifying the Anglian site, Mr. Wenham and the writer organised trial excavations in

[1] The directories referred to are: *Post Office Directory* (1861); White's *Directory of Hull, York, etc.* (1867); *Post Office Directory* (1872); Steven's *Directory of York, etc.* (1885).

In 1861 the names F. W. Calvert, Mark Rooke, and J. Jones follow one another in the list under 'The Mount', but the houses are without numbers. Mark Rooke and Sons were wine and spirit merchants with premises in Bridge Street, which accounts for the urn presented by E. Rooke of Bridge Street; furthermore in 1867 Edward Rooke, spirit merchant, probably the donor himself, was living in this house on The Mount. In the 1872 directory the houses on The Mount were numbered up to No. 40, but by this time Calvert and Jones were not living there, and Rooke's house is still without a number, being listed immediately after No. 40. However, by listing the houses on the Tadcaster side of Mount Parade and tracing their occupants through the above directories it is possible to show that Calvert lived on the corner of The Mount and Dalton Terrace in No. 40, The Mount, which was later renumbered No. 150. Dalton Terrace is numbered in the 1885 directory, and Alderman Edward Rooke is living at No. 1. Clearly the 1861 directory includes in the list under 'The Mount' the three houses in what was later to be named Dalton Terrace. The position of Rooke's name in the directories shows that the family occupied the same house in 1885 as it did in 1861, and as Jones' name immediately follows Rooke's in the 1861 list he must have lived in what is now No. 2 Dalton Terrace. The houses referred to here as Nos. 1 and 2 Dalton Terrace are now part of the Mount School and are not numbered.

[2] Wenham, L. P., *Y.A.Y.A.S. Report* for 1953—4, pp. 24-31; and *Y.A.J.* xxxix, 1957, fig. 5, opposite p. 288.

[3] Rolleston, G., *loc. cit.*, "five urns . . . . were found by F. W. Calvert, Esq., in his garden."

[4] Wenham, L. P., *Y.A.J.*, xxxix, 1957, pp. 305-7.

[5] Girls from the Mount School trenched the gardens of Nos. 146 and 148 The Mount; the former excavation was carried out in 1955 under the direction of Mr. L. P. Wenham and the latter in 1950—1 under the direction of Mr. G. F. Willmot.

the back garden of No. 150 The Mount, which is also "Glentworth", Dalton Terrace.[1] The subsoil here consisted of compact brown boulder-clay which contained a number of cobbles and some magnesian limestone fragments, together with pockets of gravel and sand. At first it was thought that this might be part of a Roman road, but in September and October, 1957, foundation trenches for a building on the site between No. 3 Dalton Terrace and the Roman Catholic Church revealed sections across the same feature, which is clearly a natural ridge running in a north-westerly direction just to the north of Dalton Terrace. In our excavations subsoil was found at a depth of one foot four inches in the south-west half of the garden, but on the north-east side of the garden path it was more than four feet deep. A brick culvert ran the length of the garden, underneath the path, and in the filling above this several Anglian sherds, all with clean breaks, and a fragment of a bone comb were found. Presumably the culvert trench was excavated in 1859, forming part of the excavations which produced the original urns. Thus although no urns were found *in situ* there is sufficient evidence to indicate that we were very near to the site of the cemetery, which may well have been disturbed by the culvert trench.

The Anglian cemetery is in the centre of one of York's most important Roman burial grounds, and at least one stone coffin, containing a skeleton covered with gypsum, was found in close association—underneath No. 2 Dalton Terrace.[2] This particular coffin had been reused—the sarcophagus was inscribed and the lid was a reused inscribed tombstone—but the use of gypsum suggests that it was reused in Roman times (cf. p. 405 and 413). Another stone coffin was found twelve yards away from the first one. No human bones were found during our excavations at "Glentworth", Dalton Terrace, but in the neighbouring garden, No. 148 The Mount, three skeletons were found.[3]

Apart from the Anglian urns, the only other suggestion of a post-Roman burial in The Mount area is in the form of a glass bowl which some writers have assumed to have been found in

[1] Thanks are due to Dr. R. P. McGarrigle for permission to excavate, and to students from Nunthorpe Grammar School and St. John's College, York, who assisted in the excavation. As no Anglian material was found *in situ* owing to nineteenth century disturbances there is no point in publishing a site plan showing the position of our trenches. A copy of the site plan has been deposited in the Yorkshire Museum together with the Anglian sherds and the comb.

[2] *York Herald*, 12th November, 1859, states that it was found while excavating for the foundations of John Jones' house (for identification see note 1, p. 428). It should be noted that Skaife's *Plan of Roman . . . . York* (1864) places this coffin, and the uninscribed coffin found nearby, in the gardens of Nos. 150 and 148 The Mount, but, if we can rely on the contemporary newspaper account, he must be wrong in the one case at least.

[3] Information from Mr. Wenham, who comments on the dating evidence: "Comparison with skeletons from the nearby Romano-British cemetery in Trentholme Drive, and the fact that Roman pottery was found near them suggests that they too were Roman".

the Anglian cemetery.[1] Dr. Harden has recently re-published this vessel and has stated that it was found "in a domed brick tomb on the Mount".[2] But the first mention of the glass bowl is in the *Yorkshire Museum Handbook* (1881) where it is said to have been found "on the Mount, where there was an Anglian cemetery". There does not seem to be any evidence for associating it with the Anglian cremation cemetery or with the vault underneath No. 109 The Mount.

The present evidence suggests that the Anglian cemetery on The Mount was situated within the angle formed by the junction of a minor Roman road with the main Calcaria road. At the

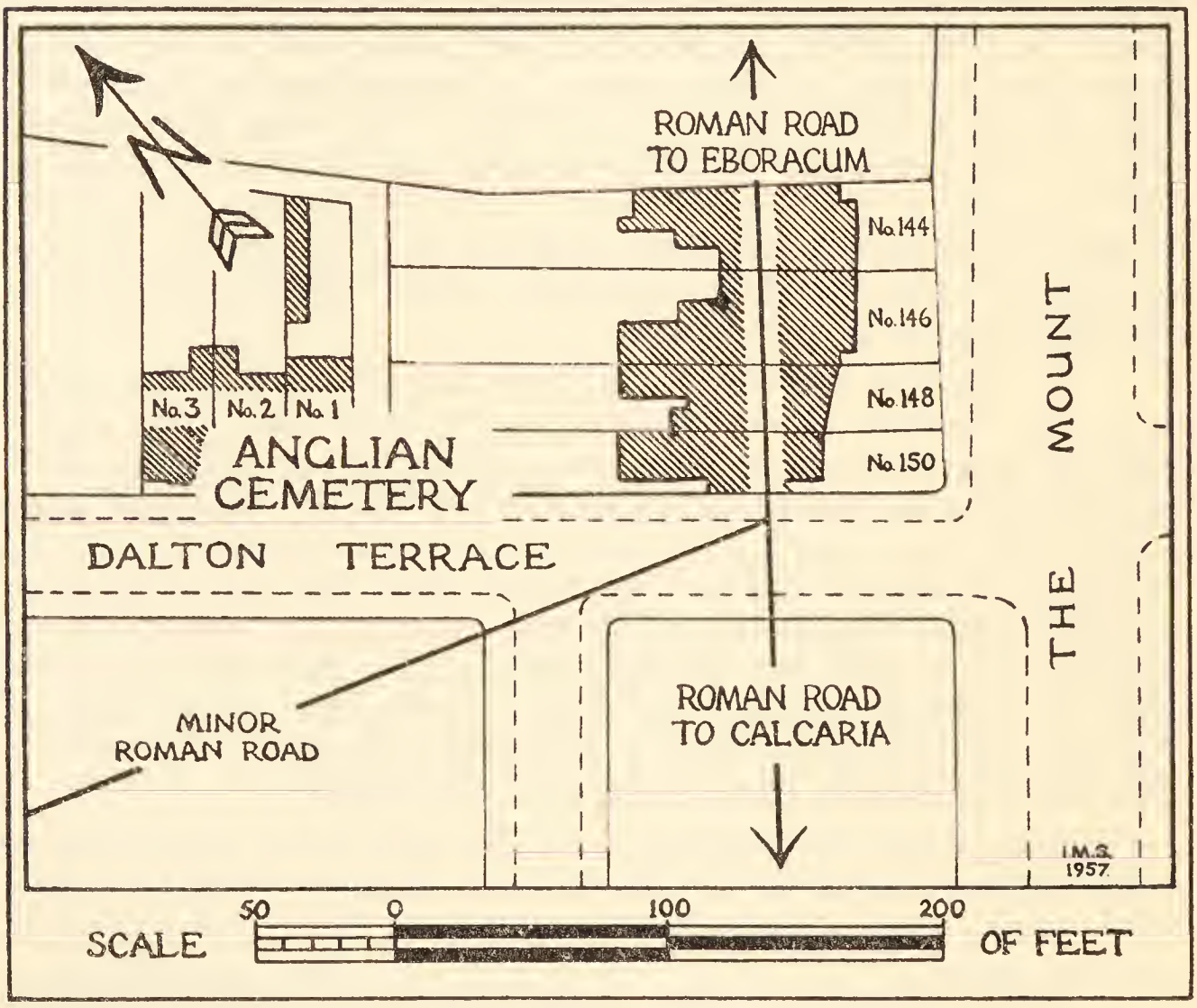


Fig. 1. Site of the Anglian Cemetery on the Mount, York.

moment at least ten urns can be accounted for, but there may well have been several more, and it should be noted that contemporary newspaper accounts refer to "a large number of cinerary urns". The position of this cemetery, just over a quarter of a mile from the Colonia gateway, is very similar to that of the Heworth Anglian cemetery which adjoins a Roman burial ground and is about half a mile from the Porta Decumana of the fortress.

[1] Smith, R. A., *loc. cit.*, Wenham, L. P., *op. cit.*, p. 322, note 3.
[2] Harden, D. B., *A.N.L.*, iii, 1950, p. 24; also in *Dark Age Britain* (1956), p. 142, where the vessel is illustrated (Pl. XVI g.).

These two sites are perhaps the cemeteries of *foederati* brought over from north-west Germany or the Low Countries to help in the defence of northern Britain in the fifth century.[1]

THE POTTERY.

"Romano-Saxon" Sherd: (fig. 4, no. 1).

Well-fired, orange-red fabric, similar colour inside but outer surface a lighter yellowish-orange shade. Two small bosses pressed up with the finger-tip from the inside. This sherd was found in a disturbed level together with Romano-British pottery and two Anglian sherds. Dr. J. N. L. Myres comments: "It evidently belongs to a pot somewhat of the type of fig. 7, nos. 3 and 4 in my article on Romano-Saxon Pottery in the Leeds Festschrift.[2] These were from Great Casterton, Rutland, and Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, and both were in this buff/brown/red Romano-British ware".

Two similar sherds from The Mount area have been published recently (Wenham, L. P., *op. cit.*, p. 312, fig. 8, nos. 21 and 22), and there are two other Romano-Saxon sherds in the Yorkshire Museum—one was found by Mr. G. F. Willmot during excavations at St. Mary's Abbey, and the other has no provenance.

Anglian Pottery.

Fig. 2, *Anglian pottery found* 1859-60.[3]

1. Smooth, well-finished vessel, darker and more uniform in colour than the other Mount urns. On the neck three lightly marked horizontal grooves with a slashed raised collar below. Four groups of two circular bosses on the shoulder, with diagonal strokes in V pattern above them and in two of the panels between; in the other two, adjoining, panels, lightly incised swastikas.
2. Marked "Probably The Mount, York". Colour varies, mainly dark grey on the upper part, but lighter bluish-grey and grey-brown below. On the neck the decoration consists of a band of stamps, alternating groups of circles and shields, between two lightly marked horizontal grooves. Seven elongated bosses on the shoulder with pendant triangle panels, filled with stamps, in between. Rather similar to, but typologically earlier than, *Lackford*, fig. 4, no. 50, 44. This is a common type in the Cambridge region where it develops into the late sixth century wares of the Icklingham potter.
3. Light grey surface, sandy grit. Four horizontal grooves on the neck. Four circular bosses (of which only one remains) on the shoulder with groups of diagonal strokes in between. An Anglo-Frisian urn, cf. *Myres* (1948), fig. 3.
4. Small biconical accessory vessel, published in *Myres* (1948), p. 466, fig. 6, no. 12, together with a rather similar pot from Ezinge. Light grey colour, with orange tints in parts. On the neck three lightly marked grooves, then a row of stamps (alternating groups of circular and square

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[1] cf. Richmond, I. A., *Arch. J.*, ciii, 1946, p. 82; for the parallels with Frisian pottery, Myres, J. N. L., *L'Antiquité Classique*, xvii, 1948, p. 453 ff.; for discussion of the historical evidence for *foederati*, Myres, J. N. L., in *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond*, (ed. Grimes), 1951, p. 221 ff., and Hawkes, C. F. C., in *Dark Age Britain*, (ed. Harden), 1956, p. 91 ff.

[2] *Dark Age Britain*, (ed. Harden), 1956, pp. 16-39.

[3] This pottery, together with the bone comb and iron shears, is in the Yorkshire Museum, and I am grateful to Mr. G. F. Willmot for permission to publish it. There are five urns and an accessory vessel in the Yorkshire Museum now, but there appear to have been six urns originally, cf. *Yorkshire Museum Handbook* (1881), p. 157: "Six Anglian urns and a small bottle, found on the Mount, filled with burnt bones—Mr. F. Calvert and Mr. E. Rooke, 1859-60."

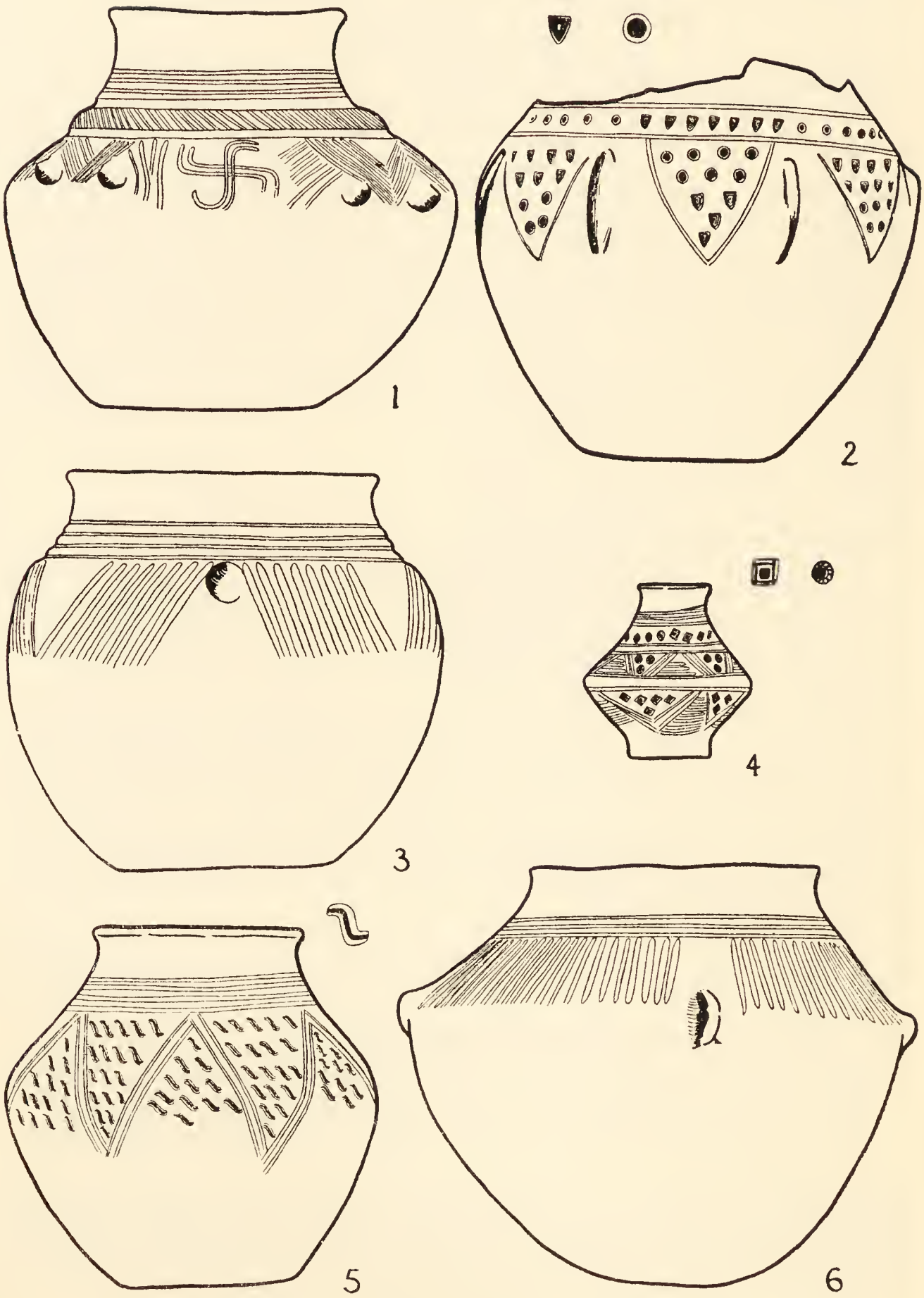


Fig. 2. Anglian Pottery fouud 1859-1860.
Scale: Urns = ¼ : Stamps = ½.

stamps), and two more grooves below. Then a band of ornament which is repeated below the carination: incised lines forming triangular panels, the upper ones filled with stamp impressions and the lower with horizontal grooves.

5. Light grey colour, with darker grey and light brown tints; sandy grit. Four well-marked grooves on the neck with diagonal double grooves forming triangular panels below. Upper and lower panels filled with the impression of a single stamp. cf. *South Elkington*, fig. 7, no. 63.
6. Published in *Myres* (1948), p. 462, fig. 4, no. 5. Fairly dark grey above the shoulder, lighter shades of brown and blue-grey below. Three well-marked horizontal neck grooves; four small bosses on the shoulder and between them groups of short vertical grooves above the shoulder.[1]

Fig. 3, *Anglian pottery found* 1956.

7. Sherd from the shoulder of a bowl of similar shape to Heworth No. 4. Blue-grey fabric, coarse sandy grit; outer surface grey-brown to reddish brown. Lightly marked diagonal strokes on the shoulder with a horizontal groove below.
8. Two sherds from an Anglo-Frisian urn, cf. *Myres* (1948), fig. 2. Blue-grey fabric with sandy grit, dark grey surface. At least one horizontal groove on the neck with alternate groups of three vertical and three diagonal grooves below.

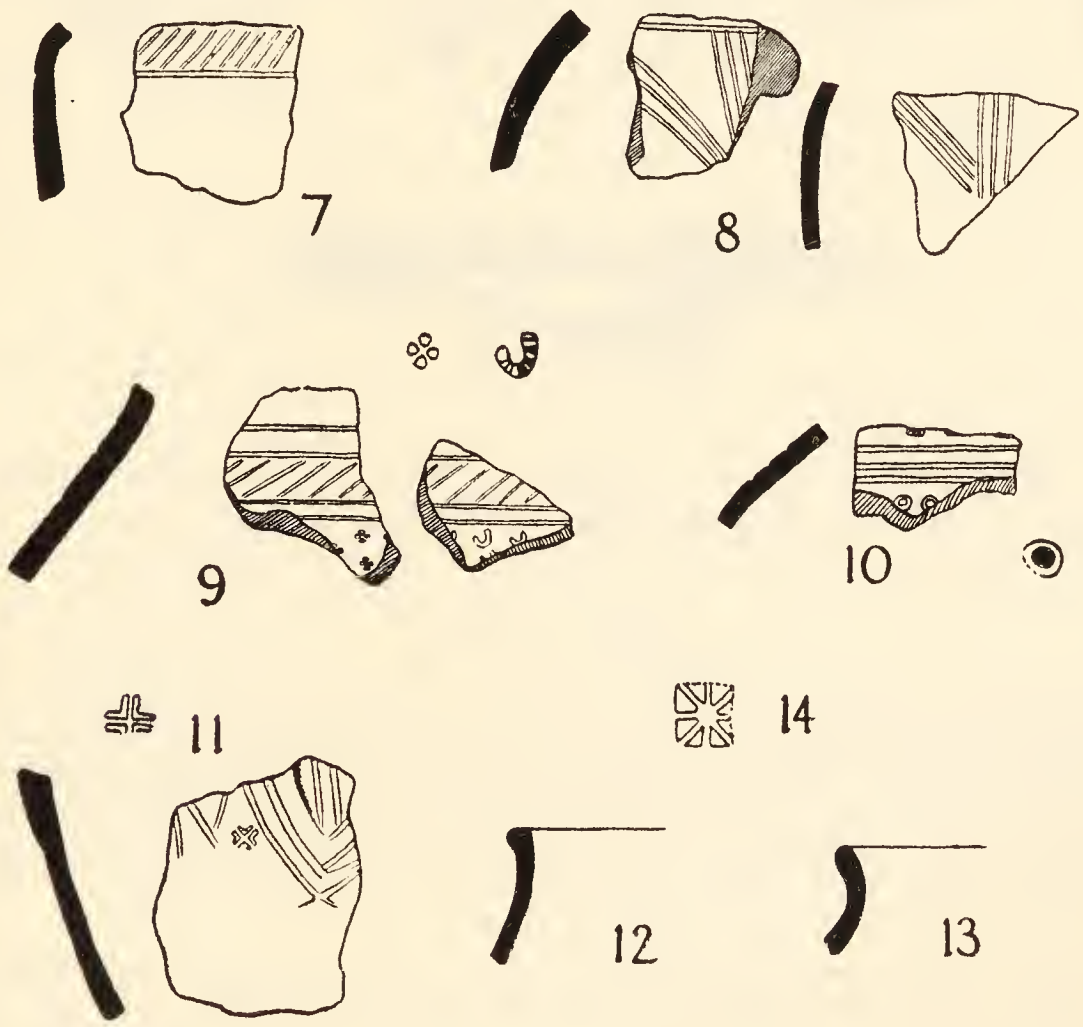


Fig. 3. Anglian Pottery found 1956.
Scale: Urns = ¼ : Stamps = ½.

[1] With this urn were found the bone comb, iron shears (fig. 4, nos. 2 and 4), and coin of Julia Domna (cf. Smith, R. A., *loc. cit.*). The coin cannot now be traced, but it is listed in the MS. Catalogue of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society's coin collection (Wellbeloved, C., 1854, with additions by Wellbeloved and James Raine) :

"Obv : Julia Augusta.
Rev : Concordia. Female sitting, in r. hand a patera; l. cornucopiae.
This coin was found in 1860 in an urn, with burnt bones, on The Mount."

9. Two sherds from an urn in blue-grey fabric with outer surface varying from grey to reddish-brown. Four horizontal grooves on the neck, with a band of lightly marked diagonal strokes in the centre. At least two stamps used in the decoration below.
10. Sherd from the neck of an urn, dark grey surface. Three horizontal grooves with lines of stamps above and below. The upper stamp appears to be a lattice pattern.
11. The lower part of an elongated boss with vertical slashing.
12. Upright rim with fairly coarse sandy grit, smooth dark grey surface.
13. Curved rim, sandy grit, dark grey surface.
14. Stamp: a central circle and eight spokes within a square panel.

Fig. 4.

1. "Romano-Saxon" Sherd. 2. and 3. Anglian Bone Comb Fragments. 4. Iron Shears. Scale ½.

Small Finds.

Fig. 4.

2. Fragment of bone comb found in Urn no. 6. Consists of three bone plates joined together with iron rivets. The two outer plates are decorated with incised concentric circles bordered by incised lines following the outline of the comb. cf. one from Eye, Suffolk, (*B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, 1923, fig. 12) which was also associated with iron shears, and *Lackford*, fig. 6 (two examples).
3. Fragment of a simple triangular bone comb. Found 1956 in a layer which, although sandwiched between two nineteenth century layers, produced only Anglian pottery. cf. *Sancton*, *E.R.A.S.T.*, xvi, 1909, p. 54, fig. 9d.
4. Iron shears, 3.8 inches long, very badly corroded, and with one blade broken. Found in Urn no. 6.

Abbreviations.

Lackford : Lethbridge, T. C., *A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk*, 1951.

Myres (1948): Myres, J. N. L., *L'Antiquité Classique*, xvii, 1948, pp. 453-472.

South Elkington : Webster, G., *Archaeological Journal*, cviii, 1952, pp. 25-64.

APPENDIX.

An Anglian urn "found near York".

In the British Museum there is an Anglian urn which was purchased from a Mr. H. Still in 1853, along with some Roman pottery and Bronze Age axes (a decorated flat axe and two palstaves) all said to have been "found near York". Still is presumably the same person who recorded the South Corner Tower of the fortress for the Ordnance Survey in 1852 (cf. p. 515, note 1), and as work on the Driffield Estate, including the laying



Fig. 5.
Anglian Urn "found near York". Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

out of Dalton Terrace, was in progress in 1852—3 it seems quite likely that this urn came from The Mount cemetery. The Heworth Anglian cemetery was not discovered until 1879.

fig. 5. B.M., 53, 11-15, 8. Dark grey ware, sandy grit, fairly evenly fired and smooth burnished surface. Decoration lightly incised, four horizontal lines round the neck with a series of one or two diagonal lines in triangular pattern below. cf. *South Elkington*, fig. 5, no. 201.[1]

[1] This urn is referred to by the Elgees, *op. cit.*, p. 262. I am grateful to Mr. D. M. Wilson, of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum, for permission to publish it.

THE SAXON CATHEDRAL AT YORK.

By Kenneth Harrison, M.A., F.S.A.

Ever since the fire of 1829, when excavations were made that revealed the western part of the crypt of York Minster, antiquaries have been trying to interpret the structures beneath the present church in terms of the documentary evidence about earlier buildings, more particularly those that are known to have existed before the Conquest. The first cathedral of 627 was due to King Edwin; but many years later another builder appears on the scene—Archbishop Albert (Æthelberht), who in 780 dedicated a church to *Alma Sophia*, the Holy Wisdom. The relationship between Edwin's church and Albert's has given rise to a good deal of discussion, for reasons which will be clear when some events in the history of the Minster have been reviewed.

From Bede, *c.*730, we get the information that Paulinus baptized King Edwin on Easter Day, 627, in a wooden oratory dedicated to St. Peter; that round this oratory the king began to build a square church of stone; and that the work was finished after his death by King Oswald, who was killed in 641. According to Eddius Stephanus,[1] *c.*710—720, the church soon fell into disrepair, and received attention from St. Wilfrid, *c.*670. A few years later, in 685, St. Cuthbert was consecrated to the See of Lindisfarne in this same church of St. Peter; moreover, he was granted *totam terram quae iacet a muro ecclesiae Sancti Petri, usque ad magnam portam occidentem, et a muro ecclesiae Sancti Petri, usque ad murum civitatis versus austrum.*[2] Finally, from a poem by Alcuin, who died in 804, we learn that the second Wilfrid, bishop from 718 to 732, adorned the church with silver vessels for sacred use, and covered the altar and crosses with precious metals (Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 385). Until the year 740 or thereabouts, then, we have good evidence that the stone cathedral of Edwin, dedicated to St. Peter, was in constant use. But Simeon of Durham records that in 741 a *monasterium in Eboraca civitate* was burnt.[3] This statement would probably have passed almost

[1] *The Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, *Rolls Series*, 1879, Vol. 1, pp. 23—24; *Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave, 1927, pp. 32—35.

[2] From the *History of St. Cuthbert*, ascribed to Simeon of Durham, ed. J. H. Hinde, *Surtees Society*, 1868, Vol. 51, p. 140. The *History* is not by Simeon himself, *c.*1120, but by an earlier writer, *c.*1050; cf. *English Historical Documents*, Vol. 1, *c.*500—1042, ed. D. Whitelock, 1955, p. 119.

[3] *History of the Kings*, ed. Hinde, *op. cit.*, p. 18. In compiling this work Simeon drew largely on pre-Conquest materials, notably the Northumbrian Chronicle, or Annals, written soon after the year 800, of which no early copy has survived. Cf. *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 1868, Vol. 1, pp. x, xxvi—xxx; Whitelock, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

without comment, so frequent were fires in the wooden-roofed Saxon churches, had not Alcuin's poem contained two pieces of information about the work of Archbishop Albert :

(1) In the church founded by Edwin, Albert dedicated to St. Paul a large and sumptuous altar, covered with gold and silver and precious stones.

(2) With assistance from Eanbald, his successor as archbishop, and from Alcuin, he directed the building of a church with thirty altars; the wonders of its construction are described. In 780, only a few days before his death, Albert dedicated this church to *Alma Sophia*, the Holy Wisdom (Raine, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-394).

At this point a number of pretty problems arise. Does Simeon's *monasterium* refer to Edwin's church or to another? If to Edwin's church, did Albert present the new altar of St. Paul before or after the fire? Was the damage to the earlier building so severe that the *Alma Sophia* had to be called into being to replace it? If the *Alma Sophia* then took rank as the cathedral, was it on the same site as its predecessor? To none of these questions—and more could be asked—does Alcuin's poem give a clear and unequivocal answer. Since 1829 there have been two schools of thought among the antiquaries trying to solve these problems: schools of thought represented by Professor Willis and Mr. Browne.

The Rev. Robert Willis, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Cambridge, had already made a name for himself in archaeological affairs when, in 1848, he published an account of the building of the Minster.[1] He doubted whether the fire of 741 recorded by Simeon had seriously damaged Edwin's church, to the extent of rendering a new cathedral necessary. Arguing from the silence of all other writers about the *Alma Sophia*—Alcuin's poem is our sole authority—he held that it could not have become the cathedral of the York diocese; and he placed it at a distance from the Minster, on or near the present site of Holy Trinity Micklegate (*op. cit.*, pp. 4-5, 13*n*). Thus Professor Willis entirely removed the *Alma Sophia* from any participation in the history of York Minster, structural or ecclesiastical.

These views did not commend themselves to Mr. John Browne, a citizen of York, a skilful artist, and a careful observer of all that had been found during the excavations of 1829. He had published in 1847 *The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York*, in which he stated his belief that Edwin's church of 627 was destroyed, or seriously damaged, by the fire of 741, to be succeeded on the site by the *Alma Sophia* (*op. cit.*, p. 4); and he identified various pieces of masonry in the crypt with the church of Albert. His final opinions, however, were not made known

[1] *The Architectural History of York Cathedral*, in *Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of the County and City of York.*

until 1863, in the second edition of a polemical work entitled *Fabric Rolls and Documents of York Minster.* In this book he discussed the significance of a remarkable structure which he himself had discovered in the crypt—a concrete platform that lies underneath the masonry exposed by the excavations. His account of this platform is as follows: 'It appears to the writer hereof, that the oldest part of the Cathedral which has yet been seen, is the platform or pavement of the Crypt of the Choir, which platform is made almost wholly of cobbles grouted together, among which have been embedded, along the entire length of the platform, several squared oaks, varying from 9 to 17 inches in breadth, and from 14 to 24 inches in depth; whilst the ashlars used are either oolite limestone or sandstone. Now as the oaks were found to have been not only beneath the zigzag or herring-bone faced walls, but also beneath the platform and eastern piers of the large Tower, it is manifest that the concrete platform or pavement was completed before any of the walls upon it were commenced' (*Fabric Rolls*, p. 177F). The full thickness of the platform could not be ascertained, owing to the wet nature of the sub-soil; but water had caused many of the oak timbers to rot, and by passing rods down the channels left by their decay it was possible to show that the platform extended westwards under the Central Tower of the Minster.

This concrete platform has not yet been dethroned from its primacy of age; more recent investigations, shortly to be referred to, have confirmed that it is indeed the oldest part of the cathedral.[1] It could be the foundation of :

(1) The church of 627. To this notion Mr. Browne objected : 'Concerning the church commenced by St. Paulinus, we have no particulars recorded as to its dimensions or form, except that recorded by Venerable Bede, to wit, that it was of a square form. Nevertheless, we may rest assured that it was neither of vast dimensions, nor of any great strength, and did not require such a carefully formed combination of supporting power as the concrete platform or pavement in the Crypt' (*op. cit.*, p. 177 G).

(2) The *Alma Sophia*, 780. After quoting Alcuin's account of this building, Mr. Browne goes on: 'Now the church thus recorded would require a very strong platform or pavement, and the number of porticoes or compartments, which were, it seems, supported by solid pillars and curved arches, would require a structure of large dimensions; and therefore . . . . it seems justifiable to suppose that Albert erected the massive concrete platform as a support for the tau-cross formed Choir, having a Crypt with oratories like the church at Hexham' (*op. cit.*, p. 177 H).

(3) A church of Norman date. This possibility was not entertained by Mr. Browne, because he favoured (2).

[1] Today the platform is covered by modern paving, but can be seen in part through a manhole in the eastern bay of the crypt.

Meanwhile, Chancellor Raine had also found himself unable to agree with Professor Willis;[1] he had no doubt that the *Alma Sophia* became the cathedral, and survived until the Conquest. Many other antiquaries, notably Professor Hamilton Thompson, have taken the same line;[2] and Mr. Browne's dating of the concrete platform to Albert's time was supported by Sir Charles Peers, consulting architect to the Dean and Chapter. In 1931 he conducted excavations[3] in the crypt, which added the following items to our knowledge :

(1) At its eastern end the platform projects in the shape of an apse, the width of the curved projection being 10 ft.

(2) The extent of the platform westwards was again explored with the aid of rods, and the total length from east to west ascertained to be at least 197 ft.

(3) The thickness of the platform, at its eastern extremity, is about 2 ft., as can be seen through the manhole made when the modern paving was laid down. Below it was found the base of a Roman pillar, also visible through the manhole.

(4) No trace of any other structure came to light between the concrete platform and the Roman level.

And as to the age of the platform, Sir Charles says: 'It is therefore possible that the foundations I have discussed may be those of Albert's church dating from somewhere about 770'.

After more than a hundred years of excavation and argument, it might be thought that no fresh light could be thrown on these problems. But one or two items of documentary evidence have been strangely neglected, or overlooked. According to Simeon of Durham (Hinde, *op. cit.*, p. 34) in 796 Eardwulf was consecrated King of Northumbria at York *in ecclesia Sancti Petri ad altare beati Apostoli Pauli*; and in the same year Archbishop Eanbald died, and was buried *in ecclesia beati Petri Apostoli*. These statements are of great significance. The church of St. Peter and the altar to St. Paul presented by Albert were still in regular use in 796; the *Alma Sophia* had been dedicated in 780; hence St. Peter's was not replaced by the *Alma Sophia*—they were both in existence at the same time. And if doubts are raised about the trustworthiness of Simeon in these matters, they should be damped by the reflection that from him, and from him alone, is derived the record of a *monasterium* at York being burnt in 741;[4] a statement which, we have seen, lies at the root of the theory that the *Alma Sophia* replaced Edwin's church. Bishop Stubbs says of the

[1] *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, ed. J. Raine, *Surtees Society*, 1859, Vol. 35, pp. vii—ix; *Fasti Eboracenses*, 1863, pp. 104-105.

[2] *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, 1913, Vol. 3, p. 6; *The Building of York Minster*, in *York Minster Historical Tracts*, 1927.

[3] *Antiquaries Journal*, 1931, Vol. 11, p. 113.

[4] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (D) merely says that York was burnt, and does not mention a *mynster*.

Northumbrian Chronicle which Simeon followed: 'It is so much more circumstantial than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle on northern events . . . . that we can hardly be wrong in making it the original store' (*op. cit.*, p. xxviii). The circumstantial detail of Eardwulf's consecration—that the ceremony took place before the altar of St. Paul—suggests that the compiler of the Northumbrian Chronicle, writing early in the ninth century, and possibly as early as 806, got his information from an eye-witness, or perhaps had been present himself.

Chancellor Raine, in *Fasti Eboracenses*, pp. 104-105, put forward an interesting theory which ought to be considered here. He imagined that Edwin's stone church was pulled down, and that the *Alma Sophia* was built round, and enclosed, the wooden oratory : 'Around this little shrine [i.e., 'the little chapel in which Paulinus baptized Edwin'] Albert began and completed a new church.' But Alcuin's Latin cannot be construed in this sense, nor is any explanation offered of why the fire of 741, which according to Chancellor Raine 'greatly injured' the stone church, should have spared the wooden oratory. And a piece of documentary evidence tells against the theory. In 793 Alcuin wrote a letter to the King of Northumbria in which he describes a vision seen *in ecclesia beati Petri principis apostolorum* at York.[1] It is strange that Alcuin, of all people, should continue to refer to St. Peter's, if indeed thirteen years earlier, and with his active assistance, the stone church had been superseded, and the wooden oratory swallowed up, by the *Alma Sophia*. Had anything of the kind happened, 'the church of St. Peter that now is the church of the Holy Wisdom' or 'the oratory of St. Peter in the church of the Holy Wisdom' or simply 'the church of the Holy Wisdom' would have been the natural thing for *him* to say. Alcuin's silence about the *Alma Sophia* in 793, and Simeon's circumstantial detail about St. Peter's church in 796, can lead only to one conclusion: they were different buildings. And, from the fact that in 796 St. Peter's saw the funeral of an archbishop and the consecration of a king, we cannot doubt that it was still the cathedral, as it had been for the previous 169 years.

Moreover, Alcuin makes an almost direct avowal of the existence of St. Peter's at the time when his poem was written, that is, after the *Alma Sophia* had been built. He refers to the churches founded by King Edwin in various places, and then continues (lines 220-2) :

Ex quibus Euboricae solidis suffulta columnis
Nobilis illa manet celso speciosa decore
Qua statione sacra fuit ille lavatus in unda

the sense being : 'Of these churches, that at York—where he was baptized—remains a paragon of lofty beauty, supported by

[1] *Alcuini Epistolae*, ed. E. Duemmler, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum Tomus IV*, 1895, p. 43.

massive pillars.' The operative word here is *manet*, remains, continues, still exists. It can be argued, naturally, that scansion forced the poet to use an inappropriate verb. Yet although Alcuin was no Virgil he must be ranked among the foremost writers of the age; *nec versus nec verba vitiis sat gravibus carent, sed inest lepor quidam nativus, allicitque legentem commode procedens et neque inornata neque vero putida oratio*, says one of his editors; and the drift of the lines is extraordinarily difficult to reconcile with a church gutted forty years earlier.[1]

Thus the *Alma Sophia* was not of cathedral rank; it was a church of secondary importance; and the failure of the chroniclers to mention it, which struck Professor Willis so forcibly, is no longer to be wondered at. As to the site of the *Alma Sophia*, in the absence of any written evidence bearing on the point we must return to an examination of the concrete platform.

We saw earlier that three dates are possible for this structure: 627, 780, or post-Conquest. The first may at once be dismissed. According to Bede, who had visited York, Edwin's church was square. Yet the investigations of Sir Charles Peers show that the length of the platform from east to west is at least 197 ft. Bede must not be pressed too closely about the meaning of his word 'square'; but it is difficult to suppose that a stone church some 200 ft. long, and proportionately wide, was erected in the troubled reigns of Edwin and Oswald. Moreover, a plausible estimate of the size of Edwin's church can be arrived at. He had married in 625 Ethelburga the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent. By the year 616, when he died, Ethelbert had completed the large church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, which must have been frequented by Ethelburga, whose parents were buried in it, and by Paulinus before he came to the North. This building may have served as a model for the Minster at York; certainly they had one feature in common. Bede tells us (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. ii, cap. xx) that after Edwin's death in 632 his head was brought to York and *positum est in porticu Sancti papae Gregorii* in the Minster, where two of his children were already buried. The church of SS. Peter and Paul also had a *porticus* dedicated to St. Gregory, who as Pope had sent Augustine and Paulinus to England; and the precise meaning of the word *porticus* in this context (Bede, *op. cit.*, lib. ii, cap. iii) has been ascertained by excavations on the spot: a *porticus* is a mortuary chapel, walled off from the nave, in which royal and episcopal tombs are grouped round the altar of a saint.[2] Ethelbert's church at Canterbury measures about 80 ft. by 60 ft.; Edwin's church may have been a little larger or a little smaller—we cannot tell—but nowhere near 200 ft. in length.

[1] Wilhelm Wattenbach, the editor referred to, is of opinion that the poem was written after Albert's death in 780 and before Alcuin's departure for France in 782. Cf. *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, 1873, p. 80.

[2] Sir A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 1930, p. 18.

The concrete platform is not likely to be of composite age, because the channels in which the oak timbers rest, or rested, are continuous throughout—a very improbable circumstance, if two or more sections had been laid down at different times. The choice therefore remains between 780 or a Norman date for the platform. Not long ago Mr. Sidney Melmore submitted the observations of Mr. Browne and Sir Charles Peers to a detailed analysis.[1] He judged the platform to be of Norman origin for the following reasons, among others :

(1) He measured the level of the upper surface of the platform, and found it to be about 5 ft. below the modern ground level. This figure is close to the floor level of a Norman house in Stonegate, some 150 yards away.

(2) The apsidal eastern end of the platform, discovered by Sir Charles Peers, is 10 ft. wide, which Mr. Melmore compares with the 9 ft. width of the foundation of the central apse at the east end of St. Mary's Abbey, dating from about 1090. As to the relative width of Saxon and Norman walls, Professor G. Baldwin Brown[2] remarks : 'A considerable amount of assurance [of Saxon age] will be gained if the thickness of the wall turn out to be comparatively slight, say from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. Comparative thinness of wall is a good but by no means absolute test of Saxon and Norman . . . . Norman walls nearly always run thicker than Saxon.' Mr. Melmore points out that 10 ft. is 'a generous width to support a Saxon wall with an average thickness of 2 to 2½ ft., but reasonable enough for one of Norman thickness' (*op. cit.*, p. 6).

Thus the level of the platform, and the width of the apse foundation—and, it may be added, the scale of the whole structure —are in accord with a Norman date. The *Alma Sophia* must therefore be banished from the crypt site to somewhere else in York; and the problem also remains of determining where Edwin's church stood.

According to Simeon of Durham (Hinde, *op. cit.*, p. 84) in 1069 the city of York was burnt down *monasteriumque Sancti Petri cum ipsa consumpsit.* The first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux, soon began a new cathedral, which it is reasonable to suppose may have been fairly near the site of the old, since a document of 1106 affirms, among the pre-Conquest privileges of the canons, certain rights of sanctuary in St. Peter's and *infra arctum ecclesiae*, within the Close of the church.[3] Probably, then,

[1] *Notes on the Early Architectural History of York Minster*, 1954.
[2] *The Arts in Early England*, 1925, Vol. 2, p. 23.
[3] *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. A. F. Leach, *Camden Society*, 1891, p. 192. Under the year 791 Simeon of Durham describes how the sons of King Ælfwald were murdered after being 'taken away by false promises from the principal church' at York (Hinde, *op. cit.*, p. 30), suggesting that some form of sanctuary was then in operation. The 'principal church' can only be St. Peter's. Besides the *Alma Sophia*, a dedication to St. Mary is mentioned by Alcuin in his poem (Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 397).

the Norman boundaries of the Close remained much as they were in Saxon days. Yet Edwin's cathedral cannot have stood on the site of the present crypt, for nothing of indubitably Saxon origin has ever been found there; and although the stones in the walling might have been re-distributed and used over again in a later building, it is extremely difficult to understand why no floor has come to light. The early Saxon craftsmen laid down very hard and durable flooring of *opus signinum*—cement and broken brick—of which a good many examples are known;[1] and since the Norman builders would gain nothing by removing it,[2] and would have great trouble in breaking it up, the absence of a floor is a serious obstacle to believing that Edwin's church stood on the crypt site. In all probability, therefore, it stood beneath the present Nave, or even further to the west; and the hint given by a chronicler about its position ought not to be ignored.

The passage already quoted from the *History of St. Cuthbert* (Hinde, *op. cit.*, p. 140) tells us that the Saint was granted 'all the ground that lies from the wall of St. Peter's church to the great west gate, and from the wall of St. Peter's church to the city wall towards the south.' This statement certainly indicates that two sides of the plot were bounded by the Roman wall of *Eboracum*, and probably indicates that the other two sides were well-defined features such as streets or trackways.[3] The great west gate can hardly be the *porta praetoria* to the south-west, in what is now St. Helen's Square, for Edwin's church would then be situated in Stonegate, and we have seen that the document of 1106 printed by Mr. Leach implies a continuity in the boundaries of the Minster Close from Saxon to medieval days; also, the street in Danish times would surely have been called Petergate. If, however, the great west gate is the north-west entrance to *Eboracum*, where Bootham Bar now stands, it becomes possible to define three sides of the area granted to St. Cuthbert: (1) from the Saxon Minster to Bootham Bar, (2) from Bootham Bar to the Multangular Tower, and (3) thence to an unspecified point on the city wall. Edwin's church thus lay, it seems, somewhere between Bootham Bar and the intersection of the *via principalis* (Petergate) with the *via praetoria* (Stonegate). But it cannot have stood exactly on the corner, otherwise, following the street line, St. Cuthbert's ground would have terminated at the city gate *versus austrum*, and not, as stated in the text, at the city wall.

[1] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 57-58, 96, 170-171; Clapham, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 25, 49.

[2] At Peterborough the Norman piers were built simply on the Saxon cement floor, without any other foundation.

[3] For city walls and thoroughfares as frames of reference in early grants of land cf. Whitelock, *op. cit.*, pp. 440, 458, 460, 474, etc. In a later grant, *c.* 840, the details of which are preserved by the *History of St. Cuthbert*, one of the boundaries is Deorstrete, the Roman road running through Co. Durham (Hinde, *op. cit.*, p. 142).

During the medieval period, and until 1828, the Minster Close was entered by a gateway which fronted on High Petergate opposite a narrow street called Lop Lane, now expanded into Duncombe Place. Lop Lane, in common with most street-names, cannot be traced back in documents beyond *c.* 1200; but it is quite likely to represent a more ancient track running up to one of the entrances to the Minster Close.[1] At all events, no other thoroughfare running from High Petergate towards the city wall *versus austrum* is on record, and Lop Lane may therefore be taken as the fourth boundary of the land given to St. Cuthbert. If this reading of the evidence is correct, the remnants of Edwin's church ought to lie just to the north-east of the junction of Lop Lane with High Petergate, some 7 or 8 ft. below the modern layer of concrete outside the West Front of the Minster.

To summarize :

(1) The theory that Archbishop Albert's church of *Alma Sophia,* 780, in any sense replaced King Edwin's church of St. Peter, 627, does not agree with the documentary evidence, and should be abandoned.

(2) The precise situation of these two Saxon churches is still unknown.

[1] The Close in Saxon times would be surrounded by a wooden stockade or similar barrier. Cf. G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The Beginnings of the Parochial System, St. Anthony's Hall Publications,* No. 3, [n.d.], p. 13. Eddius Stephanus mentions a hedge round the *monasterium* at Oundle (Raine, *op. cit.,* p. 101).

STAXTON WARE—AN INTERIM REPORT.

By T. C. M. Brewster.

During the last ten years I have been conducting excavations and research into the problem of the manufacture, typology, chronological development and distribution of the local medieval unglazed coarse pottery located chiefly on the southern side of the Vale of Pickering. By 1952 the work had progressed sufficiently to identify the main types of pot and the chronological development of the rim form, which, with other findings, were published in detail.[1] Since this account appeared the location of the industry has been established, nine kilns excavated, several new deposits found and test samples of Speeton clay and various tempering agents have been fired. Due to illness, followed by a road accident, the publication of the full report has been delayed. It was decided in view of these circumstances to publish a brief résumé of the information garnered during the last half decade.

Staxton ware was first excavated in quantity at Staxton, a hamlet eight miles from Scarborough, in 1947, and was fired there, although the main centre of manufacture appears to have been at Potter Brompton, five miles further west.[2] There may well have been other small centres of production in nearby villages where both fuel and raw materials were available to peripatetic potters based on Potter Brompton and operating on the southern section of the Vale of Pickering in the East Riding. Their ceramic products must have been sold at fairs and markets at Malton, Driffield, Bridlington, Seamer and Scarborough, as well as in the villages. The pottery's characteristic hard sandy fabric and well thrown and standardised rim and body forms cannot be easily forgotten once seen and handled.

Indirect documentary references to the Potter Brompton kiln sites dated *circa* A.D. 1250 survive. All early forms of Staxton ware, so far excavated, have not been associated with late 12th century pustular ware and other contemporary pottery, which occur fairly frequently in the distribution area of the Potter Brompton and Staxton kiln products. A possible exception to this rule, is an unusual square sectioned white rim fragment, very close in form to some associated Staxton ceramic material excavated in the dwelling at Newham's Pit, Staxton, during 1948, and since published. This sherd, of course, may well be an earlier stray. The recent excavation of Wharram Percy manor undercroft, built on present evidence *circa* 1186, did not produce Staxton ware potsherds associated with the foundation deposits, although some small pieces not unlike the Staxton bisque were found with pustular ware wall sherds in the same stratum. From this, and

[1] T. C. M. Brewster, *Two Medieval Habitation Sites in the Vale of Pickering*, 47 pp. Yorkshire Museum 1953.

[2] *Y.A.J.*, xxxix (1957), pp. 200-201.

other unpublished data, there is every indication that the kilns at Staxton and Potter Brompton commenced production either at the end of the late 12th, or early in the 13th century. Excavations at Staxton, and elsewhere, point strongly to the kilns ceasing production somewhere at the close of the 14th century, or slightly later.

Staxton ware kilns were first located, after a short search, at Potter Hill Farm, Potter Brompton, near Ganton in late January, 1953, and during the early part of 1954. In all, five kilns were excavated, yielding many thousands of potsherds, several complete pot sections and part of a rim and wall sherd in the green state. The survival of the latter was due to the fine ash in which it was laid. All the pottery found had been loaded in simple pit kilns, cut in the sandy soil, and fueled by carrland peat which had totally enclosed the vessels during the slow firing process. Peat ash must have protected the ceramics during cooling, otherwise, severe "dunting" would have taken place, even when tempering agents were used, as in this case.

This discovery was unexpected, and sheds much light on the methods and technical skill of the potter, who first utilised the local raw materials and established a vast medieval industry whose shattered products are scattered everywhere near the villages on the southern side of the Vale of Pickering, the northern Wolds and surrounding districts. Four kilns of the same type have come to light at Staxton, complete in one case, but damaged in the others. Eight kilns were excavated by me and the remains of one by my colleagues M. C. Faragher and C. A. Gregory.

Several test samples of Speeton clay, tempered with various quantities of sand, a mixture used by the Staxton ware potters, were fired under controlled conditions in an electric kiln at Pocklington School during 1957. This experiment points to a heat of *circa* 850°C. as the average firing temperature of Staxton ware kilns using peat fuel. Additive sand content is indicated as being *circa* 15% by weight and prevents, fairly well, the destruction of the pots by sudden cooling and heating. For the use of the kiln I am most grateful to the East Riding Education Committee, who willingly placed it at my disposal, and to Mr. D. C. Bevis who very kindly undertook the firing of the samples.

Mr. E. W. Wrigley, of Ganton Hall, kindly placed every facility at my disposal during the Potter Brompton excavations, and Mr. Ogden, Messrs. Stephenson, Mr. H. Burton, Messrs. J. & A. Dean and the late A. S. Burton kindly gave permission to excavate on their land at Staxton. Messrs. B. Bickerton and R. H. Reeveley of Potter Brompton provided hospitality and shelter.

The excavation at Potter Brompton was made possible by the presence of the late L. J. Parsons, T. G. Manby and A. Wilson, amongst others. At Staxton Messrs. M. C. Faragher, C. A. Gregory, H. Burton, J. Pallister and the late L. J. Parsons and others assisted at the excavations. To all who helped so willingly during the operations I am deeply grateful.

BERCARIA AND LANARIA.

By Dr. R. A. Donkin.

Charters to Cistercian houses occasionally shed light on the form of the mediaeval *bercaria* (bercary or sheep fold) and *lanaria* (wool shed or house). It is perhaps worthwhile bringing some of these notices together: they mostly refer to Yorkshire.

The area of the bercary, with perhaps an adjacent close, is sometimes mentioned, or, alternatively, its length and/or breadth. The smallest noted covered half an acre: at Willerby (AD 1152)[1] where Rievaulx owned land, and at *Le Cotes* (AD 1291)[2] belonging to Combermere, Cheshire. Fountains' grange at Kirby Wiske[3] had a fold which occupied an acre,[4] and its property at Kirkheaton one of one and a half acres.[5] The former appears to have been somewhat apart from the main cluster of grange buildings *c.*AD 1174-84, but there is very little documentary evidence of internal arrangement. As much as three acres[6] were set aside at the large, predominantly arable grange of Baldersby[7] in the Vale of York, also belonging to Fountains, and the same at Allerston near the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering where Rievaulx owned land.[8] There is considerable evidence of the seasonal movement of sheep between separate Cistercian estates and I suspect that these places with large cotes were used to accommodate flocks which spent the summer months on the high moors or in the upper dales. Moreover, the value of animal manure on or close to extensive ploughlands was certainly not overlooked by the monks. Towards the close of the fourteenth century there was " . . . *unam novam bercariam* 160 *pedum in longitude* . . ."[9] at Wharram grange[10] belonging to Meaux. One

[1] *Early Yorkshire Charters* [henceforth E.Y.C.], Yorkshire Arch. Soc., Rec. Ser. (1914-) II, p. 499.

[2] *Monasticon Anglicanum* [Mon. Angl.] Vol. V, eds. J. Caley, N. Ellis, B. Bandinel, London 1817-30, p. 322a.

[3] *Memorials of Fountains* [Mem. F] Surtees Soc. eds. J. S. Walbran (1863, 1878), J. T. Fowler (1918), II p. 9, AD 1189-99 conf.

[4] *Monasticon Eboracense* ed J. Burton, York, 1758, p. 175, E.Y.C. V. pp. 188-9. Also on the lands of Kirkstall at Morley, AD 1190-1210, E.Y.C. III, p. 280.

[5] *Chartulary of Fountains* [Chart F] ed. W. T. Lancaster, Leeds 1915, I, p. 359.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 111, AD 1296.

[7] Mem. F. II, p. 9, AD 1189-99 conf.

[8] E.Y.C., I, p. 301-4, AD 1160.

[9] *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* [Chron. M.] Rolls Series, vol. 43, p. 379, AD 1396-9.

[10] Chron. M., I, p. 99, AD 1150-60.

at West Morton measured about 66′ × 25′[1] and at Greenbury grange[2]—in the Vale of York near Cowton—260′ × 260′.[3] The larger areal measurements at least refer, I think, to the site of the bercary rather than to the area actually within the fold or folds. In 1173-4 Rievaulx received the site (*sedem*) of a bercary[4] at Bolton grange.[5] The surrounding ground would, no doubt, be used for marshalling or sorting the sheep. Closes, courts (*curtis*, *curia*) and enclosures are often associated with bercaries. At Kirkstall's grange of Bessacarr, for example, there was a " . . . *clausum monachorum juxta bercariam* . . .".[6] In 1285 Fountains was granted " . . . three roods of meadow within the enclosure (*clausturam*) of the *bercarie* of the Abbot (in East Morton) . . .".[7] Combermere's sheepfold already instanced had four acres attached to it. Occasionally, in fact, *bercaria* may simply mean 'pasture'[8] or 'sheepwalk':[9] but as a rule we should visualize a corner of land, possibly hedged or dyked, mainly but not entirely occupied by cotes.

Sometimes it seems reasonable to associate a bercary with a certain number of sheep: cases of from 200 to 900 can be cited. Meaux had pasturage for 2000 sheep at Sutton grange (Holderness) *c*.AD 1280-6 and there were eight bercaries[10]—an average of 250 sheep to each fold. Byland's bercary at West Bretton (*c*.AD 1190-1220) could take 200.[11] The grant of a site for a sheep-fold at Austhorpe and West Morton to Kirkstall (*c*.AD 1170-90) and Fountains (*c*.AD 1200) respectively was followed in each case by pasturage for 200 sheep.[12] The number was 260 in a grant to Kirkstall at Morley AD 1190-1210,[13] and 500 to Rievaulx at Allerston in 1160 (mentioned above). In 1253 the Abbey of Warden (Bedfordshire) was conceded a fold (*unam faldam*) and common of pasture for 400 sheep.[14] Louth Park (Lincolnshire) about 1275 had a bercary at Fulstow (*Fuleston*) surrounded by grazing for 900 sheep.[15]

[1] Chart. F. II, p. 741.
[2] Mem. F. II, p. 14, AD 1189-99 conf.
[3] Chart. F. I, p. 336. Fountains owned both places.
[4] E.Y.C., IV, p. 124, *Rievallense Cartularium* [Chart. R.] ed. J. C. Atkinson, Surtees Soc., CXXXIII, 1887, p. 88.
[5] Chart. R., p. 262, (? AD 1180).
[6] E.Y.C., II, p. 166, AD 1190-1210.
[7] Chart. F., I, pp. 261ff.
[8] *Mediaeval Latin Word List* (Oxford, 1934).
[9] *Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, I, p. 228, B. 123, AD 1256. Crofts were sometimes granted to provide space for bercaries : *vide* Chart. F.I, p. 43, *Chartulary of Dieulacres*, William Salt Collections for Staffs (NS) IX, 1906, p. 338 (no. 104).
[10] Chron. M. II, p. 171.
[11] E.Y.C., III, p. 408.
[12] E.Y.C., III, p. 281, VII, p. 261: 200 also in a grant to Sibton (Suffolk). *Cal. Close Rolls* 1300-1326 (1323), p. 458.
[13] E.Y.C., III, p. 280.
[14] *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 349a.
[15] *Rotuli Hundredorum* I, 296.

Bercaries were commonly constructed of wood and might be quite light if not temporary structures, the walls resembling the brushwood hedges placed around growing meadows. *Caula* could mean either a sheep-fold or a hurdle. Tilty (Essex) on one known occasion used alder wood, thorns and dead wood for folds (AD 1251).[1] Fountains sometimes made use of boughs (*virgas*).[2] More often we are simply told that a grant of 'wood' was made for the purpose of erecting bercaries. Between 1185 and 1193 Kirkstall was provided with wood in Seacroft for making and repairing "hedges, sheepfolds and folds" (*bercharias et faldas*).[3] The Chronicler of Meaux mentions (AD 1235-49) that the abbey used "incorruptible oak" for farm buildings, which very probably included some permanent pens.[4] The widespread destruction of woodland around Pipewell (Northamptonshire) was explained as partly due to the construction of bercaries[5] Part of the cote might be roofed. Fountains was once allowed ferns (*feugeriam*) for this purpose,[6] and no doubt hay and corn stalks were used too, as we know was the case—from later evidence—upon cow-sheds and other buildings.[7] The Chartulary of Warden includes an agreement dated *c.*AD 1190-1200 containing the phrase " . . . when they (the sheep) are under cover . . .",[8] and a later Patent Roll entry refers to " . . . the house of the abbot (of Stanley's) sheepfold . . .".[9] This agrees very well with what L. J. C. Day wrote when considering the working of monastic estates: " . . . In winter sheep were kept in cots or within moveable folds or hurdles, thatched at the sides or on top . . .".[10]

Some houses would possess only one, central wool house and references to the *lanaria* are disappointingly meagre. That at Wawne grange belonging to and two miles SSW of Meaux was built of stone—probably brought from a considerable distance—and roofed with lead (AD 1235-49).[11] *Conversi* ran Fountains' *lanaria* in 1279.[12] Byland had a wool shed at Thorpe, about three

[1] *Cal. Charter Rolls* 1226-57, p. 359.
[2] Chart. F. I, p. 44. [3] E.Y.C., III, p. 308-9.
[4] " . . *et per universa loca nostra praesepia animalium et caetera aedificia ad diversos usus necessaria de quercu imputribili sunt constructa*" Chron. M. II, p. 64.
[5] Mon. Angl. V, p. 435b. For other instances of wood used for the same purpose *vide* Mon. Angl. V, p. 682b, AD 1204 (Faringdon, the former site of Beaulieu); Chart. F. I, p. 132; Mon. Angl. V, p. 611b, Holm Cultram. W. Rees in 'The Welsh March. 1284-1415', p. 196 writes of "oak felled to make hurdles for sheepfolds. (AD 1325)".
[6] Chart. F. II, p. 619.
[7] Mem. F. III, pp. 56, 84, 87, AD 1457-8—for thatch (*tectura*).
[8] G. H. Fowler (ed.) *Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc.* XIII, p. 246 (no. 329).
[9] *Cal. Patent Rolls* 1301-7, p. 205. Stanley lay in Wiltshire.
[10] 'The Early Monastic Contribution to Mediaeval Farming', Lincolnshire Historian, V, p. 211.
[11] Chron. M. II, p. 64 " . . *lanaria lapidea apud Waghnam constructa est et plumbo cooptera . .*" According to F. M. Page ('Bidentes Hoylandie' Econ. Hist. Suppl. no. I, p. 606) the great wool houses belonging to Crowland were thatched.
[12] Chart. F. I, p. 255.

miles S.E. of the abbey: the Prioress of Arden in a certain agreement with merchants of the Frescobaldi of Florence was obliged to take her convent's wool " . . . *ad lanaria de Bella Landa* . . .".[1] A stone building would no doubt be preferred because of the great value of the wool clip. And for the same reason it's unlikely that wool was ever stored in isolated depots, although the above cases show that the place might lie outside the immediate vicinity of the abbey. A nearby grange would be very convenient, while preserving peace within the abbey precincts; for wool was not only stored, cleansed, sorted, graded and packed at the wool house but inspected there by merchants or their agents. At the same time there must have been temporary facilities on the more distant shearing stations. The most detailed reference discovered concerns Pipewell in 1291. It had contracted with certain merchants of Cahors and one of the clauses of the agreement ran—"It is ordained that the wool-shed (*lanar'*) in which the wool shall be and has been wont to be prepared shall be got ready with boards firmly attached that the wool shall reach from the land or pavement of the wool-shed to the height of half a foot, and in the same way the said wool-shed shall be got ready with boards firmly attached along (*per*) the walls about the wool during the term aforesaid . . .".[2]

[1] H. Hall 'Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant' Selden Soc., vol. 46, 1930, p. 69. Thorpe is described as a grange in the Ministers' Accounts, AD 1541. Mon. Angl. V, p. 355a.

[2] C. Cl. R. 1288-96 (1291), p. 193.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY FIRE AT SELBY ABBEY.

By G. S. Haslop.

The Register of Geoffrey de Gaddesby, Abbot of Selby 1342-1368,[1] contains four entries referring to a fire which destroyed or damaged certain monastic chambers. All four are copies of letters in French, are in reply to requests for financial assistance, and bear incomplete dates.

It is only necessary to describe two in this note which deals with the fire itself and with what evidence a wider enquiry has produced on part of the monastic lay-out and on the progress of the building programme begun about 1280 by which the old Norman choir was replaced by the present one.

By letter dated 5th August (1344) Henry de Lancaster, Earl of Derby, requested the grant of a corrody (*enpension*) to his clerk Richard de Meaux till his advancement. In their reply dated 9th August (1344) the Abbot and Convent regret their inability to grant the corrody pleading their many burdens and a misfortune of fire which has this year burned their Dorter, Chapter House and Treasury and part of their other '*maners*', (presumably a scribe's error).[2]

Now Henry de Lancaster, Earl of Derby, succeeded his father as Earl of Lancaster in 1345, and henceforth is so styled. In the August of 1345 he was in Aquitaine.[3] The Chapter House was in use in September 1343 when a bond was made there to Master Richard de Wath.[4] The year of the fire is therefore 1344.

The damaged buildings had not been repaired some three years later when in September 1347, in reply to a royal request for the loan of a further £20, the Abbot and Convent pray to be excused, pleading the sundry tallages due to the King, the expenses incurred in stopping the Scots at the Battle of Durham and the unfortunate fire which had burned their Dorter, Chapter House and Treasury, the which were not yet repaired.[5]

In 1346 the monks of Selby made petition to the Pope praying for license to appropriate the church of Brayton. "They desire to repair their church which is in part ruinous, and the Chapter House, dormitory, treasury and other buildings lately burned".[6] Here the ruinous state of the church seems not to be connected with the fire, and may refer to some incomplete parts of the new choir.

[1] P.R.O. DL. 42-8. Listed and partly transcribed in Record Series XIII.
[2] *Reg. Gaddesby* f. 26r.
[3] The Complete Peerage. Revised Edition 1929. Vol. 111 under Lancaster.
[4] *Reg. Gaddesby* f. 5r.
[5] *Reg. Gaddesby* f. 31v.
[6] Papal Petitions 1, p. 117.

There seems to be no surviving record of the nature and progress of the rebuilding of the damaged chambers. A bond made, strangely enough, to Master Richard de Wath is dated "Chapter House. Selby. 10th. May. 1348", when that chamber at least was sufficiently restored for use.[1]

The absence of any record of damage to the contents of the rooms burned suggests either that the fire was confined to the roof or that any valuables were removed to safety. The Treasury was, among other things, used as muniment room, and in 1355 the charters of Queniborough were there,[2] wherever it then was, and also the Selby charters *circa* 1349.[3]

It seems reasonable to suppose that the fire of 1344 was confined to a block containing the Chapter House, Treasury, Dormitory and other unspecified chambers of no great importance. And since, as noted by J. C. Buckler,[4] the Chapter House lay on the east side of the Cloister in a typical position, the damaged block enclosed the Cloister Garth on the east side. What the unspecified chambers were is a matter for surmise, possibly a warming room was here. There may have been a Sacristy near the South Transept, which was not touched by the fire, or possibly here was a vestry.

The chamber, called in more modern times the Sacristy and now a Chapel, seems for long to have been known as the Chapter House. John Burton writes of the "so called Chapter House",[5] and even a photograph in Morrell's *Antiquities of Selby* carries that title. A charter in The Coucher Book of Selby,[6] dateable to the span 1280-1292, together with the plinth still to be seen over the double entrance doors of the Chapel (formerly the Sacristy), suggest that this chamber may have been the monks' vestry, and, if there be anything in the suggestion, that this wall was completed earlier than deduced by C. C. Hodges. By the charter one Thomas de Haiton grants to the monks a render of 2 shillings a year to provide a continually burning light before the image of the B.V.M. standing near the monks' vestry. This grant cannot be later than 1292, and may mark the completion or near completion of this part of the new choir, the beginning of which Hodges, on architectural evidence, assigned to *c.* 1291.

The progress of the building of the new-style choir is set out, largely on architectural evidence, by C. C. Hodges[7] in his *Architectural History of Selby Abbey*. Further literary evidence is now available. The ruinous state of the Church described in

[1] *Reg. Gaddesby*, f. 12v. [2] *Ibid.*, f. 78v.
[3] *Coucher Book of Selby II* (Record Series XIII), p. 138, no. 919.
[4] W. W. Morrell, *Antiquities of Selby*, p. 118.
[5] *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 387.
[6] *Coucher Book of Selby*, Vol. 1, p. 198, no. 283.
[7] C. C. Hodges, Architectural History of Selby Abbey, in *Coucher Book of Selby*, Vol. 2, Record Series XIII.

the Papal petition of 1346 may well be an exaggeration, for the purpose of the petition, of minor incompletions. Among the unpaid portions of pensions and fees set down in an indenture concerning the state of the monastery of Selby after the death of Abbot John de Heslington in October 1342, appears the sum of 5 marks due to Master John the Painter (*Pictori*).[1] This seems to be the same Master John le Peyntour who, in a rental made in the earlier years of the abbacy of Geoffrey de Gaddesby, is recorded as holding "with all the others as far as *le Forge* on the corner of the Almshouse".[2] It would seem here that in the time of these two abbots Master John and other glass painters were busy at Selby, suggesting that major constructional activities had been completed in the earlier years of the abbacy of Heslington.

Seven years earlier, in October 1335, Archbishop Melton had carried out a visitation and found much for comment and correction. But as regards the fabric he is recorded as finding fault only with a defective rere-dorter and the roof of the Church (*ecclesia vestra conventualis magnum patitur in coopertura defectum*).[3] The defect in the roof was to be remedied within twelve months. It therefore appears that at this date the roof of the new choir was far from complete.

In 1321 the same Archbishop, on the succession of John de Wystowe II, had called for, and received a statement as to the financial state of the monastery, and this shows the debt to be £551. 8s. 0d.,[4] of which some part is to be accounted for by the building programme.

The literary evidence adds nothing for certain to the architectural indications of the date of the commencement of the new choir. If the present Chapel (formerly the Sacristy) was in fact, even if for only a time, the monks' vestry, then the dates of the earlier phases of the rebuilding suggested by Hodges must be put back slightly, and it then appears possible that the programme was begun during the abbacy of the worldly abbot Thomas de Whalley. For the rest it seems clear enough that in 1335 only the roof of the new choir was incomplete, and that in the late years of John de Heslington and the early years of Geoffrey de Gaddesby the glass makers were busy, and doubtless some of the glass of Master John and his fellow craftsmen is still to be seen.

Entries in a register[5] of the time of Abbot John de Shirburn (1369-1408) suggest that some building remained to be done during his abbacy, and that the final phase of the project was

[1] *Reg. Gaddesby* f. 1r and v. Not '*Nuton*' as transcribed in *Coucher Book of Selby* Vol. 2, p. 365.

[2] *Reg. Gaddesby*, f. 42v.

[3] *Archbishop Melton's Register*, f. 207r.

[4] *Ibid.*, f. 153r. Not a large sum when compared with that of St. Mary's York in 1319 of £4,029-2-1½d. (*Ibid.* ff. 164 *et seq.*). The new choir there was begun in 1270 and a new tower in 1278, (*Chronicle of St. Mary's, Surtees Society*, 148).

[5] A register of the time of John de Shirburn, Abbot of Selby, bound up in *Cotton Ms. Vitellius E.* xvi.

not completed till *c.* 1393. In 1371 Abbot Shirburn bought a thirty year lease of a quarry at Huddleston,[1] and ten years later was concerned with the opening of another at Monk Fryston.[2] In 1393 the scribe responsible thought fit to enter a brief memorandum that the stone pavement in the north aisle of the choir was first completed in the December of that year.[3] By 1397 an altar, in honour of St. Cuthbert, had been erected at the head of this same aisle at the initiative and expense of Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham.[4]

The north wing of the new choir must have remained in an incomplete state for many years, doubtless for reasons of finance and because it had no devotional, processional or other importance. It seems likely that the completion of this the last phase of the project, begun over a century before, was largely the result of Bishop Skirlaw's interest.

Since this note was written, further letters mentioning this fire of 1344 have come to light in two detached leaves of a Selby register preserved in the Bodleian, (*Ms. Top. Yorks.* d.2, and formerly *Phillipps Ms.* 6574). The first letter to our purpose is the Abbot and Convent's reply, undated, to a royal request dated 26th April 1344 for the grant of a corrody to John de Queldryk, yeoman of the Chandlery, who was probably the bearer of the King's letter. The Abbot and Convent pray to be excused on account of the fire "*qad destrut notz maisons, ceste assavoir, Dortour, Chapitre et Tresorie*". This reply, together no doubt with the bearer's account of the damage, did not impress the King. He repeated the request in a letter of Privy Seal dated 4th July, 1344 in which he notes that the monks seek relief from this demand "*par feintes sugestions et nient veritables*". The Abbot and Convent again pray to be excused and inform the King that the House "*est tant abesse qoi par arson de feu qad destrut grant partye des notz maisons dedeins nostre Abbeye, com est chose coneu outrement en pais, les queles maisons ne sont uncquore ne porront estre reparaillez en grant temps*".

The fire then cannot have been later than May 1344 and there is a suggestion that the damage was somewhat exaggerated.

[1] A register of the time of John de Shirburn, Abbot of Selby, bound up in *Cotton Ms. Vitellius E.* xvi, f. 152r.
[2] *Ibid.* f. 97v. [3] *Ibid.* f. 97v. [4] *Ibid.* f. 135v.

SIR JAMES STRANGEWAYS OF WEST HARLSEY AND WHORLTON.

SPEAKER IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1461.[1]

By Professor J. S. Roskell.

The history of the early Speakers and their office (which dates from 1376) has some bearing on the problem of the political significance of the Commons in the parliaments of the later medieval period. The Speaker's frequent connection with some organ of royal government or attachment to a powerful faction or interest suggests that his election was often the object of political manoeuvre. This was because his official capacity for managing the Commons is likely to have been considerable. That the Speaker's services in this regard were coming to be more and more valued is clear from the fact that under Henry VI and afterwards the government of the day was often prepared to reward him quite handsomely for them. Such a practice also betokens a great measure of official interest in the Commons' doings and a realization in high places that the lower house of parliament required careful handling. Undoubtedly, the personal history of the early Speakers is worth scrutiny in any detailed inquiry into later medieval parliamentary history. The career of Sir James Strangeways of West Harlsey and Whorlton and his Speakership in Edward IV's first parliament, which met in November 1461, have their place in such an investigation.

Although in the whole history of the Speakership there have been very few elected to the office who represented a north country shire or borough, Strangeways was not the first knight of the shire representing Yorkshire to be made Speaker. Sir James de Pickering and Sir Richard Redmayne of Harewood when so acting had been Speaker in 1383 and 1415 respectively. But nearly a century passed by after Strangeways before another Yorkshire knight of the shire was elected to the chair in the person of Sir Thomas Gargrave, who functioned in the first parliament of Elizabeth I.

The rarity of a Speaker of northern provenance naturally draws attention to Strangeways' career. But that career has certainly an intrinsic interest. He was sheriff of Yorkshire three times in all, in 1445-6, 1452-3, and 1468-9. At one time or another he was a J.P. in each of the three Ridings. And he is known to have represented the county in the parliaments of February 1449, October 1460, and November 1461.[2] The son of one of Henry VI's judges, he became connected with several important northern

[1] For list of abbreviations see footnote at end of the article (p. 482).
[2] *Official Return of Members of Parliament*, i, 340, 356, App. XXIV.

baronial families by his own marriage and through the marriages of some of his children and kinsfolk. But his own most crucial link in this age of "bastard feudalism" was with the Nevilles, especially with Richard, earl of Salisbury, and his son, Richard, earl of Warwick, the "Kingmaker", who, in the civil commotion and strife between the Lancastrians and the Yorkists, were themselves partizans, with greater or lesser enthusiasm, of Richard, duke of York, and his family. For the most part, Strangeways' career is something of a commentary, now clear, now hazy or distorted, on Neville and Yorkist politics.

The Strangeways family was seemingly of no importance, probably not even armigerous in rank, until the turn of the fourteenth century. At the head of its accepted pedigree stands Henry Strangeways, very probably the same who (described as 'of Manchester') was paid in February 1402 at the Lower Exchequer 40 marks (by assignment) 'per manus Jacobi Strangways', for wines which Richard II's Chief Butler had sometime taken for the royal use at Chester, who between 1399 and 1401 held the office of clerk and keeper of the King's mills on the Dee at Chester and the fishery there, and who, appointed in June 1404 as chief chamberlain of the Exchequer of Ireland, was granted this office for life in the following January and confirmed in possession by Henry V in May 1414.[1] This Henry Strangeways was seemingly the Speaker's grandfather. One of his sons, Thomas, eventually married into the great northern clan of Neville, being the second husband of Katherine, daughter of Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan, the legitimated daughter of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford. (Katherine Neville's first husband was John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, who died in October 1432.)[2] Henry Strangeways' other children seem all to have married into families of Lancashire and Cheshire, including the families of Orell, Worsley, Bulkeley, and Wooton. His son James married Joan, daughter of Nicholas Orell, and James the Speaker was one of the children of this union. James senior's earliest connections appear to have been with Lancashire[3] and two of his daughters were married into Lancashire families,[4] but an expanding legal career presumably enabled him to make purchases of property in the North Riding of Yorkshire and certainly by 1423 (if no earlier) he was established in the manor of West Harlsey near Northallerton, under the western edges of the North York Moors, where his superior feudal lord was the

[1] Issue Roll, E403/571, mem. 23; *CPR*, 1399-1401, 11; *ibid.*, 1401-5, 403; *ibid.*, 1408-13; 191; *ibid.*, 1413-16, 73. For the Strangeways pedigree, see Surtees Society, vol. CXLIV, *Visitations of the North*, p. 106; *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, Joseph Foster, vol. iii; *The Genealogist* (N.S.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, p. 181.

[2] *The Complete Peerage*, VI, 42.

[3] *CPR*, 1405-8, 53, 479.

[4] Isabel married Sir Peter Gerard, knight of the shire for Lancashire in 1445, and Maud married a Ralph Staveley (*The Genealogist, loc. cit.*).

bishop of Durham.[1] Two other of his daughters married into the families of Surtees of Dinsdale (Durham) and Montfort of Hackforth (N. Riding).

Called to be serjeant-at-law in 1411 and in 1415 appointed king's serjeant-at-law, the Speaker's father served as justice of the peace in the North Riding from 1412 to his death in 1442, but his chief legal occupation was in the central courts at Westminster, as a justice of assize in the Midlands from 1416 onwards, and then from 1426 until his death as a puisne justice in the Court of Common Pleas with an annual fee of 110 marks; in the meantime, in 1427, he had been made Justice of North Wales with additional fees of 20 marks per session.[2] Cardinal Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham from 1406 to 1437, Chancellor of England from 1405 to 1407 and from 1417 to 1424, himself in origin a native of Middleton (Lancs.) and a near neighbour of the Manchester Strangeways, may very well have had much to do with the settlement of the Speaker's father as an episcopal tenant at West Harlsey; certainly Justice Strangeways was one of the Cardinal's executors, and he appears to have acted as a senior justice in the courts of the Durham palatinate in Langley's as well as in his successor Neville's tenure of the see. The legal and professional colouring of the background of the Speaker's family was enriched by the appointment of one of his uncles, Roger Strangeways, in July 1439 as king's attorney-at-law in North Wales, and of another, Nicholas Strangeways, as the Speaker's grandfather's successor in October 1430 as chief chamberlain of the Exchequer of Ireland.[3]

Justice Strangeways' son and heir, James (the Speaker), married Elizabeth, the elder daughter and coheir (born in the spring of 1417) of Philip Darcy, the son and heir of John Lord Darcy of Knaith (Lincs.), who died (while himself still under age and a royal ward) in August 1418, and of his wife, Eleanor, daughter of Henry Lord FitzHugh of Ravensworth. Elizabeth's younger sister and coheir, Margaret (born in September 1418), married Sir John Conyers of Hornby (N. Riding). Both marriages had taken place by November 1431.

The Darcies, who had been peers of parliament since about the beginning of Edward III's reign, already had a family connection with many baronial and other substantial families of the north-east and elsewhere, including the families of Roos of Helmsley, Grey of Wilton, and Gray of Heton. The grandmother of the Darcy heiresses, on the death (in 1411) of her husband, John Lord Darcy, had married Sir Thomas Swynford of Kettlethorpe (Lincs.), son of Katherine Swynford, John of Gaunt's mistress, by her first husband, and uterine brother of the Beaufort

[1] *VCH, N. Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. I, p. 437.
[2] E. Foss, *Judges of England*, IV 361; *CPR, passim.*
[3] *CPR*, 1436-41, 171; 288; 132.

progeny, John, earl of Somerset, Thomas, duke of Exeter, Cardinal Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and Joan, the second wife of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland. The mother of the Darcy heiresses, Eleanor FitzHugh, after the death of their father, married as her second husband Sir Thomas Tunstall of Thurland (in Lonsdale, Lancs.). This marriage brought her contacts with the northern families of Haryngton, Parr, Pudsey, and Pennington. The most important of her children by this alliance was her son, Sir Richard Tunstall of Bentham (Yorks.) and Thurland (Lancs.), a Lancastrian courtier who was esquire of the body to Henry VI from 1452 to 1455, king's carver from 1450 to 1460, chamberlain of Chester from 1457 to 1460, and chamberlain of the Exchequer from late in 1459 until Edward IV's accession in 1461; he fought as a Lancastrian at Wakefield and Towton, escaped to Scotland, was attainted in 1461, went off to join the small band of Lancastrian devotees after the fall of Dunstanborough, and was still with Henry VI at the time of his capture in 1465; not until 1468 did he surrender at Harlech in return for a pardon. Eleanor FitzHugh by March 1453 had married, as her third husband, Henry Bromflete, Lord Vessy, who was summoned to parliament as a baron between 1449 and his death in 1469; her daughter by this marriage, Strangeways' wife's young half-sister, married the Lancastrian, Lord ("Butcher") Clifford.[1]

The Baroness Vessy survived until September 1457, and not until then did Strangeways and his wife come to share her dower estates. The dower estates of Margaret Baroness Darcy, Strangeways' wife's grandmother, had only been divided early in 1455, following her death in June 1454.[2] But already, since November 1431, when Strangeways' wife had proved her age, she and he had been in possession of her purparty of the Darcy estates in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire, and at Calais, and also of her share of the family's Irish properties.[3] His marriage had also brought Strangeways a part interest in the royal annuity of £40 granted by Edward III in 1341 to his wife's great-great-grandfather, John Darcy le Fitz, and his heirs; and Exchequer assignments of very dubious value occasionally came their way as payment of what was owing under this head.[4] The Darcy estates in Ireland which came into Strange-

[1] *CCR*, 1429-35, 143; *Complete Peerage*, IV, 65-6; *The Genealogical Magazine*, vol. V, p. 367; Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Record Series, vol. LXXXIII, *Yorkshire Deeds*, vol. VII, pp. 141-2. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies, sub* Sir Richard Tunstall. Elizabeth and Margaret Darcy's uncle, their father's younger brother, Richard Darcy, married Eleanor, daughter of John Lord Scrope of Masham, and *their* son and heir eventually did something to recover many of the lands of that family which had been forfeited by the treason of Henry Lord Scrope of Masham in 1415.

[2] *CCR* 1461-8, 45; *Complete Peerage, loc. cit.*

[3] *CCR* 1429-35, 143.

[4] Issue Roll, E 403/719, mem. 4.

ways' control were a moiety of the manors of Garristown (Co. Dublin), Assey and Dunmoe (Co. Meath), Castlerahan (Co. Cavan), and Louth (the chief town in Co. Louth). On 15 May 1447 Strangeways and his brother-in-law, Sir John Conyers, jointly took out a royal licence in survivorship permitting their absence from Ireland and the right to take out of the country the revenue from their estates there, and relieving them of services, including scutages, arising out of their tenure. Eventually, before his wife's death but after 1447, Sir James and Elizabeth leased their share of the Irish lands of the Darcies for £40 a year, and Elizabeth's sister and her husband (Sir John Conyers) did the same; the coheirs were certainly, however, back in possession of Garristown and Louth by August 1465, when they regularized an enfeoffment by royal licence.[1] On 13 March 1456 Sir James and his wife also secured a royal patent licensing their alienation in mortmain of the advowson of the church of Beighton (Derbyshire), which had formerly belonged to the FitzHughs, to the Carthusian priory of Mountgrace in the parish of East Harlsey.[2] In Northumberland, the Darcy coheirs held the great waste of the forest of Cheviot, the advowson of the hospital of Wooler, and the manors of Wooler, Hethpool, Hetherslaw, Belford, Easington, Lowick, and Hadstone.[3]

It was, however, clearly in the North Riding of Yorkshire that Strangeways and his wife's main territorial interests lay and where they resided. Here the stock of land added by his marriage to his father's holding at West Harlsey and thereabouts was considerable, and eventually he had a chain of manors (some in his own, some in his wife's right) reaching from the neighbourhood of Northallerton towards the mouth of the Tees, including Warlaby (a moiety), Hallikeld,[4] West Harlsey, Whorlton (the old home of the Menille family),[5] Potto, Seamer,[6] Upsall,[7] Greenhow (on lease from his mother-in-law),[8] and Acklam.[9] Other Yorkshire manors which Sir James Strangeways held were those of Aislaby (near Whitby),[10] Boynton (near Flamborough Head),[11] and Notton (near Wakefield).[12] He and his wife shared with the other coheir, her sister, the patronage of the priory of Austin canons at Guisborough, just north of the Cleveland Hills, a place which, at the time of the Dissolution in the next century, was the fourth richest of the Yorkshire monasteries.[13] West Harlsey, the property first of Justice Strangeways, the Speaker's father, was held, as has been said, of the bishopric of Durham. The

[1] *Rot. Parl.* V. 485; *CPR* 1446-52, 66; *ibid.*, 1461-7, 466.
[2] *CPR* 1452-61, 277.
[3] *CCR*, 1454-61, 126, 238.
[4] *V.C.H., N. Riding Yorks.*, i, 147, 408.
[5] *ibid.*, ii, 312.
[6] *ibid.*, 291.
[7] *ibid.*, 281.
[8] Yorks. Arch. Soc., Record Series, vol. LXXXIII, *Yorkshire Deeds*, vol. VII, pp. 141-2.
[9] *V.C.H., N. Riding*, ii, 221.
[10] *ibid.*, 518.
[11] *The Genealogist*, N.S., XVIII, 103.
[12] *Yorkshire Deeds, loc. cit.*
[13] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* XXXI, 34.

Speaker's other home, some five miles or so to the east, at Whorlton, was held of the archbishop of Canterbury in return for serving him with the cup out of which he should drink on the day of his consecration.[1] Here, Strangeways and his wife (in her right) had the patronage of the free chapel.[2]

James Strangeways junior, as he was called then and during the time of his father, Justice Strangeways, makes his first recorded appearance on the last day of 1430 when, with his father and his uncle, Roger Strangeways, and others, he witnessed a ratification of an estate in the manor and vill of Auckland St. Helens.[3] Certainly before another year had elapsed he had married one of the Darcy coheirs, a match which, when his wife Elizabeth proved her age in the autumn of 1431, immediately assured him of more than a competence from lands in the North Riding of Yorkshire alone, with the prospect of his own patrimony still to materialize: on 20 November 1431 the escheators of Yorkshire, Northumberland, Notts, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Middlesex were ordered to partition the Darcy lands between James and Elizabeth and her younger sister and her husband, John Conyers, and on 24 November a similar writ was issued to the chancellor of Ireland. James and Elizabeth were to enter into possession of their purparty (dower estates excepted) forthwith; the other couple only took seisin in the spring of 1433.[4] On 5 February 1432 the Stangeways pair took out letters patent from the English Chancery nominating two of James's kinsmen, Hugh Orell and Nicholas Strangeways, the chief chamberlain of the Exchequer of Ireland, as their attorneys in Ireland for one year; and they reappointed them on 24 November following.[5] On 1 June 1435 they were paid at the Lower Exchequer at Westminster (by assignment) Elizabeth's share of an accumulation of instalments of the nearly century-old annuity of £40 granted to her ancestor by Edward III: £29. 16s. Four years (to the day) were to elapse before they received their next assignment.[6]

Considering the position of his father as a Justice of the Common Bench, James Strangeways junior was called upon in these years to serve on surprisingly few royal commissions of even local importance. Before his father's death in 1442 the only commissions of which he was appointed a member were two commissions of array in the North Riding, set up respectively on 10 July 1434 (when his patron, the earl of Salisbury, was warden of both Marches towards Scotland) and on 18 January 1436.[7] On 1 February 1439 Strangeways junior and William Orell, clerk, (presumably a kinsman of Strangeways' mother) entered into a

[1] Surtees Society, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, 109n.
[2] *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, XXII, 211n.
[3] *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd Series, vol. 14, p. 163.
[4] *CCR*, 1429-35, 143, 207.
[5] *CPR*, 1429-36, 183, 248.
[6] Issue Roll, E 403/719, mem. 4; E 403/735.
[7] *CPR*, 1429-36, 360, 521.

recognizance in 200 marks payable to the executors of the King's late mother, Queen Katherine, undertaking that if Strangeways' uncle, Roger Strangeways esquire, the late Queen's receiver in Anglesey, should be set free from his imprisonment at Beaumaris within the next month he would render his account of receipts before the executors or their auditors in London. Clearly all went well with Roger, for in July following he was made king's attorney-at-law in North Wales, an Exchequer appointment.[1]

In the following year, 1440, we find for the first time clear evidence of the existence of the most important single *motif* in the pattern of Strangeways' political career : his connection with the Nevilles, and especially with Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, the eldest son of Ralph, earl of Westmorland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, and, therefore, head of the younger branch of the house of Neville. The connection need come as no surprise. It had already to a certain extent been prepared for by the links between Richard Neville and Strangeways' father: as far back as October 1423 Justice Strangeways had acted as a feoffee in the leasing for 15 years by Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton to Sir Richard Neville (as the earl of Salisbury then was) of the manor of Langley-by-Durham, and four years later (in November 1427) he had been Neville's co-grantee at the Exchequer of the custody of the castle and manor of Ludlow and other Mortimer estates of the late earl of March.[2] Now, on 29 November 1440, Strangeways junior was one of a group of north countrymen (headed by Lords Graystoke and FitzHugh) who were granted by Henry VI all the lands and rents (with certain specified exceptions) of Salisbury's mother, the late countess of Westmorland, from the time of her death on 13 November last, for as long as they were technically in the King's hands; they were expressly to hold them to the use of Salisbury who was her heir. The custody of the late countess's Cumberland estates called 'the FitzWalter lands' passed two months later on from this group of grantees to Sir Henry Fenwick, and the rest of the property in their temporary holding went direct to Salisbury himself, in a fresh royal grant, on 22 February 1441. A year later Strangeways and his fellow-custodians to the earl's use secured a royal pardon of all accounts.[3] Of these lands the most important were the Neville estates in Yorkshire centred in Middleham in Wensleydale and Sheriff-Hutton, which Richard Neville's mother had held in jointure since the late earl of Westmorland's death in 1425. The younger Neville branch, with the earl of Salisbury at its head, withstood all efforts of the members of the senior line to dispossess them. Force proved necessary, but Salisbury was "well in" at Court, being at this time related to the duke of York, who was his brother-in-law, and to the Beauforts, directly through his mother and indirectly through his wife.

[1] *CCR*, 1435-41, 247; *CPR*, 1436-41, 288.
[2] *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, ii, B 1860; *CFR*, 1422-30, 202.
[3] *CFR*, 1437-45, 185, 187; *CPR*, 1441-46, 44.

Properly to appreciate the strength of these ties of Strangeways with the earl of Salisbury and others of the Nevilles, we need to look ahead for further evidence. On 20 March 1442 it was doubtless in Salisbury's interest that Strangeways was associated with him, his brother George (Lord Latimer), and Lord FitzHugh, in a recognisance for 2000 marks, undertaking to pay the bishop of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk and others £1000 by 29 October following.[1] It was again almost certainly in the earl's interest that on 11 March 1454 to Strangeways and others were released the castle, lordship and manor of Mold and Moldsdale in Flintshire by the heir of one of the feoffees of the countess of Salisbury's grandfather, John Montagu, earl of Salisbury, who had incurred forfeiture for treason in 1400;[2] and, in the next year, Strangeways and the same feoffees acted in a fine relating to the Flintshire manor and lordship of Hawarden when the Countess Alice entailed the manor on Sir Thomas Stanley, Controller of the royal Household, and his male heirs.[3] Furthermore, on 10 May 1459 the earl made Strangeways one of his executors, an appointment likely only to have resulted from an important measure of intimacy and identity of interest between them, and in his will the earl left him a covered silver cup.[4] At the end of the following year Salisbury was killed at the battle of Wakefield along with Richard, duke of York, his brother-in-law, whose policies he had generally favoured. Strangeways fought there too, but escaped with his life. He was afterwards, as we shall see, feoffee to Salisbury's son, Warwick (in estates worth £1000 a year, to fulfil the latter's will). He was also a feoffee of Ralph Neville, second earl of Westmorland, Warwick's cousin.[5] His son and heir he first contracted in marriage with the daughter of William Neville (who became earl of Kent at the accession of Edward IV), his old master Salisbury's younger brother.[6] One of his daughters (Elizabeth) married a kinsman of the Nevilles, Marmaduke, son of Sir Richard Clervaulx and great-great-grandson of John Lord Neville of Raby.[7] Sir James was also a feoffee to George Neville, Lord Latimer, another younger brother of Salisbury's.[8] It is not too much to assume that Strangeways' ties with the Neville family were generally and continuously close, that from the beginning of his career he was in all probability a member of the household of

[1] *CCR*, 1441-7, 59.
[2] *ibid.*, 1447-54, 494; *CPR*, 1446-52, 538.
[3] *D.K.R.*, XXXVII, App. ii (Recognisance Rolls of Chester), p. 355. Stanley as long ago as 1443 had got a royal grant of the entail of Mold as well. He had connections with the Montagus, his mother's first husband having been cousin of the grandfather of the Countess Alice, and his own son and heir married a younger daughter of the earl and countess, Eleanor Neville.
[4] N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, 288; Surtees Society, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, 244.
[5] *CPR*, 1461-7, 270; *ibid.*, 538.
[6] For Strangeways pedigrees, see above, note 2.
[7] *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, i, 305.
[8] British Museum, Harleian Ms., no. 433, fo. 176v.

Richard, earl of Salisbury, and perhaps one of his officials, and that this intimate connection conditioned Strangeways' later service to Salisbury's heir, the earl of Warwick.

Strangeways served on local commissions of royal appointment on hardly more occasions in the 1440's than during the preceding decade, although he had succeeded in 1442 to the estates of his father, Justice Strangeways. He was, of course, so well connected in Yorkshire, his Neville affiliations apart, that it is rather surprising that his first tenure of the shrievalty of Yorkshire came no earlier than on 4 November 1445;[1] he held office for the usual term of a year. By the time of his appointment Strangeways had been knighted. On 28 January 1448 he received at the Exchequer a grant of the right to farm a toft and a bovate of land at Boltby in the Hambleton Hills near Thirsk (Yorks.) for 40 years (as from the previous Michaelmas) at a rent of 8/- a year. On 7 November 1448 he was again made a commissioner of array in the North Riding (commissions being also then set up in the other Yorkshire Ridings and in Cumberland and Westmorland as well) to resist the Scots, following war on the borders which had taken even Henry VI as far north as Durham in the previous month.[2]

At a time when the nation's interest was being concentrated on the threatening situation in France and the failure of Suffolk's foreign policy, Sir James Strangeways was for the first time elected as knight of the shire for Yorkshire to the parliament of February 1449, along with Sir William Eure, a middle-aged knight of Witton-le-Wear (Durham) and Old Malton (Yorks.) who was Strangeways' wife's uncle by marriage. Their election was held on 13 January 1449 by Strangeways' brother-in-law, Sir John Conyers, then sheriff of Yorkshire. The sessions of the parliament were held at Westminster from 12 February to 4 April and from 7 to 30 May, and at Winchester from 16 June to 16 July 1449, when the parliament was dissolved. It was during the second Westminster session that on 15 May 1449 Strangeways secured at the Lower Exchequer for himself and his wife a grant of two tallies of assignment together nominally worth £80. 3s., presumably representing payments of arrears of the Darcy royal annuity of which she was entitled to a share; two and a half years later they were to bring them back for cancellation as unrealizable, in order to secure a fresh assignment.[3] After the parliament, by patent of 1 August 1449, he and his fellow shire-knight were put on commissions for each of the Yorkshire Ridings to apportion among their poorer vills the county's share of the general rebate attached to the recently granted parliamentary subsidy of two moieties of a tenth and fifteenth.[4] This was become a stock duty of ex-knights of the shire after every act of taxation of the regular sort.

[1] *P.R.O. Lists and Indexes*, no. IX (*Lists of Sheriffs*), 162.
[2] *CFR*, 1445-54, 85; *CPR*, 1446-52, 238.
[3] Issue Roll, *P.R.O.*, E 403/791, mem. 4.
[4] *CFR*, 1445-54, 122.

On 27 August he was included with Viscount Beaumont, Lord Graystoke, Sir Thomas Stanley (the Controller of the royal Household), and Dr. Richard Andrew (the King's Secretary) in a commission to treat for a truce with Scotland, and this they achieved on 23 October for an indefinite period, Strangeways being subsequently appointed one of the *conservatores* of the truce.[1]

Himself present at the Yorkshire elections, Strangeways was not re-elected to the next parliament of November 1449 to June 1450, which saw the elimination of some of the duke of Suffolk's allies in the government and then his own impeachment and fall. The parliament was brought to a hasty end by news of the outbreak of Cade's revolt in Kent and neighbouring counties. It was at this point that the duke of York first came properly into the political limelight. The Kentish rebels had shown themselves his friends, and even in parliament there were some who, in these circumstances of governmental debility, were already prepared to point the way towards a recognition of his hereditary title to the throne as superior to that of the Lancastrians, a claim that was to be eventually admitted in the compromise settlement of 1460. At the end of the summer of 1450 York returned from his exilic lieutenancy in Ireland and demanded a newly constituted royal Council and a meeting of parliament. It is doubtful whether, at this stage, his brother-in-law, Salisbury, was disposed to be so energetic a Yorkist partizan as eventually he became.

Before York's return, Strangeways was appointed by the royal Council on 8 August 1450 to be a member of a committee of four commoners entrusted with the job of acting as receivers and treasurers of the graduated income-tax recently voted at Leicester and of loans to the Crown, all of the proceeds from which they were to spend on the wages of retinues engaged in defence; the receivers were each to receive 4s. a day for their own wages.[2] Strangeways on the same day was also included among the N. Riding commissioners charged with the local assessment of the tax; eight months later there were still certain Yorkshire lords and ladies still unexamined about their income.[3] In the meantime, early in the second stormy session of the 1450-51 parliament, Strangeways and one Robert Kelsey, who had been parliamentary burgess for Appleby at Bury St. Edmunds four years before, were able to profit by the Act of Resumption passed at Leicester in the spring of 1450, to the extent of receiving on 27 January 1451 a grant of the right to farm the manor of Laverton (in Kirkby Malzeard, near Ripon) for 10 years (as from November 1449) at a farm to be agreed at the Exchequer.[4] Some three weeks later, by a patent of 18 February 1451, Strangeways was included with the earl of Salisbury and Lord Graystoke in a commission to arrest a Scarborough ship-owner and bring him before the Council

[1] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 335a, 340b.
[2] *CPR*, 1446-52, 377; *Rot. Parl.*, V 173.
[3] *CFR*, 1445-54, 169, 207.
[4] *ibid.*, 188.

on a charge of capturing a vessel of Dordrecht and so breaking the Statute of Truces of 1414.[1] On April 28 following, he was again appointed a commissary with authority to help define the duration of the existing truce with Scotland and also to correct infringements, and at the same time he was made one of a commission given power to punish negligence on the part of his fellow conservators of the truces. On 22 July he was also appointed to treat at Newcastle-on-Tyne with a Scottish embassy for the renewal of the truce. By the middle of August (1451) they were meeting and within a month had negotiated a truce to last until August 1454.[2]

Domestically, the Lancastrian government was now recovering something of its poise. On 28 July 1451 Strangeways had been for the first time made a justice of the peace in the North Riding, an appointment which suggests that neither he nor perhaps his friends the Nevilles were regarded as anything but friendly disposed to the Court party; he was to retain his place on the commission without a break until June 1460.[3] Early in 1452, when York attempted his *putsch* at Dartford, the earl of Salisbury (at this time co-warden of the western march towards Scotland with his son, Warwick) did his best to bring about a settlement between his brother-in-law of York and the Court, although the resulting reinforcement of Somerset's authority can hardly have been entirely satisfactory to him, kinsman of Somerset's though he was. On 19 March 1452 Strangeways was put on a commission with Lord Clifford for the requisitioning of shipping and crews at Newcastle-on-Tyne, presumably for service against France,[4] and on 3 June following was made one of the commissaries instructed to treat with James, the new earl of Douglas, and admit him to do homage to Henry VI.[5]

There was at this time civil war in the northern kingdom between King James II and the Douglases, following on the murder of the new earl's elder brother and predecessor in the title at Stirling in the previous February; the summer saw an accommodation made between the Douglas clan and James II, but the feud was only thinly overlaid and open conflict was to flare up early in 1455. At the end of May 1453 Strangeways had again been made one of the conservators of the Anglo-Scottish truce, which by this time had been extended until May 1457.[6]

In the meantime, on 23 November 1452 Strangeways had been granted at the Lower Exchequer 100 marks (by assignment only) for former ambassadorial work at Durham and Newcastle about the truce with the Scots, presumably during the negotiations of the late summer of 1451. It was on the same day that he had

[1] *CPR*, 1446-52, 438.
[2] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 345a, 345b, 347b, 349b, 354b.
[3] *CPR*, 1446-52, 598; *ibid.*, 1452-61, 683.
[4] *ibid.*, 1446-52, 540.
[5] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 358a.
[6] *ibid.*, ii, 366b.

been appointed (for the second time) sheriff of Yorkshire, and only the day before he and his wife had received fresh Exchequer tallies of assignment for £80 odd, following their restitution of the "dud" tallies for this amount given them in May 1449, plus another additional tally of assignment for £40. 4s., which was to prove equally worthless.[1]

It was early in his year of office as sheriff, which lasted from 23 November 1452 to 5 November 1453, that Strangeways was understandably made a member of the Yorkshire commission set up in January 1453 for the raising of loans to the Crown for the financial relief of the earl of Shrewsbury, then engaged in Aquitaine and with apparently great (if what was to prove only transitory) success.[2] On 5 March, as sheriff, he held the elections to the Reading parliament which met on the following day. In May he was appointed, as we have seen, to act as a conservator of the truce with Scotland, in July as one of a committee of inquiry at Newcastle regarding the negligence of its port-officials for the past three years, and just two months later (on 26 September 1453) to membership of a royal commission ordered to arrest a Newcastle ship-master for seizing a Danzig vessel off the Humber and so contravening both the Statute of Truces of 1414 and the Anglo-Prussian trade *entente*.[3]

The period of Strangeways' shrievalty had held for him some compensations of a private nature: in the course of the year John Greenwell, abbot of Fountains, had visited him at Harlsey Castle to christen a son of his,[4] and early in March Strangeways had come to an agreement with his mother-in-law and her third husband, Lord Vessy, to pay them a rent for certain of her dower lands in order to have possession.[5]

Strangeways can hardly have had a very comfortable term of office as sheriff. The North was generally disturbed by a renewal of the old rivalry between the Nevilles and the Percies. This took the form of open hostilities between the younger sons of the earls of Salisbury and Northumberland. The Percies were safe supporters of the Queen and her party at Court (a party which, with the onset of the King's first bout of insanity in August 1453 and the birth of her son in October following, became the core of the royalist cause), and the quarrel between these two great northern families helped to move the Nevilles to give firm support to York in his bid for a Protectorship. York was given this office in parliament on 27 March 1454, and on 1 April his brother-in-law, Salisbury, succeeded to the custody of the great seal. With his eldest son, Richard of Warwick, and his two

[1] P.R.O., E 403/791, mem. 4; E 403/817. (this tally for £40 odd they returned to the Exchequer in December 1458 as unpaid); *List of Sheriffs, loc. cit.*

[2] *CPR*, 1452-61, 53. [3] *ibid.*, 123, 174.

[4] Surtees Society, vol. 67, *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, vol. II, part I, p. 105.

[5] *ibid.*, vol. 83 *Yorkshire Deeds*, vol. VII, p. 141-2.

younger brothers, Lord Fauconberg and Lord Abergavenny, being regular members of the royal Council, and with another brother (Robert) established as bishop of Durham and his own son George promised the next episcopal vacancy, Salisbury was in a strong political position. It was only a few weeks before Salisbury became Chancellor that Strangeways had been involved in a settlement of the lordship of Mold (Flintshire), in which Salisbury was interested.[1]

Sometime between 15 March 1454 and the dissolution of parliament on 17 April following, Strangeways was caught up in the negotiations for the commitment of the administration of Calais and the March to the duke of York. Evidently, Strangeways was up in London at the time, probably attached to Salisbury's company. As conditions of his appointment, York demanded guarantees from the merchant-staplers of Calais, and adequate provision for control of the Dover Straits to enable the passage of any relief force that might be needed in answer to French threats. Various alternative suggestions were considered, among them being one that Sir James Strangeways and Master Robert Beaumond should make contact with the merchants 'to fele theim if they wull take uppon theim the . . . charge' of safekeeping the sea,[2] for which parliament had already voted tunnage and poundage. Eventually, it was Salisbury and four other peers who undertook the charge for the next three years.

Salisbury was almost certainly at this time considerably distracted by events in the north, where the Neville feud with the Percies was now so serious that the Protector (York) himself went up to Yorkshire in May 1454 to repress risings led by Thomas Lord Egremont, son of the earl of Northumberland, and his friend, Henry Holland, duke of Exeter. The latter fled to sanctuary at Westminster, but York 'fet hym owte' and on 24 July he was sent to the duchy of Lancaster castle of Pontefract, of which Salisbury had been constable for nearly thirty years. It was from Pontefract that, as Chancellor but in the interest of his family, Salisbury issued royal letters patent under the great seal at Michaelmas 1454 appointing commissioners to muster the defensibles of Yorkshire in each of its three ridings for the purpose of resisting those who had risen in Lancashire and elsewhere to spoil and plunder and generally upset the countryside. Strangeways figured in the North Riding one of these commissions.[3]

In 1455 civil war was precipitated by the consequences of Henry VI's recovery of health: the end of York's Protectorship, Salisbury's dismissal from the Chancellorship on 7 March, and the summoning of a Great Council to Leicester to provide for the king's 'surety'. York and the Nevilles, considering themselves threatened, took up arms in self-defence and defeated the royalist forces in the first battle of St. Albans on 22 May 1455.

[1] *CCR*, 1447-54, 494.
[2] *Rot. Parl.*, V, 255a.
[3] *CPR*, 1452-61, 219.

Whether Strangeways was implicated in this Yorkist revolt is not known. He had, of course, his connections with influential men on the Lancastrian side: sometime in this year he was feoffee to Sir Thomas Stanley, the Controller of the royal Household, in a conveyance to him by the earl and countess of Salisbury of the lordship of Hawarden (Flintshire); his wife's half-brother, Sir Richard Tunstall, was one of Henry VI's immediate Household entourage, and her half-sister was wife to the Lancastrian Lord Clifford. We need hardly remind ourselves that these family relationships did not necessarily imply even personal friendship, much less any identity of political outlook. Strangeways' Neville connections were strong, admittedly, but his presence at the Yorkshire elections to the parliament now summoned to meet early in July 1455—two supporters of the earl of Salisbury were in fact returned—suggests that he had kept out of the recent Yorkist "show-down" and stayed up in the north.[1] Had he been a member of Salisbury's retinue at St. Albans, it is more likely that he would have gone on with him to London.

Nothing further is known of Sir James Strangeways over the whole uneasy course of the next two years, except for one or two items of information of a private character. On 3 March 1456 he and his wife secured a royal licence to endow the Yorkshire Carthusian priory of Mountgrace, nearby their castle at Harlsey, with the advowson of the church at Beighton (Derbyshire).[2] Along with William Orell, doubtless one of his mother's kinsmen, Sir James was party to a recognisance for £100, undertaking to pay the Master of the Rolls, Thomas Kirkby, an annual rent of nearly £4 at his place at the *Domus Conversorum* in London.[3] Sometime during the year 1455-6 he was again visited at Harlsey by the abbot of Fountains; this was probably in connection with some business of the monastery, because in the abbey-bursars' books for the next year (and also for 1457-8) Strangeways is noted as being paid an annual fee of 2 marks, presumably for his services as a feodary of the abbey or as its legal counsel.[4]

In July 1457, after troubles on the Border in 1455 and 1456, a renewal of the truce with Scotland for two years was made at Coventry, and Strangeways was appointed once more as a *conservator*.[5] This, his first royal commission for almost three years, was followed on 17 December 1457 by his inclusion in a commission to apportion the liability for maintaining a force of over 700 archers which was to be raised in Yorkshire as the county's contribution to a national force of archers. The scheme, originally granted for defence in the parliament of 1453-4, had since then

[1] Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies*, p. 820.
[2] *CPR*, 1452-61, 277.
[3] *CCR*, 1454-61, 130.
[4] Surtees Society, vol. 130, *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, vol. III, pp. 25, 31, 73.
[5] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 383a.

not been followed up.[1] Its present resurrection boded no good for the peace of the realm, which had again recently been excessively disturbed, at any rate in the North and particularly in North Yorkshire, by open conflict between Nevilles and Percies, whose feud had been made all the keener by the killing of the earl of Northumberland at the battle of St. Albans. A Great Council met early in 1458 especially to deal with the problem, and the Lancastrian and Yorkist leaders reached a hollow reconciliation in a 'love-day' on 25 March 1458. In the "deceitful lull" in the struggle between the two main political parties that followed, Strangeways was appointed on 24 November 1458 as a justice of the peace in the East Riding of Yorkshire as well as in the North Riding.[2] On 5 December following, by the hands of his wife's half-brother, Sir Richard Tunstall, (now chamberlain of Chester as well as the King's carver), he and she were given at the Lower Exchequer a fresh tally of assignment for £40, in place of the one of November 1452 which evidently they had failed to turn to account. This tally, too, they were unable to cash and on 22 June 1459 received another for only 50 marks instead.[3]

By this time Lancastrians and Yorkists were both openly preparing to settle their dispute by war. On 10 May 1459 Salisbury had made his will and appointed Strangeways as one of his executors.[4] The latter was not apparently open to suspicion at Court, if one may conjecture this from his being appointed at Coventry on 25 July to a commission to treat with the Scots for a further truce and to deal with cases of breach of the existing one. He was not, however, among those members of this commission authorized to deal with the Scots *de certis secretis materiis*. Nor was he appointed to treat in the next embassy, whose formation (at the end of October 1459) followed both Salisbury's victory over a Lancastrian force at Bloreheath (Staffs.) on 22 September, when the earl was on his way to join York at Ludlow, and the bloodless dispersal of the Yorkist army and its leaders at the Rout of Ludford on 12 October. By this time, and in the circumstances, Strangeways' connections with the Nevilles might have created some doubt of his political reliability. Nevertheless, the absence of his name from the list of those attainted in the Coventry parliament of November 1459 for taking part in the recent rising, is tangible proof that he had steered clear of active treason. In June 1459 he had been dropped from the commission of the peace in the East Riding after serving for no longer than half a year, but on 7 March 1460 he was confirmed in his commission as J.P. for the North Riding. It was his known Neville connections, however, which resulted in his not being included in the re-formed commission of the peace issued from Coventry on 25 June 1460, a commission of which he had been continuously a member for

[1] *CPR*, 1452-61, 408.
[2] *ibid.*, 682.
[3] P.R.O., E 403/817; E 403/819, mem. 4.
[4] *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Surtees Society), ii, 246.

the past nine years.[1] The date of his dismissal is of some significance—the very day before the threat of Yorkist invasion from Calais actually materialized with the crossing (to Sandwich) of York's eldest son and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

Within a week of their landing, such was the support they gathered in Kent, these Yorkist forces were in a position to enter London on 2 July 1460. Eight days later the Lancastrian army in the Midlands was heavily defeated at Northampton and Henry VI was brought back, a virtual prisoner, to the capital. On 30 July, by which time Salisbury's son, George, bishop of Exeter, had been made Chancellor and other changes had been effected in the key royal administrative offices, parliament was summoned to meet on 7 October. Sir James Strangeways and his brother-in-law (his sister Elizabeth's husband),[2] Sir Thomas Montford of Hackford, were elected on 25 August as knights of the shire for Yorkshire, Strangeways as senior knight. Only two days before, Sir James had been once more included in the commission of the peace for the North Riding, and on the eve of the shire elections had been associated with the duke of York and his Neville supporters in a royal commission to arrest and imprison their opponents or, to use the more technical language of the patent, certain gentry of south Yorkshire and certain artizans of York and all others in the city and county who uttered falsehoods and so, by promoting discord among the magnates, contravened the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum* of 1378. And on 8 December following, a week after the close of the first session of the parliament, which had seen the acceptance of the duke of York as heir to the throne, Strangeways, along with York and his friends, including the Nevilles, was put on a commission of *oyer and terminer* touching treasons, insurrections, riots, etc., in ten counties of the north and the northern midlands.[3] On the next day York left London with the earl of Salisbury for the purpose of suppressing the activities of the Lancastrian lords of the north. On 30 December with many of their supporters York met his death in battle at Wakefield and Salisbury, by execution, on the next day at Pontefract. Strangeways was in the thick of it at Wakefield, and when, on 23 January 1461, Clement Paston wrote to his brother John, at a time when Queen Margaret was moving her army southwards to the capital, rumour had it that Sir James was 'taken or ellys dede', but more likely killed.[4] That he was captured is very doubtful. Killed, he certainly was not.

The earl of Warwick now became head of his branch of the Neville family, adding his father's earldom of Salisbury and its lands, as well as the Neville property in the north centred on

[1] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 390b, 397b; *CPR*, 1452-61, 682-3.

[2] Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, vol. iii, pedigree of Strangeways of Harlsey castle; *The Genealogist*, N.S. 181.

[3] *CPR*, 1452-61, 683; 608, 653.

[4] *The Paston Letters*, ed. Jas. Gairdner (1910), i, 540.

Middleham and Sheriff Hutton, to the estates of the Beauchamp inheritance which he held in right of his wife. With his brother John (Lord Montagu) being Chamberlain of the royal Household, and his other brother George being Chancellor of England, Warwick, himself Great Chamberlain of England, would probably have been fain to continue with Henry of Windsor as titular king. His own defeat at St. Albans by Queen Margaret's forces on 17 February 1461 and the victory of Edward, the new duke of York, at Mortimer's Cross against the western loyalists forced Warwick, however, to commit himself entirely to the Yorkist cause. On 3 March 1461 Edward got himself declared King in London, and the battle of Towton on 29 March enveloped the only Lancastrian army now in the field in utter disaster. What part Strangeways played in this rapidly changing pattern of events is not known. It is probable that both he and his eldest son, Richard, gave their personal support to the Yorkist campaign and that they went further northwards with Edward IV to Durham and Newcastle. It is almost certain that they were with the King at York on 10 May when both were made justices of the peace in the North Riding, and when Sir James was also put (for the first time) on the commission of the peace for the West Riding. Sir James was then also included in a commission of *oyer and terminer* touching the treasons committed at York by Dr. John Morton, the recently captured ex-chancellor of the duchy of Cornwall, who was later to go into exile with other Lancastrian die-hards; and three days later (on 13 May) he, his son Richard, and his brother-in-law, Sir John Conyers of Hornby, were put on a commission for imprisoning Lancastrian rebels in the North Riding, as fellow-commissioners with Warwick, his brother, Lord Montagu, and his uncle, Lord Fauconberg.[1] Sir James's son, Richard, had already married Elizabeth, daughter of the last-named, who was now to be created earl of Kent.[2]

Edward IV's first parliament was summoned on 23 May 1461 to meet in July, but, although it was possible for the coronation to take place on 28 June, already (on 13 June) writs had gone out postponing the meeting of parliament to 4 November in view of the disordered state of the country. No electoral returns for Yorkshire have survived, but Strangeways was certainly re-elected as knight of the shire, for he was chosen by the Commons as their Speaker. They presented him to the King for acceptance on 6 November, and he made at the same time the customary Speaker's 'protestation' and claim of privilege.[3] Six days later, on the Common's behalf and at their head, Strangeways expressed their joy at the King's victories and at his courage in asserting his royal rights, and successfully petitioned for the acceptance of

[1] *CPR*, 1461-7, 576; 30.
[2] *V.C.H., Yorkshire, North Riding*, ii, 408 (Richard's eldest son, James, was 28 years old at the time of his father's death in 1488).
[3] *Rot. Parl.*, v, 462.

Edward's title to the throne as justified by his lineage. Strangeways stated that the Commons were well aware that Edward was King by divine, human, and natural law, and further asked that the Lancastrian régime should be stigmatized as usurpative, and that the recent compromise, under which Henry VI was to enjoy the throne for life, should be annulled, since he had broken its terms. The session ended on 21 December. By this time the official bills for the attainder of the Lancastrians and for the reversal of the attainders enacted by them at Coventry had passed both Houses, and the bills were delivered by Strangeways as having received the Commons' assent on what proved to be the last day of the parliament for purposes of business. The King himself was pleased graciously to thank the Commons and their Speaker—'James Strangeways and ye that be commyn for the Common of this my Londe'—for their loyal support, promising to be their just and loving liege lord.

The session had proved personally satisfactory to Strangeways himself in other ways. The Commons adopted as their own a petition to the King made by Strangeways, his son Richard (as heir of his mother, Elizabeth Darcy), and Sir John Conyers and his wife Margaret (Elizabeth's sister and coheir), referring to a former lease of certain of their respective moieties of the Darcy Irish estates to one Sir Thomas Bathe, who had incurred forfeiture by a judgement made by the duke of York in a parliament held at Drogheda in February 1460. The estates ought to have reverted to the lessors, because the rents were in arrears and the lease had provided for their re-entry in such a circumstance. The petition went on to represent how at that time Strangeways senior and his brother-in-law (Conyers) were 'driven to such streitnesse', because of their service to the present King and his father and other 'true Lordes of his blode', that they were not able to take proper action in Ireland. The petitioners now requested that parliamentary authority be given for their re-entry, and for their recovery of the mesne issues, and for Strangeways senior to enter his share of the estates 'by the curtesie'; the petition was successful.[1] And three days before the parliamentary session was adjourned, namely on 18 December, the Lower Exchequer was ordered to pay the Speaker arrears of his late wife's share of her grandmother's and mother's interest by dower in her ancestor's royal annuity of £40 (granted in 1341), which now amounted in all to over £75.[2] Only a week after his official acceptance as Speaker, Strangeways had been appointed on 13 November, along with his two sons (Richard and James), to membership of a commission of array in Yorkshire for defence against the Lancastrians and their Scottish allies. On 4 February 1462, during

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, v, 485; Sir James Strangeways' first wife, Elizabeth Darcy, had died sometime between June 1459 and the beginning of this parliament of 1461.

[2] *CCR*, 1461-8, 45.

the parliamentary recess, Sir James Strangeways was also put on the Yorkshire commission—others were authorised to act in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire—for the arrest of a Lancastrian agent, a Retford man, who was inciting men to rebel.[1]

The parliament of which Strangeways was still Speaker came together again on 6 May 1462, only to be instantly dissolved by Archbishop Bourchier in the absence of the King and of many of the Yorkist lords, including Warwick himself. Of the royal satisfaction with Strangeways' conduct as Speaker signal proof was soon to be forthcoming: despite the fact that the Commons had not voted any taxation—perhaps none was asked for, although the southern Convocation had made a grant in July 1461—three weeks after the dissolution, on 27 May, at Leicester, where the King had spent Easter and was still staying, the late Speaker was granted 200 marks (£133. 6s. 8d.) 'quas dominus Rex, de gratia sua speciali, eidem Jacobo liberari mandavit, consideracione boni veri ac fidelis servicii necnon diligenciae eidem domino Regi per dictum Jacobum in parliamento suo ut prolocutor eiusdem impensi, habendas de regardo'.[2] Not until over a year later, on 18 June 1463, did the Exchequer make payment and then in the somewhat unsatisfactory form of a grant by assignment, at the same time, however, making an additional assignment for £195. 10s. 5d. for the arrears of the Darcy annuity to which Strangeways was entitled in right of his late wife.[3] That date, 18 June 1463, was the date of the last day of the first session of the next parliament, which, summoned first of all to meet at York in the previous February and then adjourned to Leicester, had finally met at Westminster on 29 April. The names of the Yorkshire knights of the shire in this parliament are not known: but it is not improbable that the ex-Speaker was one of them.

In the meantime, the main focus of interest in 1462 had been in the north of England, where the Lancastrian alliance with Scotland had at first given, and the Lancastrians' retention of certain of the Northumbrian strongpoints had continued to cause, considerable trouble to the Yorkist régime. Warwick had been much preoccupied with these problems. In the autumn Warwick moved forward into Northumberland to counter a force brought from France by Queen Margaret. He was followed by Edward IV himself. Strangeways was evidently himself in the north at this time, being appointed on 21 November 1462 to a commission of *oyer and terminer*, headed by Warwick, his uncle (the earl of Kent) and his brother (Lord Montagu), instructed to deal with treasons and acts of rebellion in Northumberland and Newcastle.[4] Early

[1] *CPR*, 1461-7, 66, 102.
[2] Not as in Wedgwood, *Biographies*, £88. 6s. 8d.
[3] Issue Roll, P.R.O., E 403/829, mem. 5; C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*, i, 246.
[4] *CPR*, 1461-7, 233.

in January 1463 effective resistance in this region seemed at an end, Bamborough, Dunstanborough, and Alnwick having all been taken.

It was at this time, on 9 January 1463, that William Neville, earl of Kent, Warwick's uncle, died. His heirs were his three daughters, of whom the second, Elizabeth, now aged 28 years, was wife to Sir James Strangeways' eldest son Richard, and the third (Alice) was wife of the heir of Sir James's brother-in-law, Sir John Conyers of Hornby. Their mother, Joan de Fauconberg, was reputed to be an idiot and incapable of governing her possessions, and it was to inquire into this in Yorkshire that Strangeways senior and others, including the chancellor of the Exchequer (Thomas Colt) and Strangeways' sister's son (Thomas Montford esquire), were deputed by royal commission of 12 March 1463.[1] His son and young Conyers, another member of the Strangeways family group, clearly had much to gain if the countess's sanity were impugned and her inability to administer her dower substantiated. Presumably they did not succeed, because Joan married again (and survived until 1490).

When these private developments were going forward, in spite of Burgundy being friendly to the Yorkists, Louis XI wavering in his support for his Lancastrian cousins, and the pro-Lancastrian party in a disunited Scotland cooling off from its early concern for the Lancastrian cause, Bamborough and Alnwick were retaken in its interest. On 3 June 1463 Warwick was required to leave parliament and follow his brother Montagu northwards, and, when parliament could conveniently be adjourned, Edward IV himself again set off to join them. It was at this juncture that, on 14 June, royal licence was obtained by Warwick to settle estates held in chief worth £1,000 a year (for the payment of his debts and the fulfilment of his will) on a committee of feoffees, including his brother George, bishop of Exeter, the earl of Worcester (then Treasurer of England and Steward of the Household), the two Chief Justices, and (among others) Sir James Strangeways.[2]

Part of the trouble in the north was undoubtedly due to the restiveness of the younger members of the senior branch of the Neville family (which had its origin in the first marriage of Ralph, the first earl of Westmorland) who, unlike their kinsmen of the half-blood, tended to support the Lancastrian cause. One of them was Humphrey Neville, a nephew of Ralph the second earl of Westmorland, who had been attainted in Edward IV's first parliament and imprisoned in the Tower. He had, however, escaped and got away to Northumberland where he had 'made commotion of people against our sovereign lord the king'. And on 7 April 1463, along with the mayor of York and others, Strange-

[1] *CPR*, 1461-7, 277.
[2] *ibid.*, 270.

ways was ordered to arrest and bring him before the Council. This was before parliament met. Eight weeks later, on 3 June, during the parliament Strangeways and Lord Montagu were instructed to decide for themselves whether to take him into the King's grace and promise him letters of pardon.[1] Evidently Strangeways was to be engaged in anti-Lancastrian activities in the north. Here the Yorkist Nevilles eventually won back the lost Northumbrian castles, after Montagu had virtually applied the quietus to the northern Lancastrians in April and May 1464 at the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham.

These events constituted merely the final strangling of the Lancastrian die-hard remnant, caught in the toils of Warwick's diplomacy. Particularly successful had the Nevilles been *vis-à-vis* Scotland, and the success of the Yorkist military activity in this spring of 1464 was largely conditioned by the fact that negotiations were all the time going forward for a peace and close alliance with Scotland: on 5 April and again on 25 May 1464, when Edward IV was himself at York, Strangeways was among those appointed with Warwick, Montagu, and their brother, the Chancellor, to meet the Scottish commissaries to this end.[2] Only six days before his appointment to this second embassy, that is, in the evening of 19 May, Strangeways had been present with Warwick, Montagu and others in the hospital of St. Leonard's at York when two chancery clerks returned to the Chancellor the great seal which had been given to the Master of the Rolls to keep, presumably during the bishop of Exeter's occupation with the Scottish business.[3] In June Montagu was invested with the vacant earldom of Northumberland as his reward, and the death of Archbishop William Bothe in the following September permitted the translation of Warwick's other influential brother, George, bishop of Exeter and Chancellor of England, to the primacy of the northern province.

This preferment of George Neville to the see of York was perhaps more a sign of the (temporarily) quite unshakeable strength of the Nevilles than one of the King's continuing intention to rely on them. Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth Wydeville, which entirely confused Warwick's foreign policies, and the rapid promotion of members of her hitherto pro-Lancastrian family seriously irritated the Neville *bloc*, and a breach between them and the King steadily widened from this time on. As Edward IV began to build up a Court party of his own, there can be no doubt of which camp Strangeways considered himself to be a follower: his relations with the Nevilles remained as close as ever. On 23 February 1465 he was appointed by Warwick to be his deputy in the stewardship of the duchy of Lancaster lordship of Pickering

[1] *CPR*, 1461-7, 279; 267.
[2] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 410b, 411a.
[3] *CCR*, 1461-8, 261.

(an office which Warwick had taken up in December 1461).[1] After having been exempted from the Act of Resumption passed in the second and final session of the 1463-5 parliament (which lasted from 21 January to 28 March 1465),[2] on 20 June 1465 Strangeways was made a member of the commission, with John Neville, the new earl of Northumberland and warden of the East March, at its head, empowered to contract marriages between English and Scottish subjects, including a possible marriage between the young James III of Scotland and an Englishwoman, and to treat for a perpetual peace.[3] Strangeways was with John Neville at Alnwick Castle engaged in this business with the Scottish embassy on 17 July (when the new prior of Holy Island, a cell of the priory of Durham, reported his election to both parties).[4] In the following September he was doubtless present at the splendid feast provided by George Neville, the new northern primate, for his installation at York, which was made the occasion for a "great family gathering" of the Nevilles, the King and Queen however being absent; certainly his son, Sir Richard Strangeways, was one of the officers of the feast in the capacity of sewer.[5]

Sir James was again appointed, on 20 November 1465, along with Warwick, Northumberland, and their brother, the archbishop, to treat for a truce with commissaries from Scotland who were to meet them at Newcastle a fortnight later,[6] a royal privy seal warrant to the Lower Exchequer authorizing him (two days after the issue of the commission) to be paid 40 marks as recompense for his 'service and costs' done and incurred 'by virtue of oure [the King's] commandement and oure commission to hym directed in the north parties and elleswhere'.[7] On 1 June 1466 was ratified the truce with Scotland from 1464 to 1479 but now extended to 1519, an arrangement to which, again as a commissary with Warwick and his brothers, Strangeways had recently been party.[8] Together with Warwick and Northumberland and others, he was appointed on 10 October 1466 to treat at Newcastle in December for the keeping of the truce.[9]

Despite the growing breach between the Nevilles and Edward IV, in which an important stage was reached when the archbishop of York was deprived of the great seal on 8 June 1467 and Warwick's proposals for a French as against a Burgundian alliance were shortly afterwards rejected, Strangeways was able to secure an exemption from the Act of Resumption passed in the

[1] R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i, p. 534.
[2] *Rot. Parl.*, V, 530b. [3] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 417a.
[4] Surtees Soc., (1841), *The Priory of Coldingham*, 198.
[5] W. Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, (2nd ed., London 1703, by N. Battely), Part II, App. to Supplement, p. 29.
[6] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 418b.
[7] P.S. warrants for issue, P.R.O., E 404/73/1, no. 103.
[8] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 419b. [9] *ibid.*, 420b.

short parliamentary session of 3 June-1 July 1467.[1] It is, however, perhaps an indication of the new weakness of the Neville interest that for nearly a year and a half after his appointment on 20 February 1467 to serve on a commission of *oyer and terminer* at York and in the county,[2] Strangeways was appointed to no other royal commission, save the commissions of the peace for the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, from which he was locally perhaps too influential to be removed.

There was a reconciliation at Coventry between the Nevilles and the Wydevilles and the Court party early in 1468, but it proved empty of all but formality, and Warwick now began to stoop to intriguing with the Lancastrians and plotting for a northern rising under cover of secrecy. It was not until the summer of 1469 that Edward IV realized the extent of the earl's treachery and the wide range of disaffection of which he was the centre.

In the meantime, on 6 June 1468 Sir James Strangeways had been appointed as one of a commission to investigate the circumstances behind a petition presented to the King by Sir John Salvan; the latter denied that he had been enfeoffed in the manor of Doncaster by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, whose son and heir had been attainted in 1461 and had incurred forfeiture. And at the end of the same month Strangeways had been appointed (with others) to hold inquisitions *post mortem* regarding the estates of Sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby (Lancs.) and his son Sir John, both of them killed at the battle of Wakefield in 1460.[3] On 10 August following (1468) Archbishop Neville gave permission for Strangeways' daughter Margaret, widow of John Ingleby, to be married (after publication of banns) in the chapel of her father's manor-house at Harlsey to Richard Lord Welles and Willoughby.[4]

Presumably not long after this marriage took place, Sir James was appointed sheriff of Yorkshire on 5 November 1468 in succession to his kinsman by marriage, Sir John Conyers.[5] The appointment may perhaps be regarded as a tribute to the capacity of the Nevilles to dissemble their disaffection. Six days later Strangeways received an indemnity in advance for the great costs he was bound to incur in discharging his office, in the form of an assignment at the Exchequer for £340 which the King, 'certis de causis et grandis consideracionibus ipsum specialiter moventibus', granted him as a 'reward'. On 15 November, by privy seal warrant, Strangeways was allowed to charge the issues of his office with this allowance.[6] This was a very material concession.

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, V 598b. [2] *CPR*, 1461-7, 530.
[3] *ibid.*, 102, 103.
[4] Surtees Society, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii, 339; *Complete Peerage*, VIII, 143.
[5] *List of Sheriffs*, 162.
[6] Issue Roll, P.R.O. E 403/841, mem. 4; P.S. warrants for issue, E 404/74/1, no. 122.

As at the time of his previous occupation of the shrievalty of Yorkshire in 1452-3, Strangeways' present tenure of the office was one of great difficulty. There was a local revolt in the late spring of 1469, headed by 'Robin of Holderness' in favour of the Percies and suppressed by the Nevilles. Another rising, under the standard of 'Robin of Redesdale' and led by Sir John Conyers (Strangeways' nephew, by marriage), a rising with which the Nevilles and their friends were directly connected, was much more serious. It was fomented from Calais by Warwick and his new ally, Edward IV's brother George, duke of Clarence (who had recently married Warwick's daughter, Isabel), and was aimed at the King and the Wydevilles. These Yorkshire insurgents moved south in July, intending to join forces with Warwick. The great earl, crossing from Calais and raising the men of Kent, moved through London up into the Midlands to meet them. Before he could do so, the northern rebels defeated a force of Welsh and other loyalists under the earl of Pembroke at Edgecote Field on 26 July. Within a few days Pembroke and the earl of Rivers and his son had been executed by Warwick, and Edward IV himself was taken prisoner and a few weeks later carried off to Wensleydale to the Neville stronghold at Middleham. Public opinion, apparently even in Yorkshire, was too much for this, and the King soon regained his freedom of movement and was able to return to London. But temporarily the Nevilles were in the ascendancy, and that Sir James Strangeways was on 25 October following pardoned of all offences committed by him, and of all debts and accounts due by him as sheriff to the Crown,[1] suggests that his part in recent events, whether active or passive, had been satisfactory from the Neville point of view. There is no clear evidence that he had been directly implicated in the 1469 revolt, but it is difficult to believe, in face of the circumstantial evidence, that his conduct had not been, to say the least of it, equivocal from the King's point of view.

That Warwick and Clarence his son-in-law soon felt their position to be precarious is amply illustrated by their close connection with the Lincolnshire rising which broke out in February 1470. At this time the King did not know who were his friends and who his enemies in the north, and on 2 March Strangeways was appointed to serve under John Neville, earl of Northumberland, as a commissioner of array in the North Riding and in other parts of the county.[2] Two days later Edward IV left London for the new centre of disturbance; Strangeways' son-in-law, Richard Lord Welles and Willoughby (the father of Sir Robert Welles, the leader of the Lincolnshire rising), who had recently answered a royal summons to appear at Court, was ordered to be brought up in the King's rear. At Huntingdon he was ordered by Edward to have the rebellion put down on peril of his life. In the hope of

[1] *CPR*, 1467-77, 177.

[2] *ibid.*, 200.

saving his father's life, the son decided to give battle instead of joining Warwick at Leicester. The King immediately (on 12 March) ordered Lord Welles's execution, and went on to win the rout of Lose-coat Field, young Welles being turned in a prisoner within a day or two of the engagement and shortly afterwards executed. Warwick and Clarence were now hopelessly compromised. When faced at Chesterfield with the prospect of a pitched battle with the royal army, they fled westwards and, disappointed of support there, left the country for Warwick's old refuge at Calais. Via Pontefract Edward moved to York on 22 March, 'and ther camme in to hym all the gentilmen of the shire', including, for sure, Strangeways' nephew by marriage (and his own eldest son's brother-in-law), Sir John Conyers of Hornby.[1] Sir James's younger son Robert, however, had been directly caught up in the recent commotions, and when, on 25 April following, commissions were issued ordering the seizure of the estates of Clarence and Warwick and other rebels, this son's lands (and those of his cousin, Conyers) were amongst those to be sequestered.[2] By this time the ex-Speaker must have been at least sixty years old, and in all probability had managed to keep clear of open complicity in treason. It was perhaps sound family policy, however, to show sympathy by allowing one's sons to serve as rebels: any resultant forfeiture of property for treason was unlikely to be expensive, if a revolt went wrong; if rebellion was successful, then the family would have done its part.

Just about the time when Warwick and Louis XI of France were busy at Angers persuading Queen Margaret to accept Warwick's offer to effect a Lancastrian restoration in return for the marriage of Prince Edward of Lancaster to his daughter, Strangeways was appointed (on 18 July 1470) a member of an English embassy to treat with the Scots early in August for proper adherence to the truce.[3] Within two months' time Warwick and Clarence had landed in England, Edward IV had fled to Flanders, and Henry VI's "readeption" government was in being. It would appear that in this present highly inflammable situation Strangeways was regarded as not now so positive a supporter of Warwick, or as too good a Yorkist to stomach the earl's recent *volte-face* or seek favour with his Lancastrian allies: certainly on 19 November, about when the government of the Readeption re-formed the commissions of the peace, Sir James was dropped from the West Riding commission and, on the next day, even from that of the North Riding.[4]

Failed by his brother, Montagu, in the North, and betrayed by Clarence, Warwick met his end at Edward's hands at Barnet on 14 April 1471. Landing on the same day at Weymouth, Queen

[1] J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii, 351.
[2] *CPR*, 1467-77, 218.
[3] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 423a.
[4] *CPR*, 1467-77, 637-8.

Margaret spent some time in the south-west raising forces that were crushed at the battle of Tewkesbury on 4 May. The leading Lancastrians in her army were either killed or afterwards executed, including Prince Edward. Less than three weeks later, when Edward IV entered London, Henry VI himself met his death in the Tower.

Discord within the royal family was soon to create fresh trouble, especially the rivalry of Clarence and Gloucester. But, in the meantime, there was need to tie up the diplomatic threads between England and other powers that had been either snapped or frayed in the recent upsets. One of the present needs was to re-confirm the truce with Scotland and suggest a marriage-alliance, and it was arranged on 26 August 1471 that the negotiation should take place at Alnwick four weeks later. Sir James Strangeways was one of the commissaries appointed. On 6 February 1472 a new commission, of which he was again a member, was set up to meet at Newcastle on 25 April to correct violations of the truce, and he was also, before this meeting could take place, one of those instructed on 16 March to treat for a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms.[1] In the interim, on 25 February (1472) Strangeways had been re-appointed J.P. in the North Riding, and on 7 March he was made a commissioner of array there. He continued to act as a J.P. in this his own Riding until his death in 1480, being re-appointed in November 1475, February 1476, and February 1477.[2] And he continued to be called upon to act in negotiations with Scotland, being appointed as a commissary to assist the examination of cases of breach of truce in May and August 1473 and, in February 1474, to confer about fishing rights in the River Esk, about which there was some doubt as to title.[3]

Otherwise, there is not much to record of Strangeways' latest years. In September 1472 his grandson James, then a boy of perhaps twelve years of age, was contracted in marriage with Alice, daughter of Thomas Lord Scrope of Masham who died in 1475. On 18 August 1473 Sir James had been put on the North Riding commission in a general inquiry about payments due to the royal Exchequer that had fallen into abeyance.[4] This was his last casual commission, excluding his Scottish mission of February 1474. When during the third session of the parliament of 1472-5, which lasted from October to December 1473, another Act of Resumption was passed, one of the exemption clauses (not provided for in the body of the bill but tacked on by the King) excluded from the effects of the act any lease or demise for term of years under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster made to Sir James Strangeways of any parcel of the duchy honour of Pickering and Pickeringlythe.[5] Of the last five years of his life nothing at all is known beyond the fact that on 1 October 1476 the feoffees of

[1] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 430a, 430b, 433b, 434a.
[2] *CPR*, 1467-77, 349, 637.
[3] *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 437a, 438b, 451a.
[4] *CPR*, 1467-77, 408.
[5] *Rot. Parl.*, VI, 96.

a draper of mark in Northallerton, Richard Moore, conveyed property there to Sir James and his son Richard, on the understanding that they assumed patronage of a Maison-Dieu for a chaplain and thirteen poor people which Moore had founded in a chantry established in Northallerton parish church.[1]

Strangeways' interest in religion seems to have followed very orthodox lines. His and his wife's endowment of the Carthusian priory of Mountgrace with the advowson of the church of Beighton (Derbyshire) in 1456, has already been noticed. And so have his relations with the great Cistercian abbey of Fountains. Besides these connections, sometime in 1470 he and his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Eure esquire of Bradley (Durham), great-granddaughter of Henry Lord FitzHugh and widow of Sir William Bulmer of Wilton (near Redcar, Yorkshire) whom Sir James had married sometime between 1463 and 1468, were admitted to the Gild of Corpus Christi at York along with his daughter, Margaret Baroness Welles, and his younger son, James, and *his* wife.[2] Another younger son, George, rector of Bulmer and chaplain at Whorlton Castle by his father's gift, became Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, in the year before his father's death.[3]

Sir James died shortly before 20 August 1480, when writs were issued from the royal Chancery authorizing inquiries on behalf of the Crown into his lands in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, and Middlesex. Sir Richard, his son and heir, was of considerably more than full age and, on 13 November following, for a fee of £20 to the King, received licence from the Chancery freely to enter his inheritance, saving homage, fealty, and relief.[4] Sir James's widow did not long survive him, dying on 13 (or 14) March 1482. Nor did his heir, for Sir Richard died on 13 April 1488, leaving as his widow his second wife Jane, daughter of Sir John de Assheton of Ashton-under-Lyne (Lancs.) and once widow of Roger Dutton esquire of Cheshire.[5] Sir Richard's son and heir, the Speaker's grandson, another James, then aged 28 years, had been knight of the body to Richard III, who had granted him 100 marks a year in the manor of Deighton and from the lordship of Middleham.[6] This James had been knighted by Richard III when as duke of Gloucester he had led the Scottish expedition of 1480.[7] He had come through the crisis of 1485 without much trouble, in spite of the fact that his brother-in-law, Thomas Lord Scrope of Masham, to

[1] *V.C.H., Yorkshire,* iii, 318; *V.C.H., Yorkshire, N. Riding,* i, 432.

[2] *Complete Peerage,* IV 66n; Surtees Society, vol. LVII, *The Register of the Gild of the Corpus Christi, York,* p. 75.

[3] Sir James's son, James of Ormesby and Sneaton, died in 1507-8. *Testamenta Eboracensia,* IV 39n; *Notes and Queries,* vol. 191 (1946), p. 72.

[4] *CFR,* 1471-83, 196; *CPR,* 1477-85, 225.

[5] *Testamenta Eboracensia,* IV, p. 186.

[6] *ibid.,* 435.

[7] British Museum, Harleian MS. no. 293, fo. 208.

whom this Sir James was feoffee for the execution of his will, had certainly not found the transition from Yorkist to Tudor rule a comfortable one, and he was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1492-3 and 1508-9. This Sir James, who has been sometimes confused with his grandfather,[1] died on 16 December 1521.

[1] e.g. in the *D.N.B.* article on the Speaker, and by R. Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster, op. cit.* For Lord Scrope of Masham's will, v. *Test. Ebor.*, IV, 72. Lord Scrope was a supporter of Lambert Simnel in 1487.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes :—DNB= *Dictionary of National Biography;* CPR=*Calendar of Patent Rolls;* CCR= *Calendar of Close Rolls;* CFR=*Calendar of Fine Rolls;* Rot. Parl.=*Rotuli Parliamentorum;* DKR=*Deputy Keeper's Reports;* VCH=*Victoria County History;* Rot. Scot.=*Rotuli Scotiae;* PRO=*Public Record Office.*

YORKSHIRE AND THE RESTORATION

By A. H. Woolrych.

On New Year's Day, 1660, two pieces of news were spreading through a troubled country and rousing excited speculation. The first was that Lord Fairfax had risen at the head of the Yorkshire gentry; the second, close upon its heels, that General Monck's army was marching over the border into England. History has not neglected Monck's contribution to the Restoration, for good reasons, yet the Yorkshire rising has been little remembered outside the brief accounts by Sir Clement Markham and the late Godfrey Davies.[1] It would be absurd to claim, as the Duke of Buckingham and Sir Philip Monckton did in their time and Markham more recently, that but for Fairfax's enterprise the Restoration would have been thwarted. But the episode was famous in its day and the evidence is worth resifting, both to establish the full facts and to find what light they throw on the cross-currents of political aims and interests at the point of the Great Rebellion's final breakdown.

The situation at the end of 1659 was such as to invest both Monck's and Fairfax's actions with high importance, but also with a certain mystery, and a hope (for most Englishmen) that their ultimate intentions went further than they declared. In the previous spring, Richard Cromwell's Protectorate had fallen, thanks to the republicans' skill in stirring up political and religious unrest in the army, and a little remnant of the Long Parliament had revived the Commonwealth of ten years earlier. But the officers and the politicians, finding that mere enthusiasm for an ill-defined 'Good Old Cause' gave them no common ground for settling the constitution of a nation which heartily disliked them both, had quarrelled between themselves, until in October the Rump was once more turned out of doors and the Council of Officers once more left with the government of England on its hands. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Berry and their friends set up a Committee of Safety in conjunction with Sir Henry Vane, Edmund Ludlow and a few other politicians who differed from Sir Arthur Hesilrige and his intransigent republican majority in the Rump. But as the weeks passed, it became increasingly obvious that the country would never accept a settlement from these men's hands, even if they could agree on one. On the other hand, despite copious republican propaganda concerning the sanctity of parliaments, the Rump was only one degree less unpopular and politically bankrupt than the military grandees, and

[1] C. R. Markham, *A Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* (1870), 376-83; G. Davies, *The Restoration of Charles II* (San Marino, Calif., 1955), 177-8, 264-5.

defiance of both parties gradually began to spread from the city to the provinces. To an extent unknown all through the last twenty years, government began to fail in its elementary functions, and the events in the north described in this essay must be seen against a background of bloody clashes in the London streets, increasing disorders in many other parts, unpaid soldiers collecting illegal taxes and living at free quarter, courts of law ceasing to sit for lack of a duly constituted authority, and a trade depression aggravated by the chronic instability of government. It was the taste of sheer anarchy which now set the tide of popular feeling flowing massively and actively in the king's favour; the national devotion to the rule of law turned towards monarchy as the one remaining source from which it could renew itself.

Monck had declared his support for the parliament as soon as he heard of its interruption. He had no cause to love Hesilrige and his party and no faith in their panaceas, but his first need was to resist and repudiate the suicidal behaviour of the officers in London and to acquire some control over the situation. He could only justify his intervention, and the breach it caused between old comrades in arms, by appealing to the inviolability of parliament's authority. To have taken up prematurely the popular cry for the readmission of the members 'secluded' by Pride's Purge in 1648, or alternatively for a new, free parliament, would have branded him as a crypto-royalist (like Sir George Booth, who had risen for a free parliament last August); it would have made the soldiers and politicians in London close their ranks, and lost him the obedience of much of his own army. He had to consider how he stood with regard to three distinct 'interests' which agreed only in opposing the present usurpation: the commonwealthsmen, the Presbyterians[1] and the old royalists. The commonwealthsmen, who simply wanted the Rump restored, were numerous in his own forces, and still more so in those which Lambert marched northward against him early in November; to outrage them would have rendered him powerless. But his sympathies were with the Presbyterian gentry, who were sick of the political ambitions of soldiers and sectaries, wanted to restore the traditional dominance of their own class in local and national affairs, and would mostly have welcomed a return to monarchy on some such terms as had been negotiated with Charles I on the Isle of Wight ten years ago. Whether Monck had any clear idea of serving the king at this stage is very doubtful. On the other hand democratic notions were quite foreign to his temper,

[1] The term is used throughout this essay in the political sense current at the time, as signifying the moderate parliamentarians whose representatives were expelled from the Long Parliament in Dec. 1648. Jealous of any threat to the existing social order, and therefore hostile alike to radical political theories and the enthusiasm of the sects, by the end of 1659 they so generally desired the king's return that any distinction between those who had conformed to the Protectorate and those who had entered Charles II's service was becoming nugatory.

and religious fanaticism he detested—especially the suggestion of superiority to worldly distinctions of rank and status which godly commonwealthsmen were apt to assume. Circumstances might in time deflect him from his principle that soldiers should obey commands but give none, but he was steadfast in his belief that (as he put it to parliament on 6 February) 'it is the sober interest must establish your dominion'.[1]

With the royalists he had as yet no traffic, and so far as reliable evidence goes no strong ties of sympathy. They had nothing to offer him that he could not obtain better by his own initiative. Wary of risks after long years of failure and split by jealous disputes over leadership and policy, their influence upon the political scene remained negligible until after his main work was done.

While Monck had served the Protectorate vigorously and loyally so long as it lasted, Fairfax had lived in retirement since 1650 and had been out of sympathy with the whole course of English politics for even longer. The marriage of his daughter Mary to the Duke of Buckingham in 1657, and the latter's subsequent imprisonment, led to an angry brush or two with Cromwell, but there was no substance in the frequent rumours that he had been won over to the king's cause.[2] In Richard Cromwell's parliament he sat next to Hesilrige and voted against the Government, but though the republicans flattered him, and perhaps dreamt of making him Commander-in-chief once more as a means of wresting the army from the Protector,[3] he never committed himself to them. When in May they triumphed, he ignored their appointment of him to the Council of State, and he took no more notice when in December the General Council of the Army named him among their Conservators of Liberty.[4] By then he was exasperated with Rumpers and army leaders alike, and almost certainly accepted that the only way back to the broad-based parliamentary rule and the other traditional political values for which he had first fought lay through a restoration of the monarchy.

[1] Sir Richard Baker, *A Chronicle of the Kings of England*, continued by E. Phillips (1670), 706. A fortnight earlier he had expressed his desire for 'a speedy and good setlement in a Commonwealth, not uppon any phanaticall parties or principalls, but uppon the true basis of interest and righteousness'; and also that 'wee may . . . bee freed from this phanatic humour which hath borne sway soe long' (*The Clarke Papers*, ed. C. H. Firth (1891-1901), IV, 259-60).

[2] For references to such reports see Markham, 37 n.4; M. A. Gibb, *The Lord General* (1938), 279 n.13; W. C. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge, Mass. 1939-47), III, 682; IV, 17, 676. None carry conviction, and right down to the eve of the Restoration Hyde's correspondence with his agents in England shows that the king had no direct contact with Fairfax and no assurance of his intentions [*Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, IV, ed. F. J. Routledge (Oxford, 1932), *passim*].

[3] See A. H. Woolrych, 'The Good Old Cause and the fall of the Protectorate', in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, XIII (1957), 143.

[4] Bordeaux to Brienne, $\frac{15}{25}$ Dec., in F. G. P. Guizot, *History of Richard Cromwell and the Restoration of Charles II*, trans. A. R. Scoble (1856), II, 308.

His name still had a magic for the soldiery, and now that at last he chose to act, his prestige stood the higher for his long abstention from politics.

Both morally and strategically, Fairfax could render incalculable help to Monck. Lambert reached York about 7 November with an army which, added to the regiments already stationed in the north and the brigade brought over from Ireland at the time of Booth's rising, totalled not far short of 12,000 men[1]—far more than Monck could detach from the task of holding Scotland, and proportionately stronger in cavalry. Moreover officers and men had an ingrained habit of judging their commanders' quarrels for themselves, and at first there were many more defections from the Scottish to the English ranks than the other way. Within a month about a hundred officers had left Monck's service, some taking their men with them, and there were others whom he had to dismiss because he could not rely on their obedience.[2] He could not even count on the support of those republican officers in England who had been among the Rump's strongest champions. At Hull the Governor, Colonel Robert Overton, an old hero of the commonwealthsmen, declared he would keep his garrison neutral if fighting broke out, even though he and Monck were both among the seven commissioners under whom the Rump had placed all the armed forces on 12 October, when it had cancelled Fleetwood's commission as Commander-in-Chief. Overton was a millenarian enthusiast, and he distrusted Monck's religious principles and political intentions too deeply to accept his declarations at their face value.[3] Still more hostile was Colonel Robert Lilburne, the senior officer in the north until Lambert arrived and thereafter his most zealous lieutenant. Brother to the old Leveller leader, one of the engineers of Richard Cromwell's overthrow, and now a member of the Committee of Safety, Lilburne had reacted spontaneously to Monck's declaration for the Rump by banding his officers with him in a solemn pledge of fidelity to Fleetwood and the General Council of the Army.[4]

In this situation Fairfax could help not only by creating a diversion in the rear of Lambert's forces, but even more by weakening their confidence in the justice of their quarrel and offering an honourable rallying-point to all who wished to abandon it. But would he do it? More than one boaster subsequently

[1] Davies, 172 n. 32, 177.

[2] The figure of 140 officers lost to Monck, given by Phillips (Baker, 691) and Thomas Gumble (*Life of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle* (1671), 143-4), probably derives from a list of 144 names printed in *Mercurius Politicus*, 24 Nov.—1 Dec., pp. 922-3. This includes chaplains, drummers and N.C.Os.; without these it totals 97.

[3] Davies, 151, 160-1.

[4] Printed in *The Publick Intelligencer*, 7-14 Nov., pp. 845-7; cf. *Clarke Papers*, IV, 87; Baker, 688.

took credit for inducing him to act,[1] but the decision was natural and doubtless his own, and if he leaned on anyone it was on the minister Edward Bowles, whose judgement in counsel and negotiation he trusted far. Bowles, who had imbibed the pure milk of the puritan gospel at Cambridge from Sibbes and Brownrigge, had been chaplain to the Earl of Manchester until York surrendered in 1644, when he became one of four parliamentary ministers appointed to the city and began to build a reputation as leader of the Yorkshire Presbyterians.[2] But contact was first established between Fairfax and Monck by Major-General Morgan,[3] who was laid up in York with the gout, and by the surgeon who was treating him, one John Troutbeck, a popular figure with Monck and his officers. Under a misapprehension that Morgan was out of sympathy with his old chief's present stand, Lambert sent him to Edinburgh to urge Monck to a reconciliation. Before they left, however, Morgan and Troutbeck visited Fairfax at Nunappleton, showed him Monck's declaration and tried to enlist his support for it; with the result that they reached Monck's headquarters at Dalkeith about 7 or 8 November[4] with not only Lambert's appeal but a far more welcome message from Fairfax and a letter from Bowles. This stated that while Fairfax and many of his fellow-gentry were disposed to join with Monck, they disapproved his declaration in so far as it vindicated only the Rump of the Long Parliament, and pledged him to support no government but a Commonwealth. Monck then at once sent his brother-in-law Thomas Clarges to them to explain how circumscribed he was in what he could declare publicly, and to concert definite plans for a rising with Fairfax, Bowles, Colonel Rossiter and other leaders of the Presbyterian gentry.

[1] Buckingham's boast, printed in R. Bell (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War* (1849), II (Vol. IV of the *Fairfax Correspondence*), p. 252, was sufficiently answered by Brian Fairfax : see Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter HMC), *Sixth Report*, Appendix, 466. Clarendon's statement that Fairfax was prompted to rise by a letter from the king, delivered by Sir Horatio Townshend (*History of the Rebellion*, ed. W. D. Macray (Oxford, 1887), Bk. XVI, § 117), is unsupported by documentary evidence and inherently improbable.

[2] For Bowles see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] Morgan had been one of Monck's most trusted commanders in Scotland until he was sent out as second-in-command of the English forces in Flanders, whence he returned late in 1658. For his career and his part in these events see C. H. Firth and G. Davies, *Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (Oxford, 1940), I, 307-15.

[4] Baker, 689; Lambert evidently sanctioned Morgan's mission by correspondence with Lilburne, for Morgan must have left York before Lambert got there. Davies (p. 178) puts back Morgan's arrival at Dalkeith to late October or very early November, on the grounds that Phillip's chronology (in Baker) makes it impossible for Clarges still to have been there on 7 or 8 Nov. Clarges, we know, left very soon after Morgan arrived. But Clarges had only reached Dalkeith from London on 2 Nov., and he wrote on the 3rd that he would stay there at least three or four more days (*Merc. Pol.*, 3-10 Nov., 859-60). Phillip's date for Morgan's arrival is therefore quite plausible, and his error probably lies in his statement that Clarges, after being delayed *en route* by injury for over ten days, got back to London on 15 Nov.

Clarges found Bowles dubious at first of an undertaking which joined hands with such stiff-necked republicans as Colonels Hacker and Hutchinson in the Midlands, Okey in London and Whetham in Portsmouth, but he convinced him of the need for working with them. Bowles then carried Monck's proposals to Nunappleton, where Fairfax, after conferring with a few intimates, including Henry Arthington[1] (his brother-in-law) and Buckingham, readily agreed to call his friends to arms before the middle of January.[2] The enterprise was planned with caution. Few of the local gentry were apprised of it, but two men were enlisted whose part in it was to be important: Major George Smithson, the second-in-command of Lilburne's own regiment of horse, who had already signified his unwillingness to fight against Monck,[3] and Colonel Hugh Bethell, one of Fairfax's most gallant cavalry commanders down to 1649 and still of high repute among the old soldiers in Lambert's army.[4] Fairfax also got in touch through Bowles with Sir Philip Monckton, who, having been a prominent royalist commander in both Civil Wars, could not appear in arms with the rest, but could give valuable help within the City of York.[5]

Clarges was unfortunately incapacitated for at least ten days after leaving York by a heavy fall from his horse, though he got a message through to Colonel Rossiter in Lincolnshire, who pledged his support for Fairfax. After that the plans for a rising

[1] M. P. Pontefract 1646; at first secluded in Pride's Purge, but later readmitted; elected to 1656 parliament but excluded by the Council of State; did not sit in the restored Rump in 1659, and the size of his fine (£100) for non-attendance suggests suspicion of his complicity in Booth's rising. See A. Gooder, *Parliamentary Representation of the County of York* 1258-1832 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 2 vols. 1935-8), II, 73.

[2] Baker, 691; Bell, II, 152.

[3] *A Narrative of the Northern Affairs* (dated from York, 16 Nov. 1659), p. 4. Smithson had married the daughter of Col. Charles Fairfax (Lord Fairfax's uncle); the many ties of kinship within the small group which acted with Fairfax will be noticed. Smithson had been elected to the parliaments of 1654 and 1659, and appointed to the county's Militia Committee by the restored Rump (Gooder, II, 69-71).

[4] Correctly identified by Gooder (II, 63-6) as the son of Hugh Bethell of Rise (d. 1659). His fine military career is traced by Gooder (*loc. cit.*) and by Firth and Davies, I, 261-3, though the latter mistake his identity; he was the cousin, not the brother, of the republican politician Slingsby Bethell. He was governor of Scarborough 1648-51; High Sheriff of Yorkshire 1652-3; M.P. East Riding 1654; knighted Sept. 1658.

[5] E. Peacock (ed.), *The Monckton Papers*, pp. 24-5, included in *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, XV (1877-84). Sir Philip Monckton of Cavill Hall came of a strongly royalist family; fought in many actions, including Rowton Heath, where he and Bethell were on opposite sides; chief royalist commander in Yorkshire in the second Civil War; was captured in 1648, and believed he owed it to Fairfax that he suffered banishment instead of death. Returned to England and was several times imprisoned under the Protectorate; marred his record after the Restoration by his frequent importuning of Charles II with absurdly exaggerated claims, by his rancour against Clarendon, and by his constant trouble-making among his neighbours, extending to blackmail in 1673 and bringing him to the Tower in 1676. See *DNB*, and *Monckton Papers*, esp. 13-46, 100-2.

seem rather to have languished, though probably for other reasons besides lack of communication with Scotland. Monck had time on his side—his men were less long unpaid, and the futility of the Committee of Safety's efforts, coupled with the public's mounting revulsion against the army everywhere, were bound to sap the morale of Lambert's forces in the end—but in November he needed to buy time in order to hold out at all. He had no choice but to spin it out in treating with the officers in London, and on 15 November the commissioners he sent there exceeded their instructions and signed an ill-judged treaty. He refused to ratify it without a further negotiation, this time at Newcastle, whither Lambert now advanced his headquarters, Monck moving his own forward to Berwick. But so badly did the Committee of Safety want an agreement with him that they only really began to lose hope after 8 December, when Monck, upon intelligence that Lambert had moved troops forward into Northumberland and occupied Chillingham Castle, took up his famous quarters at Coldstream.[1] The two armies now faced each other closely across the border.

Monck had probably never intended any real concessions to Fleetwood and Lambert, but while he played at negotiating he could not expect enthusiasm from the Presbyterian gentry. The public had become used to seeing the army settle its political quarrels not by the sword but by rhetoric—a game of appeal and counter-appeal which usually ended with the regiments joining in fulsome acclamation of whichever side for the moment caught their favour. That was how, within the last few months, the military *coups* of 21 April and 13 October had been conducted, and soon the Rump's brief return to power would be inaugurated in similar fashion. Fairfax and his friends may well have been discouraged by the prospect of a composition between the English and Scottish officers. But when Monck embraced the dismal rigours of Coldstream in mid-winter, and confirmed his obvious preparations for marching into England by the masterly arrangements he made with the representatives of the Scottish shires and burghs on 13 December; when the Committee of Safety began to stagger under the defiance first of Portsmouth and then of the fleet; when first London and then the provinces began spontaneously to demonstrate their exasperation with the grandees' shabby apology for a government; then at last hopes rose that the country might be freed from the sterile factions which had squabbled so long over its rule, and that Monck might be its liberator.

There was activity among the Yorkshire gentry in mid-December, when a large meeting at York aroused suspicion.[2] With Lambert's troops guarding all the roads into Scotland,

[1] *Clarke Papers*, IV, 179.
[2] HMC, *Fifth Report* (1876), Appendix, 193.

however, communication with Monck had become a serious problem. Messengers who tried to get through by the direct route were stopped at Newcastle,[1] and Monck still had no definite notice of Fairfax's intentions. But about 18 December young Brian Fairfax, home for Christmas from Cambridge, chanced to visit his cousin the general at Nunappleton and was plunged at once into an adventure.[2] He accepted it readily. He was to set out next day for Coldstream by a difficult and dangerous route, over hills deep in snow, and rivers only made passable by the exceptional frosts of that winter. It would mean long, cold hours in the saddle, often at night, for he must take the slowest, least frequented ways and yet be back before New Year's Day. He carried no letter, only a verbal message that Lord Fairfax would appear on 1 January at the head of such forces as he could raise, and a request that if Lambert should turn any of his forces against Yorkshire Monck would advance and watch them. Next morning Buckingham supervised his disguise as 'a young country clown', and Arthington rode with him to York to meet Bowles, who heard him rehearse his message and conferred with Arthington about his route. That night he was the guest of Sir Robert Strickland[3] at Thornton Bridge on the Swale, where he was shown every kindness and given a letter to Thomas Shepard, steward of the Strickland estates at Sizergh, who was to be his guide over the Cumberland hills.[4] Two days' rough riding over the Dales brought him to Shepard's house near Kendal, where he slept in a bed for the last time for six nights. A moonlit start on the 22nd inaugurated a journey which led through Kendal to Penrith, passed east of Carlisle through Brampton up to Bewcastle, thence over the border to Newcastleton, and by another pass to Hawick and the comparatively safe going of Teviotdale. Besides the expected hardships there were several anxious encounters with Lambert's troops, and on the final stage a murderous attack by a moss-trooper whom Brian unwittingly took as guide after Shepard's horse had gone lame. But he reached Coldstream towards midnight on Christmas Day, and the joy and gratitude of Monck's officers were his reward. Monck undertook that not a troop of the English horse would move but he would follow it; he would watch Lambert, he said, as a cat watches a mouse.

[1] *Monckton Papers*, 27-8; Bell, II, 152.

[2] Brian Fairfax's own account, *Iter Boreale*, is printed in Bell, II, 152-73. He dates his arrival at Nunappleton 20 Dec.; his story, however, is sufficiently full to establish that he reached Coldstream on the seventh day of his journey (27 Dec. by his reckoning), yet he was evidently back at Nunappleton by 29 Dec. (see note 1, p. 492 below). He cannot have ridden back via Natland in Westmorland in two days; and since elsewhere his dates seem to be two days ahead of the correct ones I have amended them here accordingly.

[3] M.P. Aldborough in Long Parliament, but withdrew in 1643 and commanded a regiment for the king. Biography in H. Hornyold, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Strickland of Sizergh* (Kendal, 1928), 111-22.

[4] A dozen years earlier Shepard had been Sir Marmaduke Langdale's guide at the time of the invasion of Hamilton's Scots (Bell, II, 155).

During Brian's absence, his brother Henry carried a letter from Lord Fairfax to Overton in Hull, inviting him to join in resisting Lambert. But as was to be expected of one whose concern was with the approaching kingdom of saints, and to whom earthly monarchy was anathema, Overton would no more join with Fairfax than with Monck.[1]

Meanwhile the hollow authority of the Committee of Safety had collapsed. Unable in the most literal sense to maintain law and order, defied by the city, the fleet, the armies of Scotland and now of Ireland too, and fast losing their hold over their own troops, Fleetwood and his colleagues in London gave up the struggle on Christmas Eve, while the regiments paraded before the house of Speaker Lenthall and acclaimed him as their general. The Rump, still further depleted, sat again on the 26th. But to Monck's plans these events made no difference. If his declarations could be trusted, all his actions since October had been directed solely to the restoration of the parliament's authority; yet when his army began to cross the border into England on New Year's Day he knew perfectly well that Fleetwood had submitted and that Lambert's forces were already disintegrating.[2] He and his apologists later gave various explanations why he set out on his momentous march a week after his professed object had been attained, but the real one was doubtless a determination not to be subject to the vagaries of Hesilrige and his friends any more than to those of the Committee of Safety.

His obligation to Fairfax, however, gave him an excellent pretext, for the same messenger who informed him of Fleetwood's submission also brought news that the Yorkshire rising had begun a day or two earlier than intended.[3] Fairfax had not brought too many of his neighbours into the design,[4] for he presumably reckoned that since the Yorkshire gentry had been so predominantly royalist, to issue a general call to arms might merely stiffen the resolution of Lambert's troops, whereas he could best serve Monck by winning over as many of these as possible. Yet the secret could not be kept. Some leakage caused Lilburne to hasten back from Lambert's Newcastle headquarters with reinforcements for the York garrison, placing in jeopardy both the success of the

[1] Bell, II, 163.

[2] His letter of congratulations to the Speaker, written on 29 Dec., is printed in *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, XXII (1763), 39-41. See also his letter to Sir Hardress Waller on 1 Jan., countermanding as unnecessary the reinforcements of cavalry which were to have come to him from Ireland (*Clarke Papers*, IV, 237; cf. p. 232).

[3] Baker, 699; J. Price, *The Mystery and Method of His Majesty's Happy Restauration* (1680), repr. in F. Maseres (ed.), *Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England* (1826), II, 748-9; T. Skinner, *The Life of General Monck, Duke of Albermale* (1724), 179.

[4] Bell, II, 152, 163. Brian Fairfax's statements to this effect are supported by the small number of names which contemporary accounts furnish.

enterprise and Fairfax's personal freedom.[1] The chief participants therefore made for their various rendezvous on the morning of Friday, 30 December. The largest was that of the East Riding gentry at Malton, where about 300 horse came in under such leaders as Sir Henry Cholmley,[2] Sir Francis Boynton[3] and Colonel Bethell, and also the first of four troops of Lilburne's cavalry regiment which were to join Fairfax under Smithson's influence, this one being commanded by another Yorkshireman, Captain Strangeways.[4] It is striking that on 16 December Smithson and Strangeways had frankly told Lambert himself of their dislike of his quarrel, and that Lambert, when threats and persuasions failed, let them go free to act as they pleased—a symptom of his failing grip over his forces even a fortnight before Yorkshire rose. The two officers had then sounded their men (most of them raised in the county), and on finding them ready to help secure York for the parliament, had sent home all who lived within easy distance until they were given word to appear.[5] But welcome as Strangeways was at the rendezvous, with most of his troop intact and twenty well-armed neighbours, he brought to the surface those latent differences of purpose which were capable of wrecking Fairfax's whole attempt. He objected strongly to the presence of William Gower, who had brought forty men, on the grounds that he was a cavalier, and an altercation arose with Gower's friends, who saw no reason why he should withdraw. In the end, however, Gower handed over his troop to another, and the wisdom of Fairfax's ruling, debarring old royalists from appearing in arms, was demonstrated in this breach of it.[6]

When the company was as full as could be expected it dispersed to various quarters, intending to meet again next morning at another rendezvous on Bagby Moor, where the North Riding contingent, including Smithson and the other troops of Lilburne's

[1] *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 26 Dec.—2 Jan., 16; *Monckton Papers*, 28-9. Sir Thomas Gower stated that Fairfax and Buckingham had to leave Nunappleton hurriedly on the night of 26 Dec. to avoid arrest (HMC, 5*th Report*, 193); but Fairfax was at home when Brian returned from Scotland, some days later (Bell, II, 163).

[2] M.P. New Malton in Long Parliament until secluded in 1648; fought for parliament from Edgehill to the siege of Pontefract (1648), his allegiance unaffected when his brother, Sir Hugh Cholmley, went over to the royalists in 1643. See M. F. Keeler, *The Long Parliament* 1640-1 (Philadelphia, 1954); J. W. Clay, 'The gentry of Yorkshire at the time of the Civil War', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXIII (1915), 383-4.

[3] Eldest son of Sir Matthew Boynton, the parliamentary general, whose younger son, Matthew, succeeded him as Governor of Scarborough Castle and betrayed it to the royalists in 1648. Sir Francis evidently remained a parliamentarian; he received a pardon under the great seal in 1661 (Clay, 353; J. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, II).

[4] Strangeways wrote an excellent account of the rising, published (anonymously) as *A Letter from a Captain of the Army, to an Honourable Member of Parliament. Dated at Tadcaster, January 2, 1659.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 3; cf. *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 19-26 Dec., p. 1; *Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 459.

[6] *Letter from a Captain*, 4; HMC, 5*th Report*, 193.

regiment, was to join it. But Lambert's forces were now alerted and were falling back confusedly into Yorkshire, causing Smithson to modify his plans and make with his own troop for Kirkby Moorside. Fortunately he met a party which Strangeways had sent to find quarters around Helmsley, so both troops spent the night in that area. Their numbers were further increased early next morning by forty or fifty more men of their regiment, who had left their sleeping officers to join their old commander Captain Thomas Lilburne, a cousin of the colonel but so out of tune with his republican views that his troop had been taken from him after the fall of the Protectorate.[1] At sunrise on Saturday the whole company, now about 450 strong, came together again at Yearsley, and receiving a message that Fairfax would meet them that day at Knaresborough, set off on the twenty-mile march through deep snow. Near Boroughbridge they intercepted three troops of Colonel Hacker's regiment. These had marched north with Lambert two months ago, but were now hastening southward to join their colonel, who had just been helping to secure Coventry for the parliament. Deeply suspicious, the two forces drew up face to face and seemed at one moment about to fall upon each other, but when Hacker's men pledged themselves to stand for the present parliament against all who opposed it they were allowed to go their way.[2]

In the meantime, while the East Riding gentry were gathering at Malton, Fairfax, sick with the gout and suffering such pain from the stone that he had to ride in his coach, set out for lower Wharfedale to head those of the West Riding. He had fixed a meeting-point near Leeds, partly because trade was so bad in the clothing towns that he hoped they would rally to him as they had done seventeen years earlier.[3] The little party—Arthington,

[1] *Letter from a Captain*, 5; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1659-60, 294-5; Firth and Davies, I, 273-5. Capt. Thomas and his father, George Lilburne, had declared for Monck and refused to raise the Durham militia for Lambert, while old Richard Lilburne, father of 'Free-born John' and Col. Robert, had supported the Committee of Safety (*Narrative of the Northern Affairs*, 6).

[2] *Letter from a Captain*, 7; HMC, 5*th Report*, 193; Firth and Davies, I, 235-7. The situation was typically confused, for Capt. Walle, who commanded the three troops, was known to Strangeways as a cavalier, while Hacker, who had commanded the guard at Charles I's execution, and was soon himself to be executed with the regicides, was a strong supporter of the Rump.

[3] *An Extract of a Letter from York, dated the* 31 *of Decemb.* 1659. Another broadsheet, *The Declaration of Thomas Lord Fairfax* [etc.] which is dated from Leeds, 13 Feb. 1660, is probably spurious (see p. 495, n. 3 below), but significantly stresses 'the particular Decay and Ruine of the Cloathing-Trade of this County'. Brian Fairfax was probably wrong in thinking his cousin was making for his other house at Denton (Bell, II, 163-4); Lord Fairfax himself wrote that his purpose was to collect his West Riding adherents near Leeds while Cholmley and Bethel rallied the East Riding at Malton (*Merc. Pol.*, 5-12 Jan., 1011). Brian's chronology also needs to be corrected from contemporary accounts, which make it clear that Fairfax's party set out on 30 Dec.

Brian and Henry Fairfax and about ten others riding with the coach—was stopped near Harewood by a detachment of Lilburne's cavalry, but allowed to proceed; and a little further along the road it was joined by Captain Francis Wilkinson[1] with nearly a hundred men, the fourth troop of Lilburne's regiment to come over. They quartered that night at Arthington, where they were further augmented by Sir Thomas Slingsby[2] and other gentlemen with their retainers, who had seized a quantity of ammunition on its way from York to the garrison at Skipton. Better still, an officer rode in while they slept to tell Fairfax that the entire horse of the Irish Brigade, now at Wetherby, was at his service and only awaited his commands.[3]

This welcome news was probably expected, for although the brigade's commander, Colonel Sankey, supported Lambert strongly and was with him now, most of its officers were known to be dissatisfied, and declarations of protest against the parliament's interruption and of solidarity with the army in Scotland had passed among them. Major-General Ludlow and the Rumper John Weaver had been bidding for their support, and Monck wrote to invite their adherence four days before he crossed the Tweed. On 30 December they sent up a declaration of loyalty to Hesilrige and Weaver, presumably on hearing of the Rump's return to power, but they were in truth 'so strangely mingled' that until the last moment they dared not trust each other.[4] Major John Godfrey, senior officer of the horse in Sankey's absence and largely responsible for bringing his troops over, wrote to Hesilrige on 31 December that they would only join forces with Fairfax if he would pledge his support to the present parliament.[5] But Godfrey's authority terminated that same evening, when Colonel Redman and Lieutenant-Colonel Brett arrived from London with letters from the Speaker appointing them to command the horse and foot respectively. Redman had commanded the horse of the brigade in 1658-9, but being a staunch Cromwellian had been displaced last summer. Ironically enough, now that the Rump reinstated him he was in touch not only with Monck through Clarges but with the exiled royal court through his brother-in-law John Otway and Dr. Barwick.[6] The foot regiment of the brigade, though stationed too far from the horse to act in

[1] 'A sportsman, not a politician': see Firth and Davies, I, 273-6.

[2] Son of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, the royalist beheaded in 1658 for plotting against the Protectorate. Brief biography of Sir Thomas in Gooder, II, 89-90.

[3] The brigade's strength was 474 horse and 845 foot (Firth and Davies, II, 614).

[4] *Narrative of the Northern Affairs*, 4; *Journals of the House of Commons*, VII, 802; *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 19-26 Dec., 1; 9-16 Jan., 47; *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, ed. C. H. Firth (Oxford, 1894), II, 129-30, 153-4; HMC, *Leyborne-Popham MSS* (1899), 140; *Clarke Papers*, IV, 228-9; Bell, II, 167.

[5] *C. S. P. Dom.* 1659-60, 288.

[6] Firth and Davies, II, 594-5, 615-7; Baker, 697.

concert with them, also declared unanimously for the parliament, and on Saturday was marching southward from Bedale with all speed to join its friends.[1]

That Saturday, Fairfax marched his company an easy dozen miles to Knaresborough, where it joined up with Cholmley, Bethell, Smithson and their forces, and the next morning he met the Irish Brigade as he had appointed on Marston Moor, a field which held memories for many there besides himself. This final conjunction did not go off altogether smoothly, however. Buckingham's presence gave rise to vigorous objections, and eventually with a bad grace he withdrew.[2] The incident may have heightened a suspicion among the officers that the gentry aimed not at establishing the Rump's authority but at readmitting the secluded members. Fairfax and his friends had so far, it seems, avoided making any clear public declaration of their purpose.[3] But now a declaration of fidelity to the present parliament was read at the head of each troop of Smithson's and the Irish horse, and offered to all present to subscribe. Bethell and some other gentlemen signed it, Fairfax, Cholmley and Arthington declined. How much disagreement arose and how far Fairfax committed himself are not clear,[4] but eventually all the forces, now about 1,800 strong, acclaimed him with loud shouts and marched off with him to York.

[1] HMC, *Portland MSS*, I (1891), 691.

[2] *Letter from a Captain*, 5. Fairfax's explanation to the Speaker was that Buckingham was present merely as a private individual and for his personal safety, since like Fairfax himself he had had to leave home to escape arrest (*Merc. Pol.*, 1011). Buckingham had already given rise to objections at Knaresborough, and Brian Fairfax places his expulsion from the company there (Bell, II, 166); but I have followed Strangeways' account as the more contemporary and circumstantial.

[3] The Leeds City Reference Library has a pamphlet, which is unrecorded in D. Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700*, entitled *A Declaration of the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Fairfax and the Knights and Gentry in the North of England* (dated 1659; I owe this reference to Mr. D. Bury). The declaration's authenticity, however, is doubtful. The account of the Yorkshire rising printed with it is garbled and misdated; the bookseller for whom it was printed, G. Horton, quite frequently published newsbooks which were more sensational than accurate. The Yorkshire gentry are alleged to declare that they will 'assert and maintain the Freedom and Priviledges of the present Parliament . . . and not suffer the Members thereof to be illegally interrupted or molested in the discharge of their Duties': a formula which (if authentic) left open the question whether 'the present Parliament' should be reinforced by the readmission of the secluded members. For current reports that Fairfax intended their readmission, see *An Extract of a Letter from York; Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 510; *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 288.

[4] Gower gives the impression that though some officers stipulated against a single person or house of lords, the differences were smoothed over (HMC, 5*th Report*, 193); Godfrey wrote that Fairfax finally consented, under pressure, to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Rump (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 293); Strangeways states that Fairfax, Cholmley and Arthington professed they 'owned the same thing' as the officers declared for, but would send parliament their own account of their intentions (*Letter from a Captain*, 6). They wrote to the Speaker that evening assuring him 'That what hath been done was only in order to Your Service' (*Merc. Pol.* 1011).

Fairfax had sent a message to Bowles that he would appear before the city at noon on New Year's Day, and he was as good as his word. He drew up his forces close to the walls at Micklegate Bar,[1] and sent forward a trumpeter to summon the city. A long parley ensued with its defenders. Lilburne had done what he could—manned the walls, and caused parties of horse to patrol the streets continuously so as to keep the citizens indoors—but he was up against the defiance of the city authorities,[2] the general hostility of the townsmen, the wavering allegiance of his own troops and the superior numbers of his opponents.[3] And while he was making what terms he could with these, the men of York took a hand in their own liberation.[4]

When Fairfax had been two hours before the city without launching an attack, Bowles, who had been threatened with death if he left his house, made his way undetected to Sir Philip Monckton and suggested that the time had come to call out the citizens in support of their friends outside. Monckton, who had remained in York at Fairfax's bidding, sent them word to repair to the Minster when the great bell tolled. As soon as he had collected his servants and some ammunition he went there himself, gave the signal and locked all the doors but those whereby he had told his supporters to enter. When perhaps threescore[5] had come in, a strong detachment came up from the main guard to put a stop to it, but many who were denied entry to the Minster assembled in two other churches. Eventually a captain, with 120 foot and 100 horse behind him, arrived in Minster Yard and approached the south door, where a little comedy of Monckton's devising ensued. The citizen's within cried 'a Fairfax, a free parliament' as loud as they could, so as to sound more numerous than they were; the sentry at the door aimed his blunderbuss at the soldiers; then Monckton leapt out from within, clapped his hand over its hammer and claimed credit for averting a terrible carnage. He told the captain how Fairfax had been joined by Smithson's troops and the Irish Brigade, and how they had been promised their arrears of pay

[1] *An Exact Accompt of the daily Proceedings in Parliament*, 30 Dec.—Jan. 6, 576.

[2] The Lord Mayor had been ready to yield when Lilburne demanded the city's magazine, but the Council resisted and demanded that he should first declare for the parliament, which he refused (HMC, 5*th Report*, 193).

[3] Monckton estimated the garrison at 500 foot and 120 horse, strengthened by 500 horse newly brought in by Lilburne (*Monckton Papers*, 28-9). The figure of 1800 for Fairfax's forces is Strangeways'. Monckton's estimate is likely to be more exaggerated than Strangeways'.

[4] The following paragraph is based on *Monckton Papers*, 31-41. Another version of Monckton's Memoirs is in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS 988, f. 310 ff.); it differs little regarding these events, though some earlier ones are more fully treated than in the printed version. It was evidently made available by Monckton's grandson to Bishop White Kennet, who printed extracts in *A Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1728), pp. 6-7.

[5] Monckton says about 50, Gower (*loc. cit.*) 80, Major Godfrey (less credibly) 300 or 400 (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 294).

and other rewards, and he soon had him so interested in sharing the same terms that a truce was arranged between the citizens in the Minster and the troops facing it while he and the captain rode off together to seek Fairfax in person. Meanwhile a party of the garrison itself seized a church south of the river and raised a cry for Fairfax, and though Lilburne came to threaten and cajole them he was forced to gallop off.[1]

Lilburne was tough and resourceful, however. Realizing that he could no longer keep up the quarrel with the Rump, he could still resist those others who were no friends to a Commonwealth of any kind. He would spare the city the assault which Fairfax threatened, but those whom he admitted must subscribe the following engagement :

> We do declare to adhere to this present Parliament, as it consists of the Members that sate the Tenth of October, now last past, against a King or any other Single Person whatsoever: And that this City of York shall be preserved for, and delivered to whomsoever the said Parliament shall authorise and appoint to keep it for their use. [2]

With this he neatly divided the attacking forces. The Irish Brigade strongly supported the engagement—Redman, Brett, Godfrey and others of its officers all signed[3]—while the gentry as strongly opposed it. Fairfax indeed tore it up before its promoters' faces, and the two parties drew up facing each other, in the fields between York and Poppleton, so threateningly that there seemed a real danger of their coming to blows.[4] But at about four in the afternoon Fairfax finally consented that the Irish horse and some of Smithson's should occupy the city while he and his friends remained outside, quartering their forces in the neighbouring villages.[5] Lilburne's last hope was for reinforcements from Lambert, who had come as near as Ripon, and during the night some of his cavalry did arrive under the walls; but since these were now manned by the city's new defenders they got no further.[6]

That was the last flicker of resistance that Lambert could offer. His army had begun to disintegrate rapidly during the last days of December, under the successive blows of the news from London and the defections to Fairfax, and most units which did not join the latter were glad enough to obey parliament's orders

[1] HMC, 5*th Report*, 194.

[2] Printed, with names of twenty signatories, in *Publick Intelligencer*, 2-9 Jan., 1003.

[3] *Ibid.*, Redman signed only because of pressure from his officers; he later explained that he was prevented from supporting Fairfax by the 'perverseness' of two captains (*Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 550).

[4] Bell, II, 166-7.

[5] *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 294; *Letter from a Captain*, 6. Strangeways' and Thomas Lilburne's troops were excluded, though Strangeways (like Smithson) signed the engagement. Bethell evidently did not, nor any of the gentry.

[6] *Monckton Papers*, 42. In contrast, Fairfax's party was strengthened before next morning by 400 men from the regiment which has been Col. Morley's (HMC, 5*th Report*, 194).

to disperse to their former quarters. When York fell on New Year's Day and Monck's army began to cross the border, all cohesion was broken. Next day Lilburne gave up trying to execute his command, ceased to oppose Fairfax's entry and wrote a letter of submission to the parliament. By then Lambert had only a handful of officers and about fifty troopers still with him, and these he soon left and made his way privately with one or two friends to London.[1] All was now quiet in Yorkshire, except for a suspicion of defiance from Skipton, which Colonel Redman and the Irish Brigade dealt with.[2] Fairfax gave a day's rest to the men who had risen with him, then sent them home. He was blamed by some who imagined he could have done the king's business there and then,[3] but he had a better sense of political realities than to try to force Monck's hand or attempt a rival policy at this stage, and he was probably glad to yield a little to the gout, which had not been his least enemy during these days of action.[4]

Monck now enjoyed the immense advantage that when he followed his vanguard across the Tweed on 2 January, not a single unit of the English army remained in a condition to oppose him, and his satisfaction was heightened by the plain fact that this triumph did not accrue solely to the Rump, but owed much to the Presbyterian gentry. From a practical viewpoint it meant that he could march his army by easy stages through the bitter weather and snow-covered roads, entering Yorkshire only on the 9th and quartering for successive nights at Northallerton and Topcliffe. Some of the gentry attended him from his first entry into the county, and their numbers were increased when the High Sheriff and his train met him on the road next day.[5] On the 11th, splendidly escorted and acclaimed by a great crowd of citizens, he rode into York at the head of his army 'on a gallant white horse, betwixt two Presbyterian teachers, to whom he seemed to pay great regard'.[6] He spent five days in the city, resting and reorganising his forces and disposing of the remnants of Lambert's army. He gave Lambert's own regiment of horse to Bethell and Lilburne's to Smithson, to whom the Council of State had already

[1] *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, *Commons Journals*, VII, 804; *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 2-9 Jan., 31; *Merc. Pol.*, 29 Dec.—5 Jan., 1004; *Publick Intelligencer*, 2-9 Jan., 1002; *Monckton Papers*, 42; J. Y. Akerman (ed.), *Letters from Roundhead Officers* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1856), 153.

[2] *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 2-9 Jan., 32.

[3] HMC, 5*th Report*, 194; *Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 512.

[4] *Ibid.*, 520; Gumble, 208.

[5] Baker, 700; *Clarke Papers*, IV, xxiii n.1.

[6] F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), 173; T. Skinner, *Motus Compositi* (English ed., printed as Part III of G. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*, 1685), p. 25. One of the ministers was probably John Price, Monck's chaplain; perhaps the other was Bowles. Gumble, Monck's other chaplain, was away on a mission to London (Gumble, 204).

given charge of the troops around York;[1] two of his own regiments he sent back into Scotland under Morgan, and he left Colonel Charles Fairfax[2] with his foot regiment to garrison York.

One evening Lord Fairfax came to dine very privately in Monck's room, after which Bowles stayed there past midnight in secret conference. Fairfax in return entertained Monck and his staff at Nunappleton. One would greatly like to know what passed between the two generals, and how far either fully declared himself. It is likely enough that Fairfax urged the almost universal desire for a free parliament, and perhaps he was frank about its inevitable consequence, a return to monarchy.[3] Price's story that Bowles pressed Monck to stay in York and declare at once for the King is not incredible,[4] but Monck's statement that Fairfax privately assured him that he would join him in opposing Charles Stuart's family[5] sounds like one of honest George's robuster falsehoods.

The one corner of Yorkshire which Monck had to leave unsubdued was Hull. Overton might yet be a thorn in his side, and was lately reported to be taking in beds, breaking the ice on the Humber and otherwise preparing for a siege. The fact that he was far more genuinely loyal than Monck to the Rump and the republican cause made him hard to deal with. Monck wrote on 12 January asking him to clear suspicion by declaring his unreserved adherence to the parliament as now constituted. Overton's proud reply was that his deeds and words during the last three months had so testified to his fidelity that such a declaration would be very much beneath him, that he had sent up his major to deliver his own account to parliament, and quite bluntly that Monck's intentions were under suspicion rather than his own.[6] He is said to have announced that he would deliver Hull only 'to those who bear the image of Jesus Christ'.[7] Monck posted a regiment at Beverley,[8] but could do no more until his readmission of the secluded members on 21 February transformed the parliament from a republican into a Presbyterian assembly, and brought about his own firm appointment as Commander-in-Chief of all the forces. Here we may anticipate a little, in order to bring to a

[1] Baker, 700-1; *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 301.

[2] Uncle to Lord Fairfax, and now 62 years old; a barrister and antiquary who only took to soldiering in 1648. His regiment in Scotland had been a hotbed of sectarian enthusiasm and lost 18 of its officers in Nov. 1659, but Monck trusted him and in Dec. added him to the commissioners who were to negotiate at Newcastle (*DNB;* Firth and Davies, II, 500-6; *Merc. Pol.*, 15-22 Dec., 970).

[3] Bell, II, 168-9; *Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 516.

[4] Price, 752.

[5] Monck to Weaver, 21 Jan., in *Clarke Papers*, IV, 250-1.

[6] *Ibid.*, 244-7. The description of Overton's letter as 'apologetic' in Firth and Davies (II, 559) is quite mistaken.

[7] HMC, 5*th Report*, 194.

[8] *Ibid.*

conclusion the story of Hull, where armed resistance to the king's authority had first begun and where it threatened to survive after it had collapsed everywhere else.

Overton foresaw the outcome of the secluded members' return, and sought to resist it while he could. On 28 February he addressed a letter to Colonels Fairfax, Smithson and Bethell (causing copies to be distributed widely among their soldiers before they received it themselves), in which the Hull garrison invited all who adhered to 'the Cause God had determined with Victory against all Monarchical Interests' to unite in defending it against the rising star of Charles Stuart.[1] He also called up some of the horse of the Yorkshire militia and brought it into Hull.[2] Colonels Fairfax and Bethell promptly sent the letter up to Monck,[3] who thereupon decided that Overton must be removed, quietly if possible but forcibly if necessary. He immediately sent Colonel Matthew Alured and Major Jeremiah Smith to persuade him into obedience—men likely to carry weight with him and his officers, for Smith was an old friend and Alured a fellow Yorkshireman, republican and sectary—while the Council of State wrote to him requiring his exact observance of all the Commander-in-Chief's orders. Overton received the two emissaries submissively, but Monck, evidently without waiting for their report, ordered Colonel Fairfax to Beverley with some additional companies and with a letter to Overton giving him twenty-four hours to quit Hull and set out for London. The summons was repeated by the Council of State. Overton complied, and on 12 March Colonel Fairfax took over the Hull garrison.[4]

Meanwhile, before Monck showed his hand on 21 February, his behaviour dissatisfied the county gentry for just the opposite reasons from those which moved Overton. The reinstatement of the old mutilated parliament contented none of them, and Lord Fairfax took no more heed when he was appointed to the new Council of State in January than he had done eight months earlier. Monck's refusal to entertain the many declarations for a full and free parliament which were presented to him on his march south, his uncompromising condemnation of monarchy in his famous open letter to the gentry of Devon on 23 January, followed by his apparently compliant attitude to the Rump on reaching London, prompted the leading parliamentarians of Yorkshire to do what

[1] Baker, 713. A letter from Overton and his officers to Monck of the same date, and likewise distributed among the soldiers in York, is in HMC, *Leyborne-Popham MSS*, 163.

[3] *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, 389.

[3] *Clarke Papers*, IV, 265.

[4] Firth and Davies, II, 559-60; *Merc. Pol.*, 8-15 March, 1163-5, 1174. Phillips plausibly asserts that Smith's task was to work upon Overton's officers and men so that in case he proved recalcitrant, they would bring pressure upon him to submit (Baker, 713). Price states (p. 779) that Smith bribed the soldiery to this end, but that Alured showed signs of making common cause with Overton.

a dozen other counties had done or were doing and to publish a manifesto of their demands and intentions. Such declarations, beginning with that of Devon on 14 January which elicited Monck's notorious reply, had been variously addressed to the Speaker, to Monck and (still more rebelliously) to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, and through them the moderate parliamentarian gentry over much of England publicly repudiated the Rump's claim to sovereignty.[1] Some of them emulated the city's refusal to pay taxes until their counties were adequately represented at Westminster; some were attended or followed by riots and demonstrations in the towns where they originated.[2] Some were spontaneous, others were stimulated as part of a centrally organized campaign, and though it was the general policy that none who had fought for the king should subscribe them, royalist agents like Lord Mordaunt and Dr. Barwick collaborated with such leading Presbyterians as William Prynne and Arthur Annesley in promoting them.[3] A number of gentlemen who presented or fomented them were imprisoned, and Hesilrige even moved that those who signed them should have their estates sequestered as delinquents.[4]

Although it is just possible that Fairfax and Monck planned the Yorkshire declaration together when they met in January, so as to provide timely support for the readmission of the secluded members, it is improbable that Monck committed himself so far ahead, and far likelier that the Yorkshire gentry acted out of unaffected displeasure at his proceedings. At any rate the Council of State wrote to Colonels Smithson and Fairfax on 10 February, ordering them to prevent any more such meetings as had lately been held in York to the detriment of the peace, if necessary by arresting their promoters.[5] But they were too late, for that very day, when Monck was busy executing the Rump's orders to punish the city of London, Lord Fairfax gathered an impressive company in the northern capital to sign just such an address as the government was anxious to suppress. His uncle the colonel had wind of it the day before, and wrote to him in some distress that such a move would offend those he served and might bring trouble to himself; but Fairfax wrote back that not more than thirty would meet and nothing would be done but what was just and honest. Major-General Morgan, who returned to York on the

[1] References to many of them will be found in *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60; *Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts* (British Museum, 1908); *Merc. Pol.*, 12 Jan.—16 Feb., *passim*.

[2] E.g. in Exeter, Abingdon and Bristol (*Merc. Pol.*, 1049, 1050-1, 1108); but riotous demonstrations for a free parliament were widespread in late Jan. and early Feb.

[3] *State Papers Collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, ed. R. Scrope and T. Monkhouse (Oxford, 1767-86), iii, 660, 663; *Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 527, 531, 534; *Merc. Pol.*, 2-9 Feb., 1073.

[4] *Clarendon S.P.*, III, 661; *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 330; *Merc. Pol.*, 26 Jan.—2 Feb., 1068; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* 1659-1661, 114.

[5] *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 351, 355.

evening of the 9th, did not go so far as to close the city's gates against Fairfax and his friends when they rode in next morning, but when their leaders paid a preliminary call on Colonel Fairfax he came and warned them that their meeting 'would be of ill report and prove offensive', though he did not actually forbid it. Later, after seeing a copy of their address, he broke in upon them all and protested that what they did was dangerous and tended towards bloodshed; but that was as far as he went, and probably as far as he wished to go.[1]

The document they signed was carried to London by four of their number, Sir Thomas Wharton, John Dawney, Thomas Harrison and Thomas Legard, and presented to Monck on 17 February at his headquarters at Drapers Hall.[2] It had already been printed in York and reprinted in London.[3] Fairfax sent up his cousin Brian to Monck with a personal letter, explaining that they had allowed nobody at their meeting who had fought against the parliament, and that though they could easily have obtained very many more signatures, they had purposely avoided a larger concourse lest it arouse the soldiery's suspicions.[4] But he justly claimed that those who did join with him were 'for quality, estate and callings' the most influential in the county, old cavaliers excepted. With him signed the High Sheriff of the county (Sir Barrington Bourchier) and the Lord Mayor and city fathers of York; the names of the gentry—Cholmley, Stapleton, Hotham, Bethell, Boynton, Wharton, Harrison among others—tell much of the story of the Civil War in Yorkshire, and if some great county families, like the Saviles and Wentworths, were missing from the roll, others which had been strongly royalist—Bellasis, Wyvill and Slingsby for example—were represented by sons who had been too young to fight or members (like Viscount Fauconberg) who had cared for the fortunes of their houses by embracing the winning side.[5] Their declaration was itself brief and unoriginal. Complaining that they had no representatives at Westminster to

[1] Col. Fairfax's and Morgan's letters to Monck are in HMC, *Leyborne-Popham MSS*, 146-9.

[2] *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 356. These bearers also brought a covering letter to Monck from Fairfax, Fauconberg, the High Sheriff of Yorkshire and the Lord Mayor of York, asking him to support their demands and affirming that they would abide by whatever else a properly constituted parliament decided. They delivered another letter from the same four to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, asking for the City's support in their common purpose (*ibid.*).

[3] Thomason acquired the London reprint on 16 Feb. [British Museum 669.f.23 (48)].

[4] HMC, *Leyborne-Popham MSS*, 149-50; Bell, II, 170-1.

[5] The Thomason copy prints the names of 48 signatories, ending with '&c.'

voice or remedy their grievances,[1] they asserted that until a new parliament was called without any tests or qualifications not in force before 1648, they were under no obligation to pay taxes. But though other counties had demanded and threatened the same things, this Yorkshire declaration made more stir than most, not only because of Fairfax's prestige and the size and power of the county, but because Fairfax and Monck had so recently been in collaboration, as the latter freely admitted.[2]

There are indications that some of the gentry were ready to back their demands with force if necessary. Luke Robinson, the republican member for Scarborough who had accompanied Monck on the later stages of his march south as a sort of political commissar, reported to the Council of State on 14 February that Colonel Bethell and Thomas Legard among others were collecting arms and ammunition, and that Sir Henry Cholmley not only had 300 cases of pistols in his house but was enlisting men on a considerable scale.[3] But before exasperation flared any higher, Monck himself brought relief. On 11 February he revolted against the odious task of punishing the city and dispatched to Westminster his famous ultimatum, demanding that writs be issued by Friday for all the vacant seats in the House. Immediately printed, it was welcomed as joyfully in Yorkshire as everywhere else,[4] but a week later he sent a reply to the county's address which must have temporarily damped the hopes he had raised there. The most he would say was that now the House was to be filled up, no qualifications would be imposed to debar the secluded members from

[1] This was true only in the sense that the two county seats were vacant; of the Yorkshire borough members an exceptionally high proportion were Rumpers. D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington, in *The Members of the Long Parliament* (1954), find twenty-two who sat at one time or another after 1648 (pp. 44, 202-3); and though by this time Vane had been expelled, several had died and more—perhaps most—had long ceased to attend the House, others (including Luke Robinson, Francis Lascelles, Henry and Richard Darley) were certainly still active (Gooder, II, *passim*).

[2] *Clarke Papers*, IV, 239, 251; *Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 551. Simultaneously with this declaration another was printed which purported to be *The Declaration of Thomas Lord Fairfax, And the rest of the Lords, Knights* [*etc.*] *of the County and City of York*. It is dated 13 Feb., from Leeds, and its terms are stronger than in its predecessor from York. Its authors, after affirming that Yorkshire is the bulwark of the nation and charging the government with incurable corruption and faction, threaten to 'allow our selves the precedency of Asserting and Defending the justice of this our Common Right by open Armes' if their demand for a full and free parliament is not granted. Unfortunately this vigorous document is probably spurious. There is no mention elsewhere of a meeting at Leeds on the 13th, not even (as surely there would have been had it taken place) in Fairfax's letter to Monck, written on the 14th to justify the one at York on the 10th. No names of signatories are printed, other than Fairfax's; further, the broadsheet alleges it was 'printed, for James Williamson', whose name does not otherwise appear in P. G. Morrison's *Index to Wing's Short-Title Catalogue* (Charlotteville, Va., 1955) and is probably fictitious.

[3] *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 370-1.

[4] HMC, *Leyborne-Popham MSS*, 150-1. It was reprinted in York for further circulation in the north and in Scotland (*ibid.*, 153).

being re-elected, and he trusted this came near enough to the Yorkshire gentry's desires to dissuade them from bringing all into confusion.[1] But this was only part of a smoke-screen to conceal his real intentions, for within three days he himself readmitted the secluded members, thereby rendering the return of the king inevitable. The new Council of State which the transformed House elected was overwhelmingly monarchical; Fairfax was chosen once more, but even now he would not make the journey to London.[2]

After the Long Parliament finally dissolved itself on 16 March, the gentry could indulge their taste for politics within the traditional and comparatively peaceful bounds of a general election. We cannot follow it here in detail; suffice it to say that of those who have figured in this narrative Fairfax was returned as senior knight of the shire (the other being John Dawney), Colonel Bethell was chosen both by Hedon and Beverley, Sir Henry Cholmley by Appleby, Henry Arthington by Ripon, Sir Barrington Bourchier by Thirsk, young Sir John Hotham by Beverley, Sir Thomas Wharton by Westmorland, and (rather later, after Luke Robinson's election had been declared void) John Legard by Scarborough.[3]

During this electiontide the Good Old Cause had its last fling when Lambert escaped from the Tower on 10 April and made his way to the midlands, hoping to rally the regiments there and in the north. The episode caused a few days' excitement in York, beginning on the 16th when thirty-two soldiers of Captain Peverell's troop—one of those which had adhered to Lambert in what had been Lilburne's and was now Smithson's regiment—rode into the city after dark. They aroused Colonel Bethell's suspicions, however, both by their talk and because no officer was with them to appoint their quarters, so he and his major went round their inns at midnight and found them sleeping with their boots on, their swords drawn and pistols cocked beside them, and their horses saddled and bridled in the stables. They were all secured, and interrogation revealed that under the prompting of their former lieutenant, one Merrey, they had planned to surprise the city in collaboration with about eighty of the townsmen, 'all Lambertonians and sectaries'.[4] The Lord Mayor enlisted a thousand citizens and mounted strong guards for the next few nights; a mutinous petition had to be suppressed in Hull; but on the 22nd Lambert and his handful of followers surrendered near Daventry, and there was no further disturbance.[5]

[1] Bell, II, 208-9.
[2] *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659-60, 396.
[3] Some information about the Yorkshire elections is in Davies, 324-5.
[4] HMC, 5*th Report*, 199; *Leyborne-Popham MSS*, 175-6, 180. Sir Philip Monckton later wrote an unlikely story of how he was called from his bed at 2 a.m. and prevailed with the Governor (presumably Smithson, now Col. Fairfax was at Hull) to resist some lavish promises of cash and preferment and to save the city from surprisal (B.M. Lansdowne MSS 988, ff. 322, 346v.). It deserves little credence.
[5] G. Davies, 335-6.

It remains to consider how far these events in Yorkshire affected the course of national affairs, and what light they throw on the various groups and interests, from the interaction of whose loyalties, ambitions and beliefs the Restoration finally took shape.

Yorkshire was by no means unique at the end of 1659 in being exasperated to the point of armed resistance. Its strategic importance to Monck, however, and the proximity of so much of the English army gave it a special opportunity, and Fairfax's leadership, since he personified an earlier, broader, and as it now seemed a more honourable phase of the revolution, immensely enhanced the significance of Yorkshire's actions. It hardly needs saying that Charles II would not have come home as and when he did but for George Monck, and that Monck's intervention was immeasurably the more effective for being unopposed by military force, and therefore bloodless. Fairfax's rising was one factor in the collapse of Lambert's army before it struck a blow. Yet the indications are that Lambert's troops would have shown little fight even if Fairfax had stayed at home. Uncertain and divided over their commanders' quarrel from the start, their morale had sunk with the fortunes of the Committee of Safety, and most of them were ready to obey the Rump's orders as soon as it was reinstated.

This is not, however, to belittle the value of Yorkshire's action to Monck, which was real enough. Even minor clashes between the two armies might have made his subsequent task far harder, and Fairfax, by drawing Lambert back from the border before Monck crossed it, did much to avert them. Still more important was the authority which his name and presence added to Monck's enterprise, for even if few of the English forces were prepared to fight *for* Lambert, it required a Fairfax to rally considerable numbers of them *against* him, and to persuade republican captains and subalterns to join with officers like Smithson and Redman who were prepared to come to terms with monarchy. His record and reputation enabled him to embody the moderate parliamentarian gentry's revolt against military tyranny without either scandalizing the army or creating a premature breach between Presbyterians and commonwealthsmen; that was his greatest contribution to the Restoration. The Yorkshire rising tempered the Rump's triumph, even though its threat to the Rump's own authority remained unspoken for another six weeks. It encouraged those who demanded a full and free parliament to suffer Monck's coldness in patience, in the hope that if Fairfax had worked with him he meant better than he said; and whether or not the county's declaration in February influenced Monck's crucial decision to readmit the secluded members, it certainly lent him massive support at precisely the right moment.

At the turn of the year, Fairfax's success in winning over his old soldiers from Lambert was of more immediate value to Monck than his leadership of the local gentry. Yet the gentry's participation was not insignificant, and since their counterparts

could be found all over England, among those who subscribed declarations for a free parliament or otherwise prepared to resist both army and Rump, their backgrounds and aims are worth a glance. It was typical that their political objectives could only be stated in the most general terms. When they took to arms, they were clear enough about what they were against—Lambert's troops living at free quarter, and the levying of an illegal assessment on the county to support them[1]—and if they failed to say just what they were for, that was probably due to expediency. Yet when they did declare themselves in February, they asked no more than to abide by whatever a full and free parliament should settle. Faith in parliament went hand in hand with devotion to the rule of a law which protected property and respected status, and with a tacit reassertion of their class's traditional dominance in local and national affairs. Monarchy would be welcome so far as it guaranteed these things, but (as James II's reign was to show) no further.

Religion hardly entered into their public concerns. Outside the West Riding towns, it had not been prominent among the issues over which they had first taken sides in the Civil War, and such exceptional enthusiasts as Robert Overton and Matthew Alured had soon cut themselves off from their more conservative neighbours. There was, it is true, a convention of twenty-three ministers at Bradford in January under Bowles's leadership which was suspected of hatching a petition to parliament about religion,[2] but there is no evidence that it went beyond its ostensible purpose of preaching and exercises, or that the gentry interested themselves in it. The only collective religious attitude which can be established among the gentry is that they feared and hated the sectaries, especially the Quakers,[3] but here the motive was not so much sheer revulsion against heresy and schism as the association of the sects with political and social radicalism, and the disquiet always aroused by people who act unpredictably from incomprehensible motives.

But if religion had nothing to do with it, the complexion of the Yorkshire rising was nevertheless strongly Presbyterian in the political sense of the term. Its chief participants were men returning to political activity after withdrawal or exclusion during the revolutionary years, when local and national politics had shifted from their old social as well as legal foundations. Sir Henry

[1] *Merc. Pol.*, 5-12 Jan., 1011; HMC, 5*th Report*, 193; *Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 510; *An Extract of a Letter from York*.

[2] Dr. de Veveir to Adam Baynes, 15 Jan., in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, III (1853-6), 173.

[3] Among the reasons given for the rising was a belief that the Quakers and Anabaptists were planning to take up arms in support of Lambert early in Jan.: Kennet, *Register*, 6-7; HMC, 5*th Report*, 193-4; *An Extract of a Letter from York*. Similar reports had been made a pretext for enlisting men and collecting arms for the risings in Aug. 1659 (*Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 304, 356, 371, 376, 381).

Cholmley was himself a secluded member and a brother-in-law of Sir Philip Stapleton, one of the eleven Presbyterian leaders impeached by the army in 1647, to whom Sir Francis Boynton was also related by marriage. Henry Arthington, though a Rumper, had been excluded from the parliament of 1656 by the Council of State, and Colonel Bethell withdrew from public affairs soon after.[1] Fairfax himself, though he had served the Commonwealth for a year or two after the eclipse of the Presbyterians, now shared their outlook exactly. Few if any Yorkshire parliamentarians (apart from Sir Hugh Cholmley and the Hothams, who were dead) had actually entered the king's service, but most had come to live amicably with their royalist neighbours, whom they now debarred from acting with them more out of policy than conviction, and more in appearance than reality. Fairfax wanted no cavaliers at his rendezvous, as we have seen, yet he enlisted Sir Philip Monckton's help[2] and was inconsistent in the case of Buckingham (who admittedly had been more of a nuisance than a support to the exiled court). His cousin Brian was helped on his way to Coldstream by one royalist, Sir Robert Strickland, and was instructed to apply to another, Sir Philip Musgrave, if he needed to.[3] Sir Henry Cholmley, though not personally in touch with the king, had a nephew working closely with one of the most trusted royal agents,[4] and by 13 February was evidently ready to communicate through this channel. The Yorkshire cavaliers, however, exercised no hidden influence or initiative; there was indeed no effective royalist leadership in the county, and as late as 21 March Sir Edward Hyde was still trying to organize one.[5] The need did not arise. Fairfax indeed proved 'honest', and in Yorkshire the increasingly certain prospect of the king's return seems to have opened no rift between Presbyterians and cavaliers. The horse which Charles II rode at his coronation was from Fairfax's stable; the gift was a symbol of what the king owed to his father's old adversary in the field.

[1] Gooder, II, 65, 73.

[2] Besides the part he played in York, Monckton sent twenty men and horses to join Fairfax under his cousin Edmund: *Monckton Papers*, 30.

[3] Bell, II, 155.

[4] Dr. John Barwick: *Clarendon S.P.*, III, 623; *Clarendon Calendar*, IV, 534, 537, 551, 560, 577.

[5] *Clarendon S.P.*, III, 718. Even at this date Hyde was uncertain of Fairfax.

PENISTONE GRAMMAR SCHOOL 1392-1700

By John Addy.

The Endowed Charities Commissioners in their report of 1897 said, 'This school, the early history of which, is sufficiently set out in the Report of 1827 . . . . . .',[1] but recent research, into hitherto unknown material, has revealed much that, up to the present time, has been unknown about this school.

Penistone is an outpost of civilisation on the moors of the West Riding of Yorkshire and the last town before approaching the outskirts of Manchester. It is to the credit of this moorland town, a wild, cold, lonely place in winter, that it has managed to preserve its ancient school through the centuries which have passed since Thomas Clarel made the first endowment.

The very early history of the school is somewhat obscure; the earliest deeds now being lost, although for some time the foundation of the school was reputed to have occurred in the reign of Elizabeth I.[2] Over the doorway of the school building which was demolished in 1893[3] was a stone inscribed,

CIRCITER 1392
GRAMMAR SCHOOL
DISCE AUT DISCEDE

and although this was preserved for some years afterwards, it is now unfortunately lost.

In all probability the school, like so many schools of this period, was founded in order to provide additional employment for the priest of the Chantry of the Blessed Mary of Penistone, since there are several references to bequests for this Chantry which later appear in the endowments of the school.[4] The history of this chantry is obscure, for in the first place there is no record of its foundation, either in the Archbishop's Registers at York nor in the Close, or Patent, Rolls. Furthermore there is no mention of this chantry in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and the chantry certificates for the Wapentake of Staincross, of which Wapentake Penistone forms a part, are missing. Hunter quotes a charter showing that the chantry was in existence in 14 Edward III.[5]

[1] *Endowed Charities Report, Yorks. West Riding* 1897, p. 315 (Leeds City Library).

[2] Summary of the history of the school for the Chancery case of 1785 (Grammar School Archives).

[3] This was the building referred to in the Inquisition of 1716 which replaced an earlier one. P.R.O. C93/48/8 3 Geo. I.

[4] These are chiefly found in the local wills of the period 1440-1559 (Probate Office, York and Borthwick Institute, York).

[5] 'Quod ego Adamus Russell dedi et concessi Deo et Beatae Mariae unum redditum octo denarios . . . . . et unam candelam argentam in ecclesiae parochiali de Peniston in coram imagine Beata Maria in cappella sua pro anima mea . . .' (Hunter, *South Yorks.*, Vol. 2, p. 332).

By the reign of Edward III the Manor of Penistone had passed from the hands of the heirs of Adam fitz Swain to the Clarels of Aldwarke, a peculiar in the parish of Ecclesfield (Yorks.) and Hunter records the grants of land, on which the school stood until 1893,[1] to John del Rhodes and others,[2] while an early manorial roll of the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen, Westminster, dated 1491, refers to this piece of land as, 'le scholehill'.[3]

In the Inquisition of 1604, about which more will be written later, Clarel is expressly named as the donor of the original property.[4] 'All the houses, buildings and gardens lying in the north end of the Towne betwixt St. Marie Lane and the Cockpit Lane being the gift of one Mr. Clarel of Aldwarke the Lord of the Manor of Penistone as appeareth by certain oulde deedes . . . Imprimis the scholemaisters house and garden vld'.[5]

There seems to be little doubt that the school was in existence in 1443 for William Turton of Denby,[6]—a chapelry in the parish of Penistone—left by his will dated 4th March 1443 to the Free Grammar School of Penistone the sum of £3. 9s. 4d. out of lands in Denby, while the John Smyth mentioned in the will may well have been the schoolmaster and if so, he is the earliest one so far known by name.[7]

Evidence that the gift of Thomas Clarel was known as 'scholehill' is found in the manor rolls of the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen, the earliest of which is dated 1491, and also at

[1] This site is now occupied by the Midland Bank, Messrs. Woods' shop and the offices of Messrs. Dransfield and Hodgkinson.

[2] 'Piece of land in Kirk Flatt sicut se extendit et iacet inter quinque lapideos per manus predicti Thomae Clarel pro metis positos' with the right of turbary. (Hunter, *South Yorks.*, Vol. 2, p. 333).

Dransfield says that John del Rhodes was the first master because he was the Custos of the chapel of St. John in Cubley, based on the evidence that the Hermit Yard appeared in the later endowments of the school. This chapel was really a cell of Monk Bretton Priory and details are found in the Chartulary of the Priory. (Record Series, Yorks. Arch. Soc., Vol. 66).

[3] The Rectory Manor and Advowson of Penistone were appropriated to the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen in the palace of Westminster by Edward III in 1376. After the dissolution they remained Crown property until they were purchased from Queen Elizabeth I by Godfrey Bosville of Gunthwaite Hall, Penistone. (Record Series, Yorks. Arch. Soc., *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. 2).

[4] Thomas Clarel of Aldwarke, born 28 Edward III 1355. Lord of Penistone 1392. Will dated Nov. 20th 1441. Drowned in the river Don 1st May 1442. Buried in the friary church at Tickhill. (Foster, *Yorks. Pedigrees*, Guildhall Library, London).

[5] Inquisition of Charitable Uses. P.R.O. C93/2/11. 2 James I.

[6] The Turtons were benefactors in Penistone. The Turton arms, very much defaced, are to be found in the south clerestory window in the parish church. Dugdale saw this window in its entirety in 1620 and describes it. *Argent—Three conies sable, sejant.* (MSS. No. 307 Yorks. Arch. Society).

[7] In primo lego animam meam omnipotenti Deo, Beate Marie et omnibus Sanctis et corpus meam ad sepelendum in ecclesia de Penyston coram altaram Beate Marie . . . . . lego Johannes Smyth, cappellanus X sold. (York Probate Registry, Vol. 2, No. 77).

intervals until the dissolution of the Chapel.[1] A further pre-reformation mention of the school is found in the will of Robert Watts,[2] vicar of Penistone, and dated 1545. Among his bequests he mentions, 'to everie ffrange priest 6d and there be given to every child that cometh in the forme of a scholler 2d', showing that the school was in existence at his death.

There has survived a document dated 1450 giving the revenues of the chantry of Blessed Mary of Penistone from each of the four quarters, into which the ancient parish was divided, and showing the total revenues to have been in the region of fifty pounds per annum, the rental being collected by the chantry priest.[3] To this document is attached a list of names of the chantry priests prefaced by the title Magister :—

1450..'Mgr William Wordsworth entered into Our Ladys sarvice'
1472..'Mgr William Walker entered into Our Ladys sarvice'
1477..'Mgr William Addy snr. entered into Our Ladys sarvice.'
1534..'Mgr William Addy jnr. entered into Our Ladys sarvice'.[4]

The latter died in 1556 and was succeeded by John Hyde who is returned as "ludimagister apud Peniston" to the Archbishop.

The question arises as to what happened when the chantries were dissolved in 1548. Since neither this chantry nor the later one dedicated to St. Erasmus and St. Anthony[5] are found in any surviving chantry certificates the probable answer can be ascertained by an inspection of the surviving documents. One of these

[1] 'Court of the Dean and Chapter of the Free Chapel of Blessed Mary and St. Stephen within the palace of the lord King at Westminster, holden at Peniston 10th October 1491. . . To this court came John Bilcliffe, son and heir of Robert Bilcliffe in his own person, he did fealty for . . . 3 *rodes terra iactam in le scholefield iuxta altam viam 9d.* Paid to John Herbert, visitor for the Dean and Chapter'. (Crewe Papers, Sheffield City Library CM628/B6b30).

[2] Buried in Penistone church. Will at Borthwick Institute, York, Vol. 29, No. 97.

[3] 'Dominus Nicolaus de Wortley tenet in Hunshelf unum messuagium et dimid bovat terra quondam Ada filii Willmi et reddit 2s. 2d. Johannes Swynherd tenet duas acras prati in Hologhroyds et reddit 12d. Adam filius Willi, filii Ada tenet duodecim acras terra in Hunshelf et reddit . . . 12d'. (Grammar School Archives—a photostat of this document is in the University of Leeds, Museum of Educational History).

[4] William Addy was brother to Sir John Addy the famous 'singing master' at Rotherham school. He left to Sir John . . 'one silver cuppe and 10 shillings to sing a trentall of masses for my soul'. He was buried in the parish church at Penistone. Will dated 20th Jan. 1556. (York Probate Registry, Vol. 2, no. 204).

The Addys were an educationally important family and a full account of them is to be found in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* Vol. 26.

[5] This chantry was founded on the north side of the parish church and an old bench which survived was inscribed—'Orate pro animabus Guillemi Wordsworth et Johannae uxor eius ac pro anima Guillemi Bensom qui hanc capellam fieri fecerunt in honorem Sancti Erasmi et Sancti Anthone An. Dom. MDXXX. (Yorks. Archaeological Society Ms. 307).

is the rent roll for the Chantry of Blessed Mary, which was copied by Nathan Staniforth in 1677, with a note appended that, 'it is not known how these came to form parts of the Grammar school revenues'. The other is the probate of the will of William Marshall of Denby, dated 1539, in which he leaves an endowment of five shillings per annum to the chantry of St. Erasmus.[1] In the inquisition of 1604 this is mentioned as part of the school revenues with no evidence as to how it came to be so.

It would, however, seem to many that the fate of the chantries would, in due course, be the same as that of the monasteries and the surviving chaplain, William Addy, with the knowledge and aid of leading inhabitants, quietly proceeded to transfer these revenues from the chantry to the Grammar school which may account for their survival in the Grammar school archives.

Little is known of the masters of the early post-reformation period apart from John Hyde who was one of the sixty-four school masters who were examined by the Archbishop of York in 1561. He had succeeded Addy in 1556 but no record exists of either his resignation or death[2] and the next recorded master is a Mr. Hey who appears before the Commissioners for Charitable Uses in 1613.

There is in existence the Inquisition and Decree of Charitable Uses for Penistone school dated 1604.[3] It records all the endowments of the school in lands and rents and refers directly to the gift of Clarel. The rents from the cottages and gardens amounted to twenty pounds seventeen shillings and the holding in land of twenty-five acres. There are two curious endowments mentioned in this document, one is a charge of 3d. on the croft of John Leadbeater at the White Hart Inn, Penistone and the other that, 'the house of Richard Micklethwaite in Thurlstone pays 6d. or a pound of wax to the said Schole for ever'. There must have been some omissions in this return for a further enquiry was held by the Commissioners at Rotherham in 1613 at which the school-

[1] William Marshall left a rent charge of 5/- yearly out of the land of William Blackburn in Huddersfield to ". . William Benson chaplain of St. Erasmus to sing Mass and Divine Service at the altar of St. Erasmus in Penistone church . ." 1st August 1539. (Grammar School Archives).

[2] 'Offic' Dom' contra Johēm Hyde ludimagister apud Peniston . . . . . die horis et loco comparuit personaliter dominus Johannes Hyde ludimagister apud Peniston in com. et dioc. Ebor, aetate 49 annos artibus magister Cantabriensis in collegio Sancti Johanne Baptist'. Examinatus et fidei articlis opp. subscripsit eidem. Unde domini admiserint magrum Johannem Hyde ad catechisandum pueros et docend' grammaticale apud Peniston praedicti quamdiu laudabiliter se gesserit in hac parte'. (Borthwick Institute, York R.VI A 1).

[3] "These are to will and require you to appeare at Wakefield on Friday Sept. 21st before Sir John Saville and other Commissioners to account for the rents, arrears of rents as any of you shall have concerning the lands belonging to Penistone School. Dated at Woodsome Huddersfield 14th Sept. 1604 . . . Robert Kaye." The Vicar, Churchwardens and nine Feoffees were summoned. (Grammar School Archives).

master, Mr. Hey, was present.[1] Apart from this reference nothing is known about this master except that he resigned the mastership in 1630.

His successor, one Roger Audesley, must have occupied the mastership[2] for only a short time, for although his licence survives, his resignation does not, and in 1632 John Coarhill is found drawing up leases of the school property.[3] These leases are interesting, for they show the conditions for extension of buildings, alienation and rents payable by the tenants, "in which the consent of the master must first be obtained".[4]

There is a gap in the story from 1632 to 1644 when John Coarhill died[5] and George Didsbury became schoolmaster.[6] This was the period of the Civil War and so long as the Royalist forces under Sir Francis Wortley were in the town all was well, but upon their withdrawal the Puritan element came to the front and the Parliament forces did much damage to the church. At the same time as Didsbury was appointed master the Puritans ejected the legal vicar of Penistone, Timothy Broadley, and allowed the chaplain of Col. Fitzherbert of Norbury to intrude himself into the living. He proved to be so highly unsatisfactory that a petition to the Committee for Plundered Ministers was drawn up by a number of inhabitants led by Didsbury who signs himself clerk and schoolmaster. In this document complaint is made of Christopher Dickenson's frequent absence from the living, his drunkenness in the pulpit, so that Didsbury had had to take over, and of his fights in public with the schoolmaster and sexton. They offered Dickenson forty pounds to leave the parish.[7]

Didsbury was also a friend of Captain Adam Eyre, of the parliamentary forces, who lived at Thurlstone and for whom Didsbury drew up bonds. There are several references to this friendship in Captain Eyre's diary.[8] Didsbury was not licensed

[1] This list contains the property mentioned in the chantry rolls and includes a complaint that Francis West is detaining an original deed of the lands of the parish. (Grammar School Archives).

[2] 'Rogerius Audesley artibus magister. Diacione per Thomae Petriburgiensis 19th Sept. 1624. Presbyter per eundem 13th March 1624. Liceat ad praedicand' infra dio. Ebor per Samuel Archiepiscopi Ebor 21st Sept. 1629. Ludimagister liberae scholae Penistoniensis 21st May 1631'. (Borthwick Institute, York, R.VI C31).

[3] Leases to William and Margaret Woodcock, William Shaw and others May 22 1632. Schoolmaster to receive the rents in person as the former chantry priest had done. (Grammar School Archives).

[4] Coarhill also made a detailed survey of the Grammar school property giving precise details of its area and situation. A micro film of this is in the University of Leeds, Museum of Educational History. (Grammar School Archives).

[5] 'May 8th 1644, Johannes Coarhill ludimagister scholae Penistoniensis sepult'.' (Parish Register).

[6] George Didsbury 1644-1666 Matric. Sizar at Clare Hall Cambridge Easter Term 1631. B.A. 1634. (Grammar School Magazine 1929).

[7] *Adam Eyre's Diary*, pp. 19-20. Surtees Society, Vol. 65.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 50 and 80.

until the Restoration in 1662[1] and two years later we find him in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities at York, one is a case of defamation,[2] the details of which have not survived, the other is a case of irregularity at Holmfirth presented to the Archdeacon at his Visitation in 1664.[3] He was presented by the churchwardens for preaching and serving the cure at Holmfirth without licence or admission, while the old churchwardens were presented for allowing unlicensed ministers to preach at Holmfirth and for claiming George Didsbury to be their lawful minister. No further information exists concerning Didsbury except the record of his death in 1666, his wife having predeceased him the previous year.[4]

John Revel[5] succeeded George Didsbury as master and held the post until he resigned in 1677 when his Usher, who was also Parish Clerk, was appointed master in his place. We know nothing further of Revel except the few rent receipts which remain in the archives. The usher who became master was Nathan Staniforth[6] a puritan who had been ejected from his living in 1662 for non-subscription to the Act of Uniformity, and who would be welcome to work in Penistone where the puritan vicar, Henry Swift, managed to retain the living until his death in 1689, never once subscribing to the Act of Uniformity.[7]

Staniforth came as usher and parish clerk in 1674[8] succeeding to the mastership when Revel resigned in 1677. One of his first acts was to investigate the revenues of the school and he discovered

[1] "I, George Didsbury, Master of the Free Schole at Peniston in the dio. of Yorke willingly and ex animo subscribe ye declaration and acknowledgement aforesaid and every clause therein contained. 21st August 1662". (Borthwick Institute, Subscription Book, 1662-1672).

[2] "Against Thomas Woodcock of Peniston for certain defamatory words spoken in or against George Didsbury clerk against the rule of Charity. 20 May 1664". (Borthwick Institute R/AS 146).

[3] 'Holmfirth. contra Henry Jackson and Matthew Berry churchwardens for presuming to certifie that George Didsbury was their lawful minister though not legally admitted and for other offences. Contra George Didsbury for preaching and serving the cure at Holmfirth without licence or admission. Fine 30/3d.' (Borthwick Institute R VI E 2).

[4] 1665 . . 'Sept. 24 Anna uxor Georgius Didsbury Ludimagister Scholae Penistoniensis sepult'.

1666 . .'April 24. Georgius Didsbury ludimagister scholae Penistoniensis sepult'. (Parish Register).

[5] John Revel 1666-1677, son of Thomas Revel of Rotherham. School at Rotherham. Admitted Sizar aged 17 to Christ's College, Cambridge 5 April 1658. B.A. 1661 Priest at York 1666. Vicar of Bradfield 1677-1702.

[6] Nathan Staniforth son of Richard Staniforth vicar of Owston, Yorks. Sizar of Christ's College, Cambridge. B.A. 1649, M.A. 1654. Ejected from the living of Hognaston, nr. Wirksworth 1662. (Grammar School Magazine 1929).

[7] When the Crown presented Edmund Hough in 1689 the living was declared to have been technically vacant since 1662. (Nomination Paper. Borthwick Institute).

[8] 'Peniston—Pedagogus et cl pochia Nathan Staniforth licen' per Doctorem Watkinson. 24 Sept. 1674'. Fee 1/10. (Borthwick Institute, R VI C 16).

that these had been grossly neglected and that there were several abuses in the trust. He asked for an inquiry into these and an Inquisition for Charitable Uses was set up in June 1677.[1] During his tenure of the mastership Staniforth copied many of the old surviving deeds of the school in a very beautiful script hand which is very well preserved.

He continued to hold the office of parish clerk after he was appointed master and in 1683 he was fined by the Archdeacon for not appearing at the visitation to show his licence.[2] In addition to these posts Staniforth also drew up legal documents such as bonds, covenants and mortgages for people in the Penistone district and these are found in other archives.[3] Staniforth built up the school to an average of sixty boys and it was under him that the school produced one of its most eminent pupils, Nicholas Sanderson, whose memorial is in the chancel of the parish church.[4]

In 1689 a new vicar, Edmund Hough, was appointed, who took an interest in history and was a friend of Ralph Thoresby. Hough wrote to Thoresby in 1696 giving him information about the school.[5]

Staniforth resigned the mastership in 1701 and died in 1702[6] being succeeded by John Ramsden whose mastership was covered in a previous article on the school.[7]

[1] This regulated the abuses in the trust and appointed new feoffees. (P.R.O. CP/93/37/24).

[2] 'Contra Nathan Staniforth cl pochia et ludimagistrum non exhibiendo eius licinia.' Fine 4/-. Appeared later and exhibited them. (Borthwick Institute, R VI A 33).

[3] Especially in the Allendale Muniments. D D 70/18 and others. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society).

[4] 'Nicholas Sanderson son of John Sanderson. Born at Thurlstone, nr. Penistone. Baptised 20th Jan. 1683. School at Penistone. Admitted to Christ's College Cambridge 1707. Blind from infancy, M.A. 1711. LLD 1728. Lucasian Professor of Mathematics 1711-1739. F.R.S. 1719. Buried at Boxworth Cambridge'. (Grammar School Magazine 1929).

[5] Mar. 16 1696 . . . 'In the town of Peniston is a free school of very ancient foundation whose revenues consist of much in land and rents the writings of some of them scarce legible nor the names of all the donors known . . .' (Hough to Thoresby . . *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 278).

[6] Here was interred ye body of Nathan Staniforth 34 years master of ye Free School of Peniston. Nov. 24th 1702 aged 63 years. (Tombstone in Penistone Churchyard).

[7] *Y.A.J.*, xxxix (1957), pp. 356-363.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE SOUTH CORNER TOWER OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS AT YORK, 1956.

By I. M. Stead.

For six weeks during August and September, 1956, the writer supervised excavations organised by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments branch of the Ministry of Works at the South Corner Tower of the Roman fortress at York.[1] The tower is multangular similar to the one at the west corner of the fortress, and most of its area, including six of its ten sides, lies under Feasegate (fig. 1). The remainder of the tower, including the junction with the south-east wall of the fortress, is under the furnishing store owned by Messrs. Charles Hart, Ltd. In 1852 the tower was discovered when cellars were being excavated on the site now owned by Messrs. Hart,[2] and it was again uncovered

[1] Dr. E. A. Gee, Mr. H. G. Ramm, Mr. L. P. Wenham, and Mr. G. F. Willmot visited the site during the excavations. Mr. Willmot kindly provided storage space and facilities for study at the Yorkshire Museum, and undertook the treatment of the leather finds. I should also like to record my thanks to Dr. S. S. Hart for his enthusiastic co-operation throughout the recent excavations. Dr. Hart has agreed to further excavations when demolition has cleared a greater area, and he is arranging for the finds from the excavations to be stored and displayed at the site. I am greatly indebted to Mr. R. A. Hill for the admirable photographs which he took under conditions which were far from ideal. I should also like to thank the various experts who have contributed to this report.

[2] The tower wall had been discovered earlier when excavating for drains in Feasegate. Wellbeloved (*Eburacum*, 1842, p. 50) states that "in the year 1833, some workmen employed in digging a common sewer in Fease-gate, came, about ten feet below the present surface, upon the foundations of a wall, evidently Roman, crossing that street in a north-easterly direction, and at right angles to the wall before traced along one side of Coney-street."

Under the date November 15th, 1832, Mayhall (*Annals of Yorkshire*, I, p. 391) gives details of what may be the same find: "As some workmen were employed in excavating for a drain to pass through Feasegate, York, they discovered at a distance of nine feet below the street, a wall eight feet thick, extending from Jubbergate, along the centre of the street, a distance of fifteen yards, when it appeared to turn towards Coney Street. This wall, which is no doubt of Roman origin, is formed of small stones firmly cemented together, so as to render the whole work a solid mass of adamantine hardness." But Mayhall's wall, eight feet wide at a depth of nine feet, forty-five feet long, and running up the centre of Feasegate (whereas Wellbeloved's wall crosses the street), hardly sounds like the South Corner Tower.

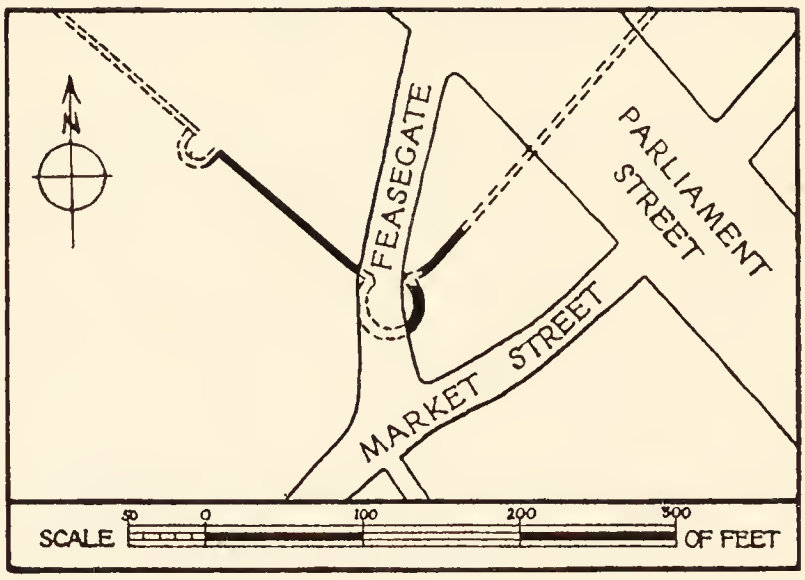
Details of the 1852 find are given in a letter from the Director of the Ordnance Survey to Professor Haverfield. This letter, now in the Haverfield Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, gives an extract from the Object Name Book (now destroyed) relating to the O.S. five foot plan of York. The extract, quoted by Home (*Roman York*, 1924, pp. 116-7), states that "Mr. Still having lately been requested to examine this spot during the laying of some foundations of new houses saw the foundations of a Roman Multangular Tower.

It is inserted on the plan from information supplied by him.

May 5, 1852."

I am indebted to Mr. H. G. Ramm for these three references.

SOUTH CORNER TOWER OF THE ROMAN FORTRESS AT YORK



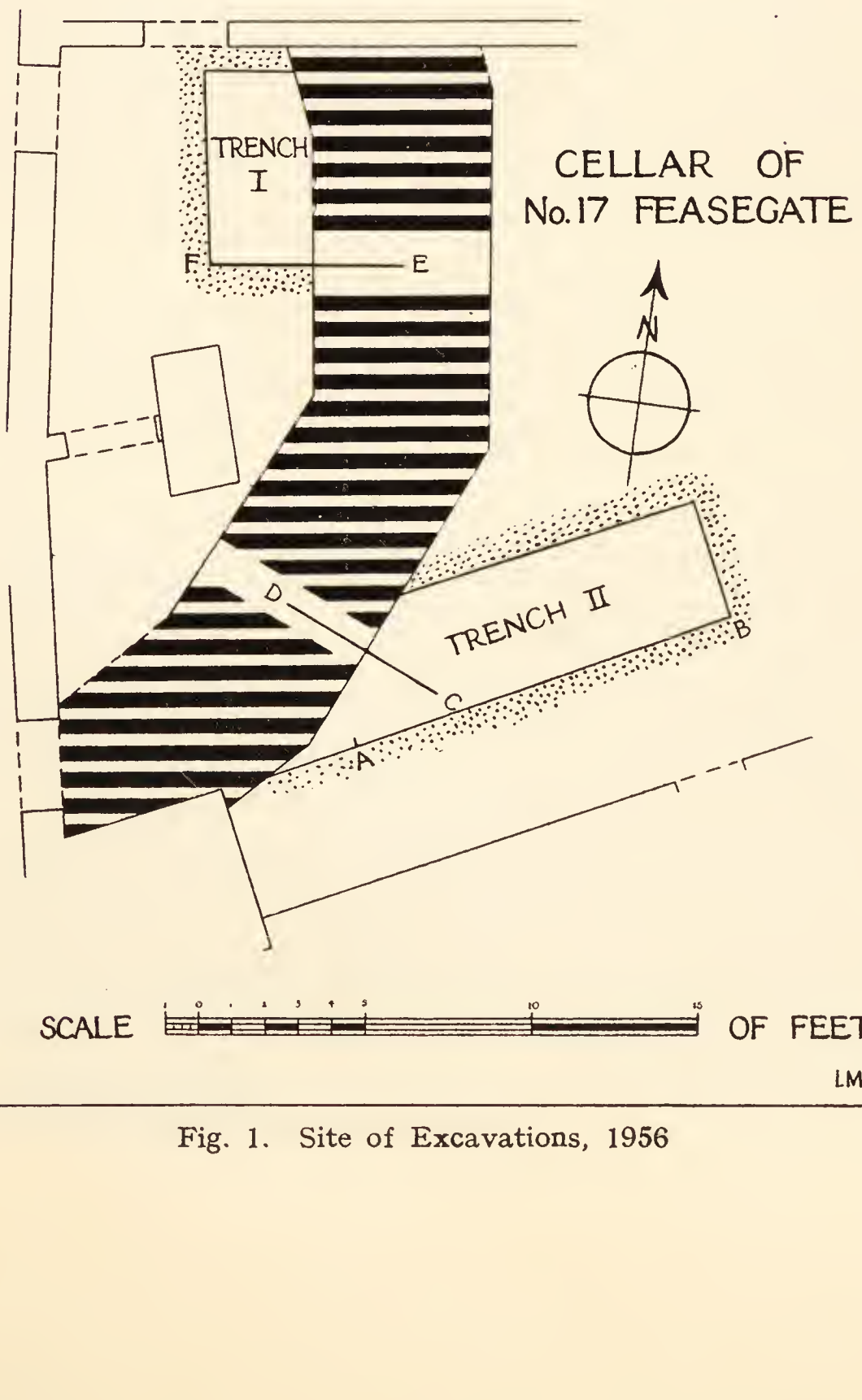


Fig. 1. Site of Excavations, 1956



PLATE I.

Outer face of the Corner Tower on the south-east side.

during large scale reconstruction on the premises in 1956. Messrs. Hart decided to preserve this part of the tower as a show-piece, and to dig down to the foundations so that as much masonry as possible could be seen to advantage. Hence it was decided that an archaeological excavation was needed. The work was carried out in the cellars of the shop, and its scope was limited owing to the presence of pillars and walls supporting the present building. The trenches were waterlogged from the start of the excavation, and an electric pump had to be used every morning before we could start digging. The waterlogged ground and the fact that we were working under electric light all the time meant that conditions were not ideal for careful excavation, or for interpreting the sections, which had to be drawn in three parts as the shoring was lowered.

Levels Earlier than the Tower.

Owing to the limit set on the depth of our excavations we did not reach subsoil in trench I, but in our second trench we found natural laminated clay at a depth of 33.5 feet O.D. The natural clay in trench II may be the spine between two divisions of an earlier ditch which had been filled with fairly clean clay [(16) in fig. 3; trench I (13) in fig. 2] before the construction of the tower. No pottery was found in the ditch filling, but in the upper part, in trench I, there was a line of stones which crossed our trench diagonally, south-east to north-west, and which may have been the support for a plank used when the ditch was being filled.

The Roman Tower.

The upper part of the tower wall is five feet five inches wide, faced on both sides with courses of magnesian limestone blocks, about four inches high and of varying lengths. At its highest point, at the northern end of the cellar, the faced masonry stands eight feet ten and a half inches high, with the rubble and mortar core at the same level. It seems likely that the tile course was immediately above this layer, the level being exactly the same as that at the base of the tile course in the south-west wall of the fortress at the British Home Stores site on the other side of Feasegate (i.e. 42.3 feet O.D.). The core of the tower wall has been constructed in layers of about four inches deep—the depth of one course of facing stones. On the outside the wall rises vertically from the foundation for eight courses, the next two courses are offset, and the following five courses form a plinth (fig. 2, and Pl. I). Several of the stones have been re-used, including a centurial stone, with the inscription >IVLLINI (Pl. IIa),[1]

[1] Mr. R. P. Wright has examined photographs and a line-drawing of the inscription, and he writes : "The name is Iullinus, given in the genitive. It seems to be a *cognomen*. The photo shows the leafstop after the second L. This seems to be an extra added by the mason, for the name cannot be divided into the contractions of two names."

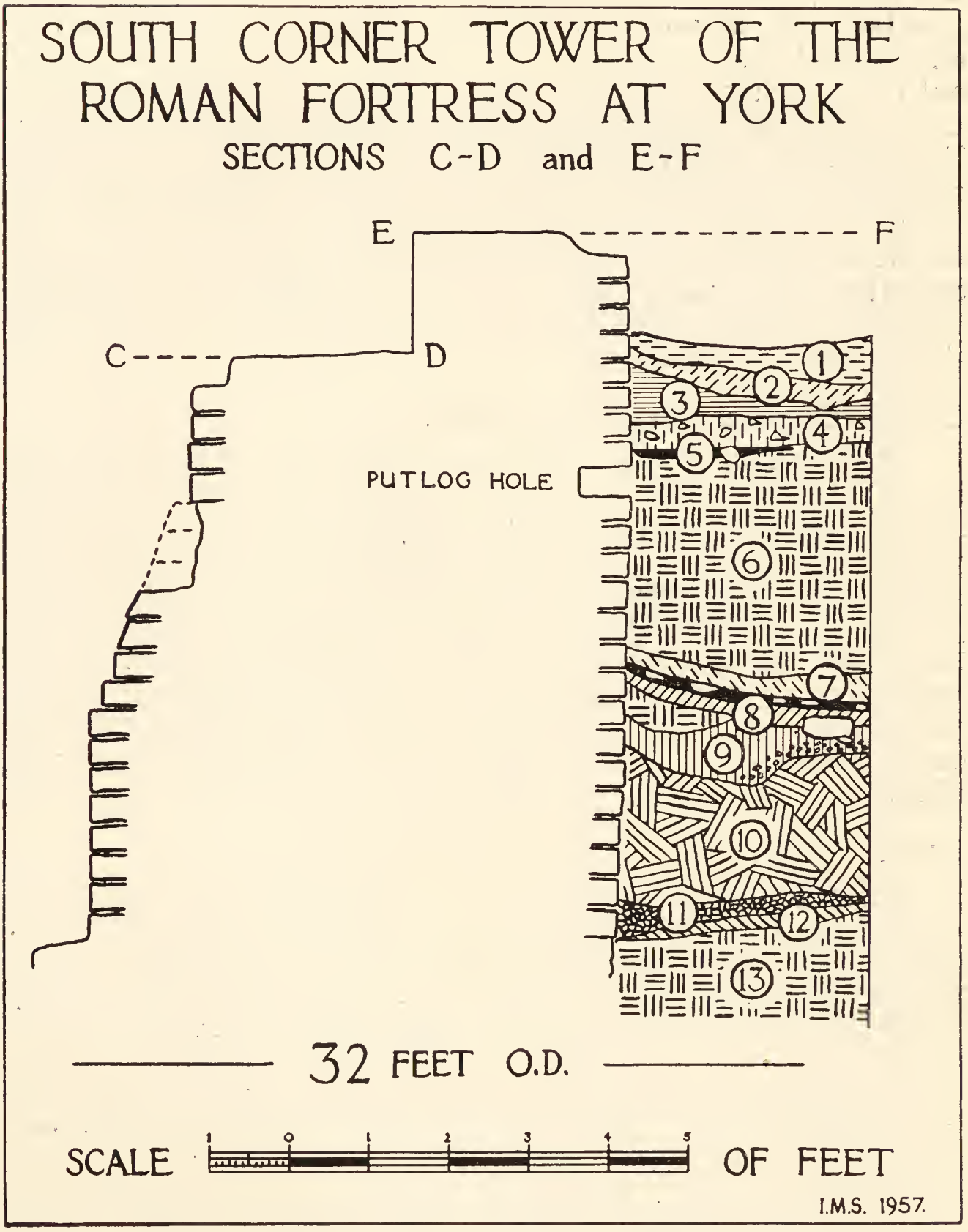


Fig. 2. Trench I, Section EF.

(1) dark soil, (2) grey soil with small lumps of clay, (3) compact dark brown soil, (4) grey soil with some rubble, (5) dark grey soil with some pieces of wood, (6) compact brown clay, with some patches of grey clay, (7) grey-brown soil above light cobbled 'floor', (8) dark grey soil, (9) grey-brown soil, gravelly in parts, (10) brown soil and clay, (11) mortar building spread, (12) grey-brown earth, (13) compact brown clay,



PLATE IIa. Centurial Stone. Found in an inverted position.



PLATE IIb. Inner face of the Corner Tower on the east side.

in an inverted position in the inner face of the wall.[1] Two putlog holes, five feet apart and five feet six inches from the base of the faced masonry, were also found inside the tower (Pl. IIb).

The tower foundation is composed of rubble and mortar. On the outside the foundation trench has been cut about eight inches outside the line of the tower wall. Where the foundation trench has been cut through natural clay, on the south side of our trench II, its sides are straight; but on the north side, where it is cut into ditch filling, the side of the trench has collapsed and the foundation has been spread out to fill the gap.

Inside the tower (fig. 2) the ditch filling was covered by a mortar building spread at the level of the base of the faced masonry. Then a layer of clay and earth, including occupation rubbish, had been thrown in and was covered by a layer of light cobbling. A layer of dark earth above this cobbled 'floor' contained Flavian-Trajanic sherds but nothing later. The 'floor' level is above the tower building spread, and the position of the putlog holes indicates that it was not laid as another building level during the construction of the tower. It may be the floor of a basement storeroom, but if so the absence of pottery later than the second century suggests that it was hardly used before it was covered with earth and then a clay filling.[2] The layers above the clay filling had been removed before the start of our excavation, but no structural feature or destruction level could be seen in section. No post-Roman finds came from inside the tower, the later layers having been removed when the cellars were excavated in the nineteenth century.

Dark Ages.

There was a scatter of nondescript Roman sherds throughout trench II, but no post-Roman pottery occurred until layer (8). There is no typical late Roman group of pottery and most of the lower layers in trench II may be post-Roman. In the section (fig. 3) the only probable Roman layers are (16), which may be the filling of the outer division of the ditch, preceding the construction of the tower, and (15) which is a pile of mortar against the wall. The two large pits with undercut sides (II.D and II.E) produced no finds. A piece of iron slag and a number of fragments from a hearth used in iron-smelting (see pp. 536-7) came from layer (12) and may belong to the Dark Ages. The first positive evidence of post-Roman date is provided by pieces of three leather shoes (or boots) which are not of Roman type (pp. 525-530) and which came from layer (11), a pit, or ditch, full of a material resembling

[1] Wellbeloved (*op. cit.*, p. 59, Pl. VII nos. 2 and 3) records two centurial stones and other graffiti from inside the West Corner Tower, in "the lowest chambers", but these cannot now be found.

[2] But it must be remembered that only a very small area was excavated inside the tower. Owing to the proximity of modern foundations it was impossible to dig a trench larger than three feet by five feet seven inches.

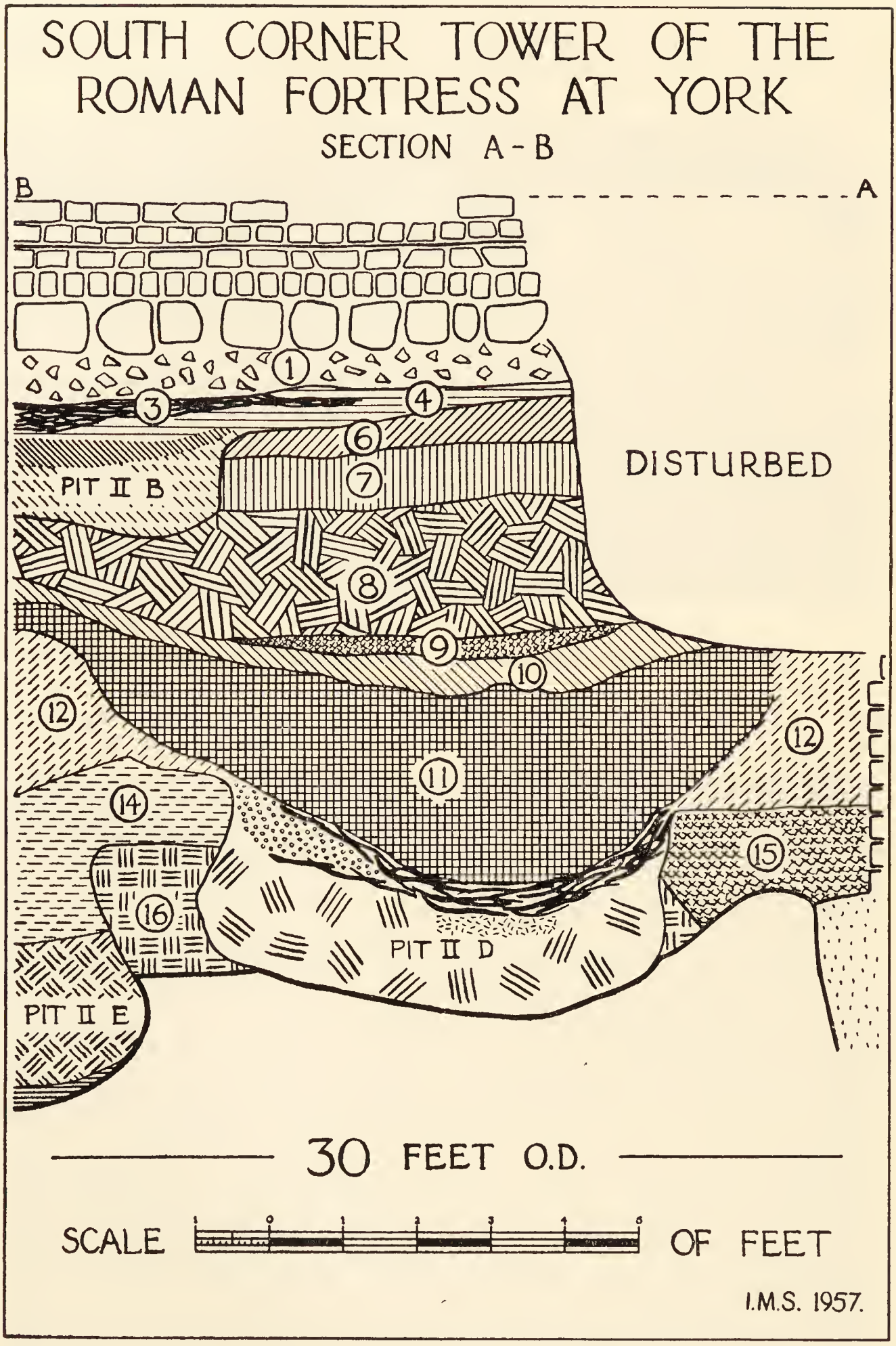


Fig. 3. Trench II, Section AB.

The area on the right of the section had been disturbed by workmen digging to reveal the face of the wall. (1) foundations for 19th century cellar wall, (3) brushwood, (4) compact dark brown soil, (Pit II.B) gravelly soil covered with a dark layer including decayed vegetable matter, (6) grey soil with some lumps of clay, (7) includes a lot of short branches of wood, mainly birch, (8) grey soil, (9) light-grey gravelly material, (10) loose brown soil, (11) mainly vegetable matter, (12) loose grey earth, (Pit II.D) loose stoney earth with a good deal of wood above, (14) grey earth, (Pit II.E) reddish-brown clay, with a layer of dark soil at the base, (15) mortar, (16) compact grey-brown clay.

vegetable manure. A similar material was found at Hungate, York,[1] and it was suggested that it might be the residue of a tanning process. No tannin was found when samples from this pit were analysed (pp. 535-6) and although there were one or two leather fragments, there were no clippings. A well preserved piece of cloth (p. 525) was also found in this pit.

Almost immediately above the "manure" there was a floor level, composed of a grey gravelly material and covered with a considerable amount of burnt clay daub which has preserved good impressions of wattle. Three small stakes were found near the edge of the floor on the east side, but there were no posts nor post-holes, probably because only a small area was exposed. The floor was only five feet three inches wide, and seems to have been aligned at right angles to Market Street and the south-east wall of the fortress.

Saxo-Norman.

Saxo-Norman pottery first appeared in layer (8), and the next feature of interest was a layer, (7), composed mainly of short branches of wood, mostly birch, together with a large number of animal bones. These may well have been thrown down in an attempt to form a dry platform in an area which must have been damp at the best of times, and which was no doubt usually waterlogged, as the good preservation of wood and leather would suggest. Above this there was another feature, unfortunately disturbed by the nineteenth century building operations, consisting of a group of nine stakes, roughly in two lines about two feet six inches apart, the stakes in each line being from six to twelve inches apart. This feature was at the eastern end of the trench and cut into a layer of brushwood (3). The stakes were only from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, and may possibly have held the wickerwork of a lined pit.

Dating Evidence.

The dating evidence obtained is most unsatisfactory. Nothing was found to support or refute the accepted theory that the tower was the work of Constantius Chlorus. In the succeeding layers distinctive artefacts are almost entirely absent until the appearance of Saxo-Norman pottery, presumably in the late ninth or tenth century. In fact features such as the "manure" pit and the floor level in trench II could be of any date from the fifth to the tenth century. None of the pottery from trench II is later than the twelfth century.

Romano-British Pottery.

The Romano-British pottery was examined by Mr. B. R. Hartley, Department of Romano-British Archaeology, Leeds University. From trench I most of the pottery was Flavian-

[1] Ministry of Works excavations, 1950-1; Richardson, K. M., publication forthcoming. Information from Mr. L. Biek.

Trajanic, and there was nothing later than the second century. From trench II all the sherds below layer (8) were Romano-British. None of this pottery is worth publishing.

Post-Roman Pottery.[1]

Apart from one sherd from the site of the Tempest Anderson Hall (see p. 426) there is no Middle Saxon pottery known from York, and at the South Corner Tower the layers which appear to belong to this period produced no post-Roman pottery. In the Late Saxon, or Saxo-Norman, period both imported and local pottery occurs in quantity. The term Saxo-Norman was first used by Mr. Dunning[2] for the lead glazed *Stamford ware* which was in use before and after the Norman conquest, and two varieties of contemporary coarse wares, *St. Neots ware* and *Thetford ware*, have been defined by Mr. Hurst.[3] Recent excavations in York[4] have shown that Stamford ware and St. Neots ware was imported and used together with local wares, which may be provisionally divided into two groups. In the first place there is a ware with fairly coarse sandy grit and pimply surface, varying in colour from orange-red to light grey; cooking pots are the only forms so far represented. It is proposed that this should be called *York ware*. Secondly there is a grey ware with fine sandy grit, similar in fabric and shapes to Thetford ware; this may be imported from East Anglia or Lincolnshire, or it may be a local product.

The stratigraphical evidence so far obtained suggests that the York ware and Thetford-type ware came into use about the same time, with the imported Stamford and St. Neots wares appearing slightly later. York ware seems to develop into the typical twelfth century gritty ware of the north. There is no local evidence to indicate the initial date of Saxo-Norman pottery in York, but in East Anglia Thetford ware appears to start about the middle of the ninth century.[5] A Stamford ware crucible from Bishophill, York, held a coin hoard which was probably deposited *c.*1070 A.D.[6]

At the South Corner Tower, no post-Roman pottery was found in trench I, and in trench II the only non-Roman pottery consisted of Saxo-Norman ware, the earliest of which was a sherd

[1] I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. G. Hurst for help with the classification of this pottery.

[2] Dunning, G. C., in *Dark Age Britain*, (ed. Harden), 1956, pp. 228-31.

[3] Hurst, J. G., *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, XLIX, 1956, pp. 43-70, and L, 1957, pp. 29-60.

[4] Saxo-Norman pottery was found during excavations at *Hungate* (1950-1), *Kings Square* (1957), *Petergate* (1957), and *St. Mary's Abbey* (1951-6), and will be published shortly. A number of Saxo-Norman sherds in the Yorkshire Museum are to be published by Mr. D. M. Waterman in a forthcoming number of *Archaeologia*.

[5] Hurst, J. G., *ibid.*, L, 1957, p. 45.

[6] Thompson, J. D. A., *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, 1956, p. 151, No. 386, Pl. IV. f.

of Thetford-type ware found in layer (8). Neither Stamford ware nor St. Neots ware was found in this trench. The pottery is listed in stratigraphical order, with the earliest layers first.

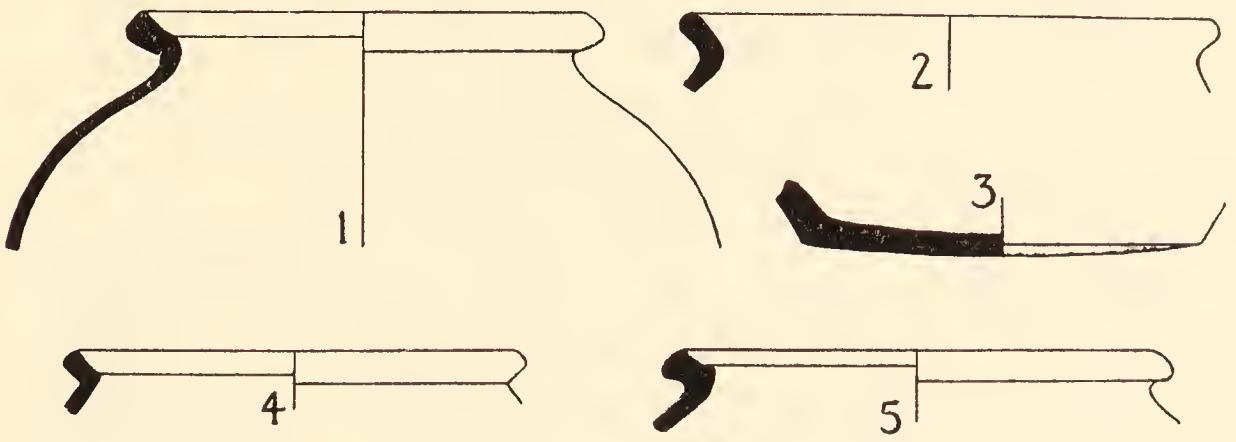


Fig. 4. Saxo-Norman Pottery. Scale ½.

FIG. 4.

1. Cooking pot, with rim hollowed internally to seat a lid. *Thetford-type ware;* dark grey, with fine sandy grit. From Pit II.C.
2. Cooking pot with simple everted rim. *York ware;* well-fired blue-grey core, light grey inside and buff outside. From trench II (7). A York ware sherd with red core and grey-green surfaces, and another red inside and buff outside came from the same layer.
3. Slightly sagging base of cooking pot. *York ware;* light grey externally, grey-brown inside. From trench II (7).
4. Cooking pot in *Thetford-type ware.* From trench II (7).
5. Cooking pot in dark grey *Thetford-type ware.* From trench II (1).

CLAY PIPES.

While our excavations were in progress a number of clay pipe fragments were found by workmen on another part of Messrs. Hart's site. They mainly came from a very small yard where the levels had been undisturbed by the cellars, but some were found below the adjoining cellar floor in a level which on the analogy of our excavation is likely to be *circa* twelfth century. Hence it is quite certain that they came from a pit and the collection is likely to represent a number of pipes in contemporary use. This conclusion is borne out by typology, for all the pipes, with one exception, probably date from the first half of the eighteenth century. The exception, No. 2, is no doubt a stray which may well have come from a higher level in the yard. None of the examples show any sign of having been used, all are broken, and one is a waster. They can hardly be the rubbish buried by a pipe-manufacturer because three different makers' stamps are represented, so they are likely to be connected with a dealer, either a tobacconist or a publican. There are at least nineteen examples of stamp No. 11, which suggests that the group may be connected with an inn whose name includes the word 'Hart'. York street directories do not go far enough back to be of any use in this matter. At least twenty-six different pipes are represented in the group.

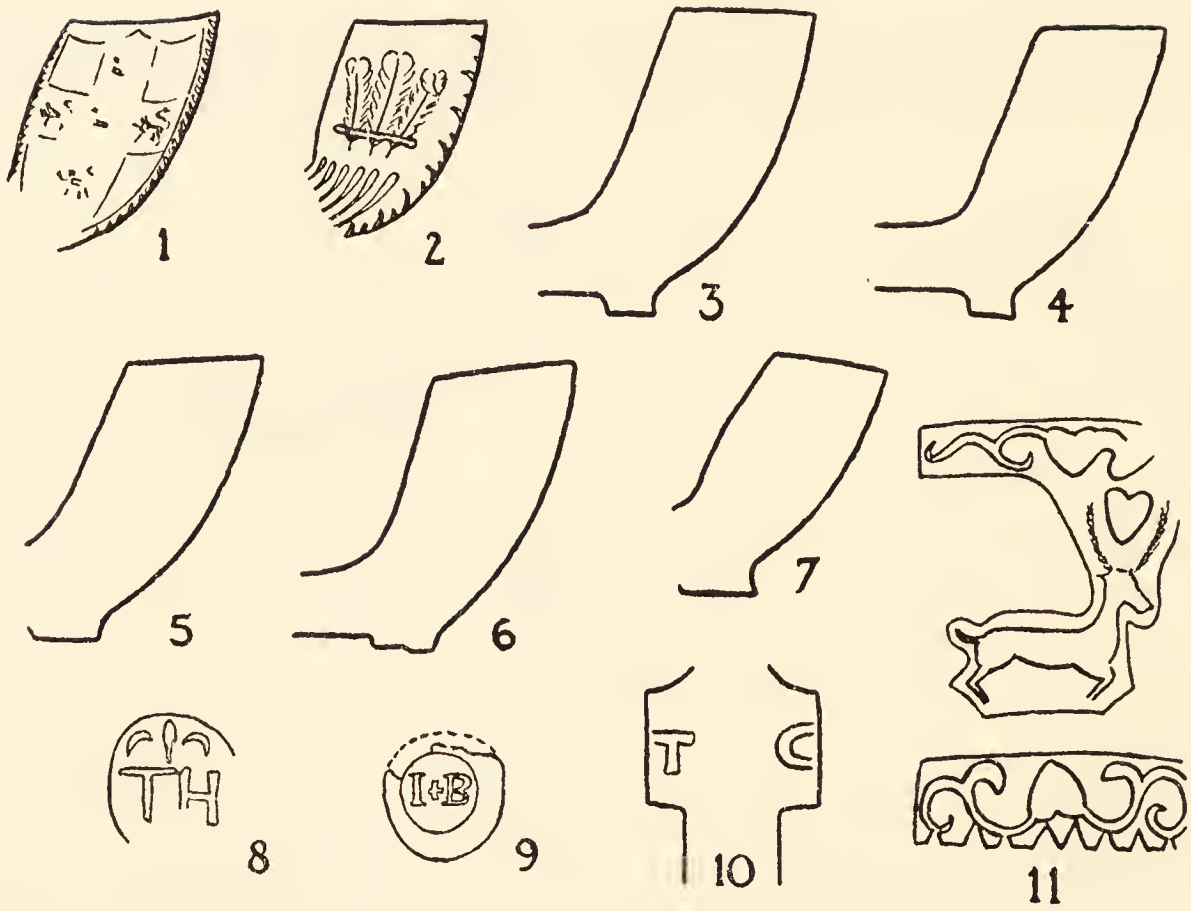


Fig. 5. Group of Clay Pipes from Messrs. Hart's Site.
Scale, Nos. 1-7 = ½, Nos. 8-11 = 1/1.

FIGURE 5.

1. Bowl bearing the York City coat of arms. A bowl decorated with the City arms and bearing the inscription 'Mason, York, 1688' is mentioned in the *Yorkshire Museum Handbook*, 1891, p. 222.
2. Bowl decorated with the Prince of Wales' feathers. An early nineteenth century type—probably a stray.
3. to 6. Undecorated bowls, cf. Oswald type 10b-c.[1] Nine other fragmentary bowls very probably belong to this type. A similar pipe from Norwich[2] has been compared with ones from a closely dated (1720-40) pit at Wood Street, London (unpublished).
7. Undecorated bowl, cf. Oswald type 8a, but the Harts specimen has a shorter bowl and a marked constriction between bowl and heel. Only one example.
8. Stamp TH surmounted by a fleur de lis; on the stem of the pipe. Two examples. Possibly Thomas Holmes, who received the Freedom of York in 1721.[3]
9. Stamp IB, on the bottom of the heel. One example. Possibly John Burrell, who received the Freedom of York in 1721.[4]
10. Stamp TC, one letter at either side of the heel. One example. Most of the bowl is missing, but it is probably the same type as Nos. 3 to 6.
11. Stamp consisting of a deer with a heart between its antlers, and a decorative motif, with a heart in the centre, above and below. Round the stem of the pipe. At least nineteen examples, one of which is a variant of the illustrated type, having a straight lower edge without the triangular projections. None of the stems with this stamp was complete with the bowl, but it would be reasonable to associate them with the unstamped bowls, Nos. 3 to 6. This stamp may be compared with some recently

[1] Oswald, A., *A.N.L.*, v, (1955), pp. 243-50.
[2] *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxxi, (1955), p. 97, fig. 23, 9b.
[3] *Surtees Society*, cii, (1899), p. 219.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

published examples from Chester.[1] The latter belong to the early part of the eighteenth century and the central parts of the designs have been identified with inn signs. In the York example the animal and hearts may suggest that the word 'Hart' is included in the name.

Small Finds.

1. Metal.

See the report by Mr. Biek, pp. 533-5.

2. Textile.

(by Miss Elisabeth Crowfoot).

(From trench II (11), a Dark Ages level).

Piece of cloth, measuring *c.*30 × 18 cm. at widest; dark brown.

Spinning rather variable, Z one system, S the other.

Plain (tabby) weave, counts 13 × 7, 10 × 7 threads per cm., (Z counts first); no selvedge present.

The twilled and creped appearance is probably due to shrinking from being waterlogged when found. The use of different twists on warp and weft threads is consistent with the suggestion that it may be Saxon.

Mr. D. Young, Department of Textile Industries, Leeds University, reports on the fabric thus:—

'The fibres are too damaged to be certain, but the fabric was probably made from the fleece of a primitive sheep which contained both coarse and fine fibres. By modern standards the cloth is a coating weight and is very firmly woven from very hard-twisted threads.'

3. Leather Shoes.

(by J. H. Thornton, M.A., F.B.S.I., and A. V. Goodfellow, A.B.S.I., Northampton College of Technology).

General Considerations and Dating.

We are of the opinion that none of the shoes submitted are Romano-British. This view is based on the method of construction and the appearance of the uppers.

Construction: We recently examined some 250 Romano-British shoes, or shoe parts, in the Guildhall Museum, London. The only method of upper—sole attachment found was nailing. These present shoes, where sufficient evidence remains for identification, are all made by the turnshoe method, using either a thong or thread for the upper—sole seam. There is no trace of nails.

Upper appearance: Most of the Romano-British shoes have sandalised uppers, i.e. the uppers are perforated with holes of various shapes and sizes producing in some cases the effect of separate straps. None of these present shoes have any decorative perforation.

Other differences noted were that whereas the Romano-British shoes often had heel stiffeners, these have none. Also, the former were frequently made with multi-layered soles while these are all single-soled. The only similarity is the method of blind-seaming edges.

[1] Webster, G., and Barton, K., *Journal of the Chester and N. Wales Architectural Archaeological and Historic Society*, 44, (1957), pp. 19-28, and fig. 1.

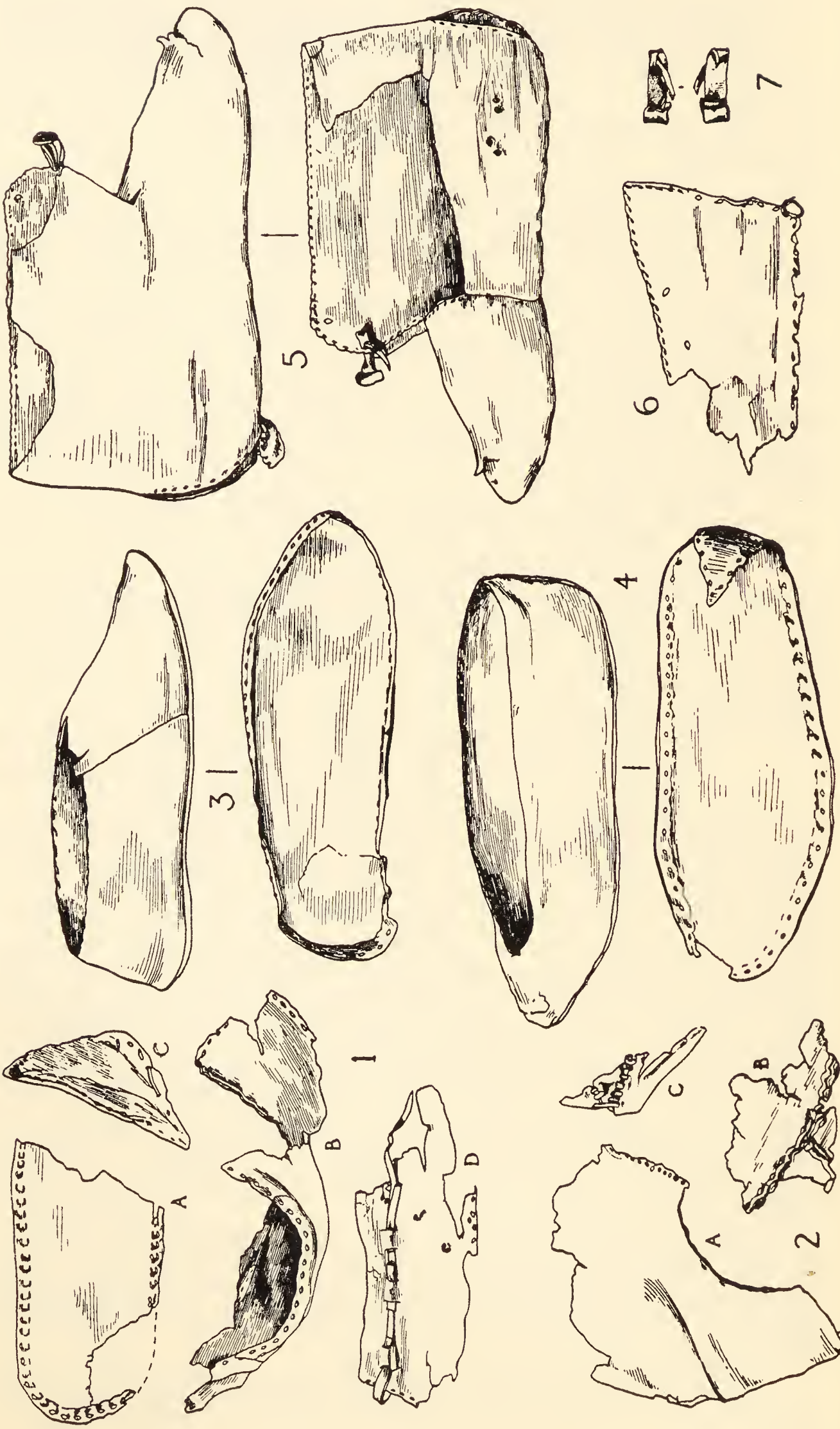


Fig. 6. Leather Shoes. Scale ¼. (*Drawn by Miss E. Meikle*)

They are much closer in general appearance and method of construction to 14th and 15th century shoes but the upper—sole seam is cruder and suggests an earlier date.

Turnshoe Construction: Although all the identifiable shoes are made by the turnshoe method, i.e. the shoe is made inside-out and subsequently turned, some use thread and some thong—Nos. 1a, 2b. and c, ?3, 4, ?5 all use thong, and thread is used in the child's shoe (p. 423). It seems a reasonable assumption that the thread, with its finer and closer holes, is a later development in sole attachment. On the other hand, even those with thonged soles have upper seams of thread. The other more positive development is the improved method of making the turn-seam. Nos. 2 and 5 have a comparatively crude serpentine thonging joining upper and bottom by their turned-in edges, whereas Nos. 1, 3, and 4 have the seam passing in and out of the same side of the sole, thus leaving a projecting edge of sole when the shoe is turned inside-out. This earlier dating of No. 5 agrees with the stratigraphical evidence.

Comparison with other known specimens: There is very little known and recorded of shoes after the Roman occupation until the 14th century, other than a general idea of their superficial appearance as shown in manuscripts and sculpture. Ernfrid Jäfvert's *Skomod och Skotillverkning* (Stockholm, 1938) shows several shoes and boots with a general resemblance to the York specimens (Plates 3, 4, 5, 6, 8) and housed in various Swedish museums. No precise date is given to them, however, except in one case, a boot somewhat similar to No. 5 which is dated 850 A.D. The shoe sole shown in Plate 8 has a pointed back and very closely resembles the sole of No. 4.

In Kulturen's Lund archives, Ragna Blomqvist describes many Medieval shoes similar to these York specimens and states that six of the soles discovered at Lund had an extended pointed back to them while twenty-seven uppers had a corresponding V-notch at the seat to accommodate the point. There is no example described or illustrated, however, of the turn-up of the sole forming the whole of the back as in the York specimen. In fact it does not occur again till modern times.

In the absence of any positive evidence we suggest that the shoes could date from the 10th to the 13th centuries with the boot upper, No. 5, as the earliest, and the complete child's shoe (pp. 422-3) as the latest. The spread, however, may be very much narrower than this.

Technical Description of the Specimens.

Figure 6.

1. Four fragments found together: trench II (7).

   (*a*) Seat portion of sole-shaped leather badly worn at the back to one side. Apparently thonged to the upper, $\frac{1}{4}''$ spacing between hole centres, oval holes $\frac{1}{8}''$ wide. The leather has been pulled by the thonging to form a high ridge. The fragment is very thin and shows no sign of a sole attachment, which suggests at first sight that it is *either* the *insole* of a

welted shoe, the sole and welt both having disappeared, *or* it is a single turnshoe *sole* which has split completely into two layers ("delamination"), the bottom layer having disappeared so that the holes now penetrate completely whereas originally they went in and came out on the same side, like a tunnel (at right angles to the edge of the specimen). In view of the evidence both of delamination and of turnshoe construction in other specimens, the latter explanation seems the more probable.

(*b*) Fragment of upper, probably the seat portion, showing "lasting margin" and thonging holes as in 1a and with corresponding spacing. The piece appears to be part of a quarter and although it was at first thought to be lined, microscopic examination has shown it to be delaminated. There is a line of blind stitching along the top, the purpose of which, fashion or utility, cannot at present be determined.

(*c*) Small triangular piece of leather of uncertain use; may be the toe of a sole but this is doubtful. Single wide cut at the apex and thong holes down one side with a piece of thonging *in situ*. The base also is holed for stitching or thonging.

(*d*) Fragment of upper, probably a quarter, showing top edge and front edge. Two layers are blind stitched together along a line about $\frac{1}{4}''$ from these edges; thread still visible. A double $\frac{1}{4}''$ wide thong is interlaced through holes about $\frac{1}{2}''$ from top edge and forms a loop at the front edge. Presumably a thong on the other quarter was tied through this loop to fasten the shoe on the foot. There are also three pairs of holes lower on the quarter, purpose unknown, and a trace of lasting margin.

2. Four fragments found together: trench II, Pit II.C.

(*a*) Solid front (or vamp) of low-cut shoe of roughly symmetrical pattern. Edge stitching in throat is a 'blind seam' (as top edge of No. 1d). Delamination has taken place. One of the sides shows holes where presumably it was joined onto the front edge of the quarter; there are no holes on the other side edge but these may have been cut away (edge is too clean for a tear). Alternatively, this side may originally have continued right round the back to join the opposite edge forming a 'whole-cut' shoe with a single seam on one side.

(*b*) Fragment, probably of upper and bottom, showing bottom and side seam with thonging *in situ*. Bottom seam has an intermediate strip (?welt). Thonging follows a serpentine pattern.

(*c*) Similar seam to No. 2b. but no obvious intermediate welt. May be an upper seam as there are three sections with the central one forming a 'V' between the others. May be part of 2b.

(*d*) Fragment of quarter showing usual blind top seam.

3. From trench II (8).

(*a*) Very fragmentary upper, but definitely whole-cut with the seam on the side extending from the throat downwards and inclined towards the toe. The seam appears to be of the modern 'closed' type rather than a blind one. There are three irregular cuts in the throat, presumably to facilitate entry of the foot (a practice continued until Tudor times at least).

(*b*) Left foot sole of very good shape. Edge holed all round for stitching or thonging, 3 or 4 holes per inch. A portion of the original full substance sole remains and is the best evidence yet seen of the incidence of delamination with age (see No. 1a). At this place the holes pass in a curve from edge to surface; where delamination has taken place, they appear to penetrate completely. The edge of the sole seems to be moulded along the line of thonging but this may be caused by pressure at a later date. The seat has a most unusual extension about $\frac{1}{2}''$ wide with a row of holes corresponding exactly with the inner row. This flange appears to have been folded over to give added strength to the seam at the seat where the most wear occurs in walking.

Nos. 3a and b undoubtedly form a turnshoe. The holes in upper and sole correspond exactly.

4. From trench II (8).

(*a*) Whole-cut upper, originally thonged (or stitched) to sole and projecting heel-piece—the holes in 4a and b correspond exactly. Has a second layer *in situ* with a row of blind-stitching holes round the top edge of throat and quarters. Microscopic examination shows that delamination of the original leather has taken place. The backs of the quarters were not joined together but separately to the heel extension by a 'closed seam', the changeover from the turnshoe seam to the closed seam occuring where the sole turns upwards.

(*b*) Very thin leather sole shape, left-foot, pointed toe; double row of thonging or stitching holes with ridge in between; outer row about $\frac{3}{16}''$ from edge and holes spaced $\frac{3}{8}''$ between centres. The heel-end of the sole is extended in a triangular shape to turn up round the back of the foot. Here the holes form a single line only and are spaced about $\frac{1}{4}''$. There is no trace of surface wear on the smooth side of the specimen (except for a small piece missing at the toe) which suggests that this is not the original surface but an interior one produced by delamination. It has the typical glossy appearance of other delaminated specimens. This also explains the double row of holes penetrating completely; they are actually the two ends of the same hole entering and emerging on the same side—the typical turnshoe seam described for No. 1a.

This shoe is quite remarkable and, we believe, unique in this country although somewhat similar specimens have been found in Sweden (see above). The extended sole turned up round the heel is a feature of some children's shoes made today while the low-cut upper resembles a modern court shoe.

5. From trench II (11).

Whole-cut ankle boot upper with seams at the side (just behind the joint) and at the back about half-way up. Second layer *in situ* caused by delamination with traces of the usual blind seam round the top edge and the front edge of the complete side. The other side has the top portion missing and what remains is joined to the vamp portion by a 'closed' seam. The short back-seam also appears to be a closed one. A line of serpentine thonging extends round the bottom edge for about three-quarters of the periphery—the remainder has torn away. Traces of the sole still remain joined to it. Two pairs of holes in the incomplete quarter (side) appear to have been used in fastening the boot—presumably with a lace or thong. The complete side still has a small leather toggle *in situ*, obviously part of the fastening. (*Note*: the broad end of this toggle has been made by cutting a slot near the end of a strip of leather (now delaminated into two layers) and then threading the strip through its own slot. The narrow end has had similar treatment but the slot is lengthways).

6. From trench II (11).

Nine very thin fragments of (presumably) upper, most of them with stitch or thong holes along one or more edges. The largest portion, of trapezoidal shape, may be the quarter of a shoe upper. One edge, presumably the bottom, has thong holes spaced $\frac{3}{8}''$ between centres and at one end a piece of thong, in the form of a loop, remains. The edge at right-angles to this has similar holes for about half its distance and then smaller ones which continue round the top corner and along the top edge; these would appear to be blind stitching holes as found on the top and front edges of other specimens. There are also two larger holes $1\frac{3}{8}''$ apart and $\frac{1}{2}''$ from the top edge which probably have some connection which the original fastening (see No. 1d). The other specimens are too fragmentary to identify.

7. From trench II (11).

Very fragmentary pieces of (presumably) upper, two of the larger ones (each about $4\frac{1}{2}''$ square) being rather too large for shoes and may be boot quarters. One of these has a row of stitching holes along one edge—

possible blind stitching along the top edge as in other specimens already described. Also a pair of leather 'button-holes', each 2″ × ¾″ with a central slot and a tag at one end threaded through a smaller slot. The tags may have been used to fix the 'button-hole' to a boot or shoe quarter which was then pushed over a button, or more probably a leather toggle (see No. 5) attached to the other quarter.

Microscopic Examination of the Specimens.

(Miss Betty M. Haines, for the Director, British Leather Manufacturers' Research Association.)

Plate I facing p. 423 shows the structure typical of these specimens also.

The complete shoes and remnants of shoes have been examined microscopically. Cuttings were taken from the samples, embedded in paraffin wax and sectioned.

In our opinion, all the samples were prepared from cattle hide.

Most of the leather was found to be in two layers, but the fibre structure indicates that the original leather had broken into two layers. In all the samples examined, the outer layer was composed of grain layer and part of the underlying corium (generally about half of the total thickness of the corium): the inner layer was composed of corium only, with a flat weave characteristic of flesh side of hide, at the inner surface of the sample. In two samples (Nos. 3 and 5) the leather in parts remained as one layer from grain to flesh. In the middle of the corium there is a layer of disordered and broken fibres not interweaving with adjacent fibres—possibly marks the plane of break. See plate I, facing p. 423.

The break at the middle of the corium arises from incomplete penetration of tan and consequent decomposition of the untanned fibres. The two layers of the upper leather of No. 4 result from this layering of the leather and not from an added lining. The stitching along the top edge of the upper of No. 4 may have been for decoration, or it may have been a means of keeping the two layers together if the central untanned layer putrified during wear. Alternatively it may have been intended to prevent the splitting of the top edge when the shoe was put on, but a blind seam would not be the most efficient for this purpose.

Human Bones.

Three human bones, found in trench II (12) east end of trench, were examined by Mr. C. B. Denston, Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, Cambridge University. They consisted of a right femur, left tibia, and right humerus, probably male; if they had belonged to one individual the estimated stature would be about 5′ 5″.

Animal Bones.

[Miss J. E. King, British Museum (Natural History)].

Roman.

There are not many bones from these layers. Ox, sheep and pig are represented by incomplete bones, the two measurable sheep bones being slightly smaller than a Scotch ram, and the ox bones smaller than a Chillingham. There is a single bird bone probably from a domestic fowl.

Dark Ages.

The animals represented in these layers are ox, sheep, pig, horse, dog, red deer, and goose. Ox, sheep and pig are the most numerous, the other animals being represented by only a few bones. Measurements of the horse bones show that they are from animals rather larger than a New Forest Pony. A jaw, slightly larger than that of a Fox Terrier and a tibia which is smaller than a Samoyede are the only dog bones in the collection. The breeds of dog mentioned here are to give an indication of size only. There is a single red deer antler crown which is from quite a large animal and from which the beam of the antler has been cut. Pig bones are not very abundant and the single measurable bone shows that it was from an animal smaller than a wild boar. The anterior end of a lower jaw shows signs of having been burnt. Sheep bones are quite numerous, they vary in size but are in general smaller than a Scotch ram. Ox bones are the most numerous and show the animals to have been of short horn type. The bones are of varying sizes but are smaller than a Chillingham. Goose is represented by two humeri.

Saxo-Norman.

Ox, sheep, pig, red deer and bird are represented. Again ox bones are the most numerous and are in general smaller than the Chillingham, though a few bones are of approximately similar size or slightly larger. Some bones appear to have been split longitudinally. Sheep and pig bones are less numerous and are smaller than the scotch ram and wild boar bones with which they were compared. Three antler fragments of red deer were found in Pit II.C. Two were from the base of the antler and show only the burrs, the beam and tines having been cut off, and the other is a beam fragment, also with the tines cut off. The size of these fragments shows that they came from animals rather larger than present day examples.

Table I.

Animal Bones : totals of recognisable fragments.

	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Red Deer	Horse	Dog	Bird
Saxo-Norman :							
Trench II. (2-5)	7	1	2				
(6)	14	1					
(7)	42	20	8				
Pit II.C.	15	2		3			
(8)	28	12	6				
Dark Ages :							
Trench II. (9)	4	3	3				1
(10)	4	2					
(11)	17	10	5	1			1
(12 & 14)	9	4			1	1	
Pit II.D	15	5	1		2		
Pit II.E	1	1	2				
Roman :							
Trench I. (6)	2						
(7)	4	4					
(8)	7	1					
(10)	1						1
(13)	1						

Table II.

Measurable Animal Bones.

Saxo-Norman Ox	(Trench II) (2-5)	calcaneum, l.122 (140)
	(6)	metacarpal, l.177 (189), wp.48 (67), wd.52 (65)
		proximal end metacarpal, w.53 (67)
	(7)	2 distal ends humeri, w.73, 61 (74)
		proximal end radius, w.75 (82)
		distal end radius, w.65 (84)
		proximal end tibia, w.79 (102)
		2 distal ends tibiae, w.53, 54 (65)
		proximal end metatarsal, w.36 (54).
		metatarsal, incomplete distally, prox. w.43 (54)
		metatarsal, l.203 (207), wp.40 (54), wd. 46 (59)
		2 astragali, l.59, 69 (58)
		proximal phalange, l.52 (43)
	Pit II.C	2 distal ends humeri, w.81, 76 (74)
	(8)	distal end tibia, w.55 (65)
		2 calcanea, l.122, 115 (140)
		astragalus, l.58 (58)
		2 metatarsals, l.192 (207), wp.38 (54) l.206 wp.42
Sheep	(7)	distal end humerus, w.27 (34)
		2 radii, l.147 (173), wp.31 (34), wd.29 (32) l.166 wp.32 wd.31
		distal end tibia, w.26 (30)
	Pit II.C	radius, l.135 (173), wp.29 (34), wd.26 (32)
	(8)	distal end radius, w.27 (32)
		2 distal ends humeri, w.32, 25 (34)
Pig	(8)	proximal end radius, w.31 (45)
Red Deer	Pit II.C	2 burrs of shed antlers, beams cut off, circum. above burr 205, 197

TABLE II.—*continued.*

Measurable Animal Bones.		
DARK AGES	(Trench II)	
Ox	(11)	3 proximal ends tibiae, w.87, 89, 89 (102)
		metatarsal, l.201 (207), wp.43 (54), wd.49 (59)
		metacarpal, wp.54 (67)
		metatarsal, wp.40 (54)
	(12 & 14)	distal end humerus, w.72 (74)
		calcaneum, l.119 (140)
	Pit II.D	distal end tibia, w.55 (65)
		proximal end metatarsal, w.49 (54)
		distal end radius, w.62 (84)
		metacarpal, l.181 (189), wp.50 (67), wd.52 (65)
		distal end tibia, w.51 (65)
Sheep	(10)	distal end tibia, w.27 (30)
	(11)	proximal end radius, w.28 (34)
		radius, l.138 (173), wp.29 (34), wd.28 (32)
		distal end tibia, w.26 (30)
		proximal end metatarsal, w.22 (23)
		metatarsal, l.140 (140), wp.20 (23), wd.23 (26)
	(12 & 14)	proximal end metatarsal, w.20 (23)
	Pit II.D	metatarsal, l.127 (140), wp.21 (23), wd.25 (26)
		astragalus, l.27 (28)
		calcaneum, l.72 (63)
	Pit II.E	distal end tibia, w.26 (30)
Horse	(12 & 14)	distal end tibia, w.72 (58)
	Pit II.D	metacarpal, l.224 (190), wp.51 (41), wd.48 (38)
Pig	Pit II.D	distal end tibia, w.27 (43)
Dog	(12 & 14)	tibia, l.199
ROMAN	(Trench I)	
Ox	(6)	distal end metacarpal, w.63 (65)
	(8)	middle phalange, l.32 (43)
	(10)	proximal end metacarpal, w.51 (67)
Sheep	(7)	proximal end femur, w.42 (52)
	(8)	metacarpal, l.115 (134), wp.19 (25), wd.22 (28)

Note.—The following abbreviations are used : l—length, wp.—width at proximal end, wd.—width at distal end. The ox bones have been compared with those of a Chillingham ox, sheep with a Scotch ram, pig with a wild boar and horse with a New Forest Pony. All measurements are in millimetres and measurements in brackets are from the animals with which the bones are being compared.

A NOTE ON THE GENERAL CONDITIONS.

(by Mr. L. Biek, Ancient Monuments Laboratory, Ministry of Works).

The conditions under which the finds had been buried were of some interest. Too little attention is usually paid to such conditions. As they are often radically changed by excavation (so that it may not be possible, even by returning, to re-examine them satisfactorily), and even in some respects while digging is in

progress, it is most desirable that they should be scientifically examined at once, and recorded as fully as possible. A better understanding will increasingly aid interpretation.

To some extent this was done here, and various reports are appended. The following is an attempt to relate as far as possible the various pieces of specialist evidence in this respect.

Clearly the conditions are similar to those found at Hungate, York (excavated by Miss K. M. Richardson for the Ministry of Works, 1950-1, report awaiting publication, and described in *J. Appl. Chem.*, (1953),3, 80-4), at least as shown in *this* excavation's trench II. The general features of such strata were all present here, viz. waterlogging, resulting in 'anaerobic' conditions which allowed the organic matter present to decay slowly and characteristically; consequent preservation of metal articles, associated in the case of iron with the formation of the powder-blue phosphate vivianite, to a degree and in a manner quite distinct from the results of burial in normal aerobic circumstances.

The similarity with Hungate is reflected also in the scientific data. The 'preservation' as such is always a matter of degree. In *this* excavation, it seems that conditions in trench II were intermediate between those producing the 'better' and the 'worse' states of metal preservation at Hungate. Normally sulphate-reducing bacteria would cause corrosion of iron articles under these conditions. Sulphate-reducing bacteria were present, but not active, and it is possible that the fluorescent substances referred to in Dr. White's report may have inhibited their growth and have been involved in the preservation of the iron.

The preservative action is likely to be a very complex one. It would appear, however, that the amount of oxygen present in such layers—over the *entire* period of burial—may be the largest single factor, although the actual amounts involved must be very small and the variation correspondingly smaller. There is some evidence that there has at some time been *some* aeration of the strata mentioned; there were some 'rust' marks on the iron objects, and the fungal hyphae noted by Mr. Farrer could not have existed in the absence of air.

It may be that a sufficient supply of air was brought to the layers from the ground water. The soil is rich in carbonate and there is some evidence of a fair amount of aerated movement of ground water, in the shape of 'petrifaction', although this was actually found in trench I. Regarding the difference between the conditions in the two trenches, this was reflected very clearly in the types of corrosion products found on the metal objects. The corrosion in trench I had clearly been aerobic in character, although again slow and fairly uniform. No scientific data are available here, but it is hoped to obtain some when the excavation is continued.

Dr. White notes 'decayed bone' in trench II, under conditions of nitrogen content, pH, and reducing activity where one would not have expected such 'decay'. One must reckon with very localised effects in places, and these generalisations are designed largely to stimulate further work.

THE PRESERVATION OF METAL OBJECTS :

1. Fragment of hollow tubular piece of iron, 3″ long; slightly tapering, diameter 0.7″ to 0.45″. From trench II (11).

   Evidently made from a single sheet of wrought iron. There seems to be no significant lap at the joint. On the surface, typical deposits of vivianite occur, also in the filling. The condition of the object is comparatively poor; this may be because it was so when the object was discarded, or it may be that conditions were not sufficiently protective in the sense described in the note. On the surface, also, there are visible areas of smooth black (magnetite and/or iron tannate?) and characteristic red (haematite?). The latter makes it possible to suggest, tentatively, that this object may have suffered some considerable degree of heating before burial.

2. Fragment of iron 2.5″ long; of subrectangular section, 0.55″ 'diameter'. From trench II (8).

   Lump of wrought iron; the laminations are quite plain, also on the X-ray. Its condition is similar to No. 1, but red areas are absent and vivianite is more prominent.

3. Iron ferrule, 4.2″ long, diameter at widest point 0.65″. From trench II (10).

   This had been partly cleaned when received, and no appraisal of its surface is possible. It seems to be in a similar but rather better state of preservation than Nos. 1 and 2.

4. Iron nail, 2.2″ long. From trench I (9).

   Evidently almost completely mineralised (brownish-black, magnetite?), certainly in the break, but corroded slowly and uniformly. There is no vivianite visible here.

5. Lead fragments :

   a. From trench I (8): Two fragments of sheet lead or alloy, seemingly cut waste. The corrosion products are thin and white and the metal appears sound.

   b. From trench I (9): Fragments of splashed melted waste lead (or alloy), harder and more corroded than (*a*), but carrying similar white material.

   c. From trench II (8): Two fragments of run waste lead (or alloy). They are encrusted with a dark, bluish-grey-black corrosion product (impure sulphide?) mixed with sand, but seem to be sound.

6. Stud with large flat head, 1.0″ diameter, probably brass. (cf. Kenyon, K. M., *Jewry Wall, Leicester*, 1948, p. 260, fig. 88, 1). From trench II (9).

   From the appearance of certain areas all over, this seems to have been crudely cast and left 'as cast'; 'electrolytic' corrosion has produced areas of secondary copper as fragments of skin, overlying and/or adjacent to areas of surface depleted of copper; the 'skin' carries surface layers of 'interference' colour ranging from peacock-green to bluish-mauve. It is clear that very little corrosion has occurred.

SOIL SAMPLES.

1. Five samples from layers which had produced leather finds were examined by Dr. T. White, Forestal Central Laboratories, Harpenden.

   The samples were from trench II, layers (7), (8), (10), (11), and Pit II.C.

   "All five samples had a fairly high total nitrogen content ranging from 0.39% to 0.58%. Compared with other clay soils which we happened to be examining at the same time and which had total nitrogen of about 0.15%, the data suggests to me that the York samples contained a high

amount of substance of organic origin. The samples Pit II.C., (11), and (7) all contained a great deal of vegetable fibre and fragments of wood and hazelnut shell with a quite evident bright blue veining which is probably vivianite. The sample (8) differed in containing mainly decomposed bone rather than vegetable fibre although some of the latter was evident.

All five samples were thoroughly examined for tannins, but, as in the case of the Hungate samples, only fluorescent substances remained. We believe the primary fluorescent substance to be quercetin which may indicate that the original vegetable matter present was largely oak. There is no specific evidence of tannins or leather in the samples as far as we can see."

2. Five soil samples were submitted to Mr. T. W. Farrer, Department of Metallurgy, Cambridge University.

"1. Trench II (7): Bones, pebbles and wood, with some vivianite. pH. 8.05. Phosphate present.

2. Trench II Pit II.C.: Bones and well decomposed organic matter. pH. 7.78. Phosphate present.

3. Trench II (8): Grey earth containing wood and pebbles, permeated with vivianite throughout. pH. 8.22. Phosphate present.

4. Trench II (10): Brown earth, with much organic matter. pH. 8.22. Trace of phosphate.

5. Trench II (11): Well decomposed organic matter, permeated in parts by fungal hyphae. pH. 7.90. Trace of phosphate.

For all five samples : No coloration with ferric chloride. No precipitation of gelatine."

3. A sample of soil containing a blue material thought to be vivianite was examined by Mr. Payne, Department of Soil Chemistry, Leeds University.

The sample came from trench II, layer (8).

"Chemical examination of the blue mineral shows that it contains much iron and phosphate, and the absence of copper and sulphur (both constituents of similar minerals). These tests, together with the effect of heat and oxidation, support the suggestion that the material is vivianite. Unfortunately the deposit is too finely divided for the optical properties to be determined and I imagine that its identity could only be proved by X-ray examination.

The soil itself is neutral in reaction and strongly reducing, probably due to waterlogging. It also contains much readily soluble iron, magnesium, phosphate and carbonate, and virtually no calcium or potassium. If the pieces of charcoal present are the result of local wood fires, then the accompanying "potash" must have been leached out.

The soil itself I should describe as a pebbly fine sand."

Wood.

Samples of wood found during the excavations were identified by Professor R. D. Preston, Department of Botany, Leeds University.

Most of the wood from the Saxo-Norman levels was birch, but the group of stakes were of oak. From the Roman levels inside the tower oak, maple, and yew (probably), were identified.

Mortar Samples.

Dr. N. Davey, Building Research Station, Garston, Watford, examined a sample of mortar from the Corner Tower together with samples from the adjoining south-east and south-west walls of the fortress. The three samples were quite different.

Iron Slag.

(J. H. Wright, Chief Metallurgist, Central Research Department, Dorman Long and Co., Ltd., Middlesbrough).

(Samples 2 and 3 came from trench II (12), a layer which may be post-Roman but which is earlier than the post-Roman shoes. Sample I came from trench II (8), the first layer to produce Saxo-Norman pottery).

The three samples are the result of an ironmaking or refining operation. Dealing with them in the order given on the test sheet, from left to right, 1 and 2 are very similar to puddlers' tap cinder, as produced in the 19th century, except that they contain charcoal. This leads us to conclude that a direct ironmaking process, similar to the Catalan process described in *Percy's Metallurgy of Iron*, was operated at some time near the site of your explorations. The metallic part of sample 2 is comparatively soft and malleable.

Sample 3 could be described as refractory hearth material, made of siliceous fireclay, or impure ganister. It is not very refractory, but would no doubt be capable of withstanding, as a hearth material, the ironmaking operation conducted on its surface. It will be noted that the cone-refractoriness of the two slaggy materials, 1 and 2, is 1430 deg.C., indicating the temperature at which melting or incipient fusion would occur, whereas the melting point of the metallic iron fragments, although not determined, would be of the order of 1500/1535 deg.C., and the presence of slag in the metal suggests that it was never in a thoroughly molten condition.

	1. Trench II (8) Slaggy material containing some charcoal (apparently a "tap cinder")	2. Trench II (12) Slaggy material containing some charcoal (Origin similar to Sample 1)	2. Trench II (12) Mainly uncrushable metallic part from No. 2 (wrought iron containing slag)
Silica (SiO_2)	27.40%	17.80%	6.84%
Ferrous Oxide (FeO)	47.86 } Fe.41.2%	63.00	
Ferric Oxide (Fe_2O_3)	5.72 }	5.70	
Metallic Iron (Fe)	nil	—	80.60
Alumina (Al_2O_3)	3.43	2.05	3.50
Lime (CaO)	2.60	2.10	0.20
Magnesia (MgO)	0.95	0.54	0.10
Phosphoric Acid (P_2O_5)	2.40	2.00	P-0.17
Carbon (C)	2.00	2.50	—
Manganous Oxide (MnO)	nil	nil	nil
Cone Refractoriness	1430 deg.C.	1430 deg.C.	Not determined, probably 1500—1535 deg.C.

	3. Trench II (12) Slaggy fragments (Apparently a refractory hearth material)
Silica (SiO_2)	74.54%
Ferric Oxide (Fe_2O_3)	9.00
Alumina (Al_2O_3)	12.70
Manganous Oxide (MnO)	0.15
Lime (CaO)	1.00
Magnesia (MgO)	0.80
Cupric Oxide (CuO)	trace
Lead Oxide (PbO)	nil
Nickel (Ni)	,,
Zinc (Zn)	,,
Cone Refractoriness	1410 deg.C.

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